HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

# CALENDAR

OF

# LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

## THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

## THE ARCHIVES AT VIENNA, SIMANCAS, AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. IX.

## EDWARD VI.

**1547-1549.**

EDITED BY

MARTIN A. S. HUME, AND ROYALL TYLER.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY.
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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# CALENDARS.

## Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

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2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

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*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

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# ABBREVIATIONS.

Madrid, B.P. . . . . Biblioteca de Palacio.

Simancas, E.R., Estado and E., all refer to the Secretaria de Estado.

Vienna E. . . . . England.

Vienna F. . . . . Frankreich.

# PREFACE.

THE papers calendared in this volume extend over a period of three years: 1547, 1548 and 1549. They are, primarily, the letters of the Imperial ambassadors resident in England and France to the Emperor and his sister, Regent of the Netherlands, and the sovereigns' instructions to these ambassadors. In the second place there are a certain number of letters from Imperial envoys in Italy and elsewhere, which touch on the affairs of England or the Reformation.

The late Major M. A. S. Hume, after whose death I received the honour of the Editorship of this Calendar, left, roughly speaking, half the volume complete and printed off. His work ceases with the letter from Jehan Duboys to Loys Scors, dated October 24th, 1548. While collecting material for carrying on the work from that point, however, I have found a number of papers for the period already covered by Major Hume, and which appear to have escaped his notice. These are printed in this volume as an Appendix. They are, for the most part, letters from the Imperial ambassador in France to the Emperor, which often contain information on Anglo-French relations, and news of events in the English possessions in Picardy and Scotland, that never reached the Imperial ambassador in London.

For Charles V's last years, the Imperial Archives at Vienna contain by far the most important collections. Charles, during this period, kept French-speaking ambassadors in France and England, and Spaniards in Italy. It seems that, sometime in Philip II's reign, the correspondence with the ambassadors in Italy, all of it in Spanish, was taken from Brussels to Simancas, the great Spanish State Archives, where it still remains. On the other hand, the letters from the ambassadors in England and France, which are in French, together with the

were eventually taken to Vienna. In the Archives Nationales, Paris, is the section "France" of the Spanish Archives, which was seized by Napoleon and has never been returned to Spain. For the period now in hand, however, this section is of small importance. Almost without exception, the originals of the ambassador in France's letters are in Vienna, and the papers extant in Paris are mostly extracts and summaries of these originals made for the King of the Romans, or translations into Spanish of extracts for the benefit of Prince Philip who was, to say the least, an indifferent French scholar. Indeed, at the time of his marriage to Queen Mary of England, the Imperial ambassador could say no more than that Philip "understood French fairly well": there seems to have been no attempt at pretending that he could speak it. In any case, the papers in Paris are only valuable when the original letters, from which they were translated, are missing from the Viennese collection, and even then the passages selected as being likely to interest Philip were more often accounts of balls, christenings, tourneys and the like, than of important political occurrences, though at the time referred to that Prince was upwards of twenty years old. However, Philip plays a small part in this volume, and it is not the place to discuss his aptitude for, or share in, public affairs. Vienna, Simancas and Paris hold almost all the documents that appear here, but there are also a few from the Granvelle collections at Madrid and Besançon.

It is worth remark that many of Charles' French-speaking ambassadors were Franc-Comtois, natives of Besançon, and members of, or closely allied to, the family of Granvelle, whilst his envoys in Italy were Mendozas, Manriques, Toledos, Vegas and Figueroas. Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, who had long been Charles' minister, died over eighty years of age in 1550, and in our period his son Antoine, Bishop of Arras and afterwards Cardinal, though only thirty in 1547, was already associated with him in the management of affairs. His brother Chantonnay, also, was now and then employed in diplomatic missions. The Emperor himself transacted as much business as he could and, until his health broke down, went into all

questions, political and economic. His sister Mary, Queen Dowager of Hungary and Regent of the Netherlands, usually undertook the English department when the Emperor was ill or campaigning, and always had a vast number of cases of piracy or infringement of the commercial agreements between England and the Netherlands referred to her. The ambassadors in England and France consequently had to send almost as many despatches to her as to the Emperor.

During the three years now under our notice, François Van der Delft remained Imperial ambassador in London. He appears to have been a conscientious, fairly hard-working man, but was ailing, and anxious to be relieved of his post. He had little sympathy with England or the English, and had for Protector Somerset a distaste which eventually grew into hatred. When Warwick began preparing his blow at the Protector, he made use of Van der Delft's animosity, and succeeded in hood-winking him into believing that, the Protector once disposed of, religion would be restored to Henry VIII's settlement. The Lady Mary was not deceived, but credulous Van der Delft continually besieged the Emperor with supplications to be allowed to assure Warwick of Imperial good-will and to join his and the Lady Mary's support to Somerset's enemies. The Emperor absolutely refused his consent, and fortunately for himself, for had Van der Delft got his way, he would have gravely compromised the Lady Mary, besides making her ridiculous in the eyes of the country. When the ambassador discovered how he had been abused, he fell into a sulky mood, which lasted until his recall in circumstances to be illustrated in the next volume. Van der Delft's letters are hardly the less interesting because he did not understand the import of events in England. They admirably show what the Council wished him to write to his master, and his own comments are by no means devoid of humour. He believed not at all in the integrity of the English reformers or their supporters; and indeed the material profits realised out of the change by the new nobility and official class were large enough to make his view defensible. His orderly mind was revolted by the plunder and corruption of which he was

an unwilling witness, and the tactful Paget seems to have been the one man in England for whom he had any regard.

Jean de St. Mauris, uncle of the Bishop of Arras, was ambassador in France until April, 1549, when he was given an important post in the Netherlands, and replaced at Paris by Simon Renard. St. Mauris had plenty of spies to keep him well informed of everything that went on in the French court and the army, for among them were several Italian officers in the French service. The Italians were always ready to desert to the Emperor, and on one occasion offered to hand over the fortifications of Lyons to him; but the Emperor preferred to keep them where they were as informants. All this secret-service work must have been expensive, and St. Mauris received his pay even less regularly than other ambassadors; at any rate he complains continually of lack of funds, and about two years' salary was owing to him at one time. He was an accomplished diplomatist, quite free from personal prejudice in his judgment of affairs, and clearer-headed than Van der Delft. His successor, Simon Renard, was one of the most brilliant among many able men who served Charles. His despatches make delightful reading in the originals; he was as well informed as St. Mauris, and possessed of a quicker mind. In writing to his master his tone approaches levity at times, though none of the Emperor's French-speaking ambassadors ever ventured to address him with the easy, though respectful familiarity indulged in by the Mendozas and other of his Spanish servants. Sceptical, caustic and witty as few ambassadors before or since were Don Juan and Don Diego de Mendoza; perhaps the more amusing of the two was Don Juan, and I greatly regret that I am quite unable to render his flavour in a faithful translation, or print more of his letters. His thrust at the English ambassador at Venice, whom he reports to have been unwilling to own up to some questionable transaction "but only because he objects to Confession" may be take as typical.

Such were the men whose letters fill the present volume. In the following introductory pages I shall try to give some account of the successive shapes taken on by the

English question in the eyes of the Emperor and his ministers, rather than a narrative of events from an English point of view; for the documents themselves are chiefly valuable considered in the light of Imperialist hopes and fears.

* * *

The international position at the beginning of 1547 was very briefly as follows. England was at peace with the Empire, and had concluded a treaty with France at Campe on June 7th, 1546, when Francis agreed to continue paying the old pensions due to England, and to leave Boulogne in English hands until eight years should have passed, at the end of which term it was to be surrendered in exchange for a war indemnity of 2,000,000 crowns in gold. Henry VIII, on his side, agreed to the inclusion of the Scots in the peace, on condition that they would observe the treaties of 1543, according to which little Queen Mary was to marry Prince Edward, though she was to be allowed to stay in Scotland until she reached the age of ten. Sixteenth century treaties, however, seldom bound the parties against their immediate interest, and the agreement of Campe would have broken up on the question of Boulogne had it not first been rendered nugatory by a verbal quibble closely resembling that which at one time threatened to wreck the treaty of Crépy. It will be remembered that the Emperor had bound himself not to treat with France without Henry VIII's consent, and the young Bishop of Arras swore that Henry had given this consent verbally at Boulogne in the hearing of Chapuis and others.* Henry afterwards declared in so many words that Arras lied; but he was not strong enough to break with the Emperor, and when an Imperial minister had occasion to speak of the treaty of Crépy, he never omitted to mention that it had been concluded "with the King of England's consent"; an assertion which no one, after Henry VIII's death, ventured to question. As the Emperor was bound not to treat without Henry's consent, so was Henry to obtain the Emperor's. This was freely given as far as France was concerned; but as to the Scots, the English official version, some seven months after the signature

* See *Spanish Calendar*, Vol. VIII. This point is fully illustrated

of the treaty of Campe, was that the English had agreed to include the Scots in the peace because they believed the Admiral of France's statement that the Emperor had agreed verbally to the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty of Crépy. It subsequently turned out that the Emperor had given his consent subject to complete satisfaction and redress, to be made by the Scots, for all their depredations committed on the Emperor's shipping; and, as redress was never forthcoming, the Emperor asserted that his consent was never given. This point nearly led to a duel between Fernando Gonzaga and the French Admiral; but Francis I and Henry II steadily maintained that England and Scotland were at peace, and that France was quite at liberty, nay bound by treaty, to help the Queen of Scots against her rebellious subjects and, incidentally, against the English who were abetting them, without infringing the treaty of 1546, or in any way altering friendly relations between the Kings of England and France. The same friendly relations also allowed constant fighting near Boulogne, in the shape of attempts on the part of the French to destroy the sea-wall, burn the shipping in Boulogne harbour, or surprise the English forts in the Boulonnais. Both the English and the Emperor, on the other hand, asserted that they were at war with the Scots; though the Emperor allowed Scottish ships to trade in his ports in the Low Countries under safe-conduct. It is to be noted that the English treaty with the Emperor afforded great protection to England itself and what was called the "Older Conquest," that is to say Calais and the Terre d'Oye. If the French attacked these, Charles was bound by treaty to declare war on France; and though it is by no means certain that he would have done so, the fact that even when, in August, 1549, war was actually proclaimed between England and France, the French limited themselves as before to operations in Scotland and the Boulonnais, shows that they thought there was a good chance of the Emperor meeting his obligations.

The Emperor was wholly absorbed in German affairs at this time. He had made sure of Duke Maurice, and knew that John Frederick of Saxony's and the Landgrave of Hesse's defeat was only a matter of a few weeks. South

Germany, whose Protestantism was Zwinglian, was already abandoning the Lutheran North, and the cities were not disposed to make sacrifices to help the Princes to absolutism. The Council of Trent was Charles' next care, and he realised that it would occupy his attention for some time to come. The Pope's fresh attack of the French malady, as the Emperor put it to the Nuncio, resulting in the transference of the Council to Bologna, multiplied Charles' difficulties, but did not cause him to abandon his plans. It is therefore clear that nothing could have suited him better than that France and England should be kept busy sparring in the Boulonnais and Scotland, without becoming heated enough to indulge in such hard-hitting as might force the Emperor to join the fray. He tried his best to preserve friendly relations with both sides, though as England was the weaker party, he showed her the greater favour, in order to make the chances more even.

The most important provision of the treaty of Crépy, the last concluded between the Emperor and France, according to which the Duke of Orleans was to marry Charles' eldest daughter, with the Burgundian lands, or one of the King of the Romans' daughters, with Milan, had become inoperative through the Duke's death. Francis I was anxious to come to some new arrangement, but equally desirous of retaining the part of the Duke of Savoy's dominions then occupied by him. To this the Emperor would not consent, and no proposals for the marriage of Francis' daughter Margaret with Prince Philip would he consider, unless it were to be accompanied by the restitution of Piedmont. Relations were consequently strained between France and the Empire, and everybody knew that the Savoyard question could hardly be settled without more bloodshed. In the meantime, Francis did his utmost to make trouble for the Emperor by supporting Protestant rebels in Germany, inciting the Turk to further raids, and encouraging the Pope in his efforts to balk the Council. The Emperor was an old man at forty-seven, overworked and racked by gout, and the age at which it is possible to adopt new ideas had passed him by. Otherwise Paul III's blindness to all except his family's

ambitions might have cost the papacy dear. As it was moments came when the Emperor longed to go to Rome with a Germany united in hatred of the papacy at his back, and tell the Pope what he thought of him, face to face. His Holiness, almost needless to say, feared a Reformation by General Council more than anything else in the world.

January, 1547, finds Van der Delft busied in watching the manœuvres of two foreign missions. Sturmius and Dr. Brun had returned to England after passing through Paris, and were trying to obtain help for the deposed Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, and his Protestant allies, against whom the Emperor and Duke Maurice were already in the field. Van der Delft hears they have had a friendly reception in France, and he is disturbed by confused reports of Fiesco's conspiracy at Genoa, which the French are trying to represent as a disaster to the Imperial cause. "In my opinion," says Van der Delft, "the English will not be very favourable to them (the German envoys) so far as his Majesty the Emperor is concerned, but with respect to our Holy Father the Pope, they may probably agree together to thwart, as far as they can, the Council of Trent."* Had Van der Delft been better posted as to the Emperor's relations with the papacy, he would have known that Paul III was already welcoming the news that North Germany was in an uproar against the Emperor, precisely because the more violent feeling became in that quarter, the less imminent was the danger of a General Council under Imperial influence. The ambassador's second source of anxiety was the French envoy, Captain Paulin, who had long audiences of the King, about which Van der Delft was unable to discover anything definite. On January 25th, however, St. Mauris in Paris had heard from his informant *Trebatius* all about Paulin's errand.† He was to urge the King of England to include the Scots in the peace according to the terms of last year's treaty, and not make isolated acts of piracy a pretext for intervention in their country. If Henry VIII refused to do this,

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* *p.* 5.

Francis I warned him that he must send help to the Scots. Paulin was also to suggest a meeting of French and English commissioners to discuss boundary questions and other points. It seems that Henry VIII, whose health had quite broken down, was cherishing a project that never was likely to come to fruition. He wished to mediate between the Emperor and his rebellious Lutheran vassals, and prepare the way for a coalition of England and a united Empire against France and the papacy. A few days before Henry's death, Van der Delft, at Paget's request, sent his man to the Queen Dowager of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, to ascertain whether the Emperor would be inclined to allow the King of England to arrange some accord with the Protestants. The Queen gave her reply before hearing of Henry's death; and instructed the ambassador to represent to Paget that matters had changed for the better in Germany: the cities were making their submission, and even John Frederick and the Landgrave showed signs of wishing to come to terms; so there was no need of mediation. Henry died on January 28, and his hopes and plans had little influence on the Earl of Hertford, Paget and the men who took up the reins of government when the nine-year-old Edward VI was proclaimed King.

Van der Delft formed opinions on English politics which, in the light of our present knowledge, seem ill-enough founded. Under the old King he had had the benefit of Chapuis' long experience and intimate understanding of England, for Chapuis had resided there as ambassador all through the troubled years of the divorce controversy; but when the change came and Somerset was Protector, Van der Delft found himself faced by a problem which he never succeeded in mastering. He was well aware that things were far from being as they were in the last reign, but never for a moment did he grasp the new position. The fact that he understood no English limited the number of persons from whom he could gather information; indeed he was almost entirely dependent on Paget for such news as he sent to the Emperor. In Paget he placed his trust, taking him to be above all things a devoted servant of the Emperor; and he usually accepted Paget's version of the meaning of current events. When Paget

was away poor Van der Delft might have been in his native Antwerp for all the English news he was able to send to his master. Van der Delft firmly believed that Paget had guided the dying King's hand when he appointed the executors of his will, with Hertford at their head. In short, Van der Delft believed everything Paget told him; and many of his letters are chiefly valuable in that they show what Paget wished Van der Delft to believe. Paget's handling of Van der Delft is a masterpiece; the only compensating disadvantage was that, as the ambassador imagined Paget to be well-nigh omnipotent, he held him personally and directly responsible whenever the Protector's conduct of affairs failed to satisfy the Emperor. To the very last, in the face of attempts to coerce the Lady Mary into compliance with the new legislation on religion, Van der Delft was quite satisfied with Paget's explanations to the effect that it was all the fault of the Protector's wife. It is a curious fact that St. Mauris, Imperial ambassador in Paris, often sends important pieces of information concerning England that Van der Delft missed. On February 10th, Van der Delft gives the Queen Dowager a brief sketch of the situation in England as he sees it.* First of all: "It is, in good truth, most desirable that we should keep Paget in hand, for his authority in this country is great." Then, there are the Protector, the Lord Chancellor (Earl of Southampton), and the Lord Admiral (Earl of Warwick). The Admiral, says Van der Delft, is far more popular, and in higher favour with the nobles, than the Protector, who "is looked down upon by everybody as a dry, sour, opinionated man," and is "much attached to the sects." As part of his duty is to maintain friendly relations with the leading men of the kingdom, Van der Delft remarks with complacency that he has just acted as God-father to Warwick's child. The Protector and Warwick will share the honours, whilst Southampton and Paget "will in reality have the entire management of affairs." Gardiner owes his exclusion from the Council rather to his reactionary attitude towards religion than to his enmity to France, to which some people have attributed it. Paulin,

* *p.* 19.

the French envoy, is in London, but Van der Delft knows nothing of his business, except that Paulin himself asserts that his master will not make war on England. In almost every one of his letters, Van der Delft proclaims himself to be "strongly of opinion that the English will never conclude any treaty with France to the Emperor's prejudice." Neither does he believe that the German Protestants will obtain any assistance. On February 12th he writes that Paget has told him: "have no fear, for no matter what rumour or appearance may be made, you may rest assured that we shall never separate from our friendship to the Emperor."* So, although the ambassador is obliged to report that the French envoys are spending much time with the Council, and that Paget has been seen hastening thither with a great packet of papers under his arm, he says on March 7th that he believes the English are only temporising in order to divert the French King's attention from Boulogne, for it was "certainly not without some good reason that Paget lately reiterated to me those words I have already reported to your Majesty." The Queen Dowager, to whom the ambassadors both in England and France addressed their despatches while the Emperor was in the field, is less certain than Van der Delft. On February 28th, she writes that the French will seize the opportunity of Henry VIII's death and make every effort to recover Boulogne. If they can persuade the English to abandon the town by promising to bring about Edward VI's marriage with the young Queen of Scots they will do so, though they really do not mean to let the marriage take place. The direction to be taken by English policy depends upon what they decide to do with Boulogne. If they give it up, they will almost certainly tend towards a French alliance; if they decide to hold it until the stipulated term expires, they will try to maintain a close alliance with the Emperor. The Queen fears that England may fall a victim to faction during the long minority, and that a divided nobility may give the French their chance.

The news of Henry VIII's death were received in France with general rejoicing. St. Mauris tells† how

* *p.* 33.
† Appendix, *p.* 493.

Mme. d'Etampes ran to Queen Eleanor's (the Emperor's sister's) room and battered the door crying out that France's chief enemy was dead, thereby throwing the august lady into a fit of terror for her brother's welfare. *Olsacius*, St. Mauris' informant, reports that Francis by no means intends to celebrate his old rival's end by falling upon Boulogne, but is thinking of persuading the English to restore it to him in exchange for his proffered offices in getting the Scots to give their young Queen to Edward VI. Perhaps the one man in France who felt a touch of regret for Henry VIII was the old King himself. He foreboded that in death he was not to be divided from him who, now as an ally, more often as an enemy, had played such a part in his life; and Henry's death-bed message, bidding Francis remember that he too was mortal, really seems to have hastened on the closing stages of his illness. During the last few weeks of his reign his ministers were engaged in caressing the English ambassador and envoys, and endeavouring to persuade them that the Emperor would certainly declare war on England for the purpose of putting the Lady Mary on the throne.* All preparations for hostile action in the direction of Boulogne were suspended, and the Imperial ambassador is certain that nothing will be done in that quarter while there is any doubt in French minds as to what course the Emperor is going to pursue. French ingenuity succeeded in keeping distrust of the Emperor stirring in England, while the Pope hit upon a still subtler device for turning Henry's death to good account against Charles. No sooner had the news arrived in Rome, than Paul III began talking about sending a legate to England, and threw out hints of possible action for the extirpation of heresy in that country. On March 11th† the Nuncio tells the Emperor that the Holy Father intends to call on all Christian princes to aid in forcing England back into the fold, and trusts in God that this exploit may win as much honour for the Emperor as his campaign in Germany is doing. The Emperor picked up the Nuncio at this point, and told him that, after the way the Pope had treated him in Germany,

* Appendix, *p.* 495
† *p.* 55.

drawing him into the enterprise only to leave him in the lurch at the most dangerous moment, he would not take up arms at his Holiness' bidding against the King of England, nor, he added, "against the worst man alive." Imperial ministers in Rome had the presence of mind to answer in the same spirit; and Don Diego de Mendoza was never deceived as to the real meaning of the Pope's display of zeal for England's spiritual welfare. On March 18th, however, Van der Delft complains that he is unable to dispel from the minds of the English Councillors a suspicion that the Emperor has an understanding with the Pope. The real understanding, needless to say, was that between Rome and France, in accordance with which the French did their best to frighten England with the bugbear of a sort of crusade under Imperial leadership against her young schismatic King, and neglected no means of strengthening opposition to the Emperor in Germany, whilst the Pope's part of the bargain, which he fulfilled in March, was to engineer the removal of the Council out of the Empire to Bologna.

Complete success of these intrigues, as far as England was concerned, would have meant the abandonment of Boulogne and a close alliance with France. How near all this came to realisation may be judged by St. Mauris' letter of March 25th,* which tells of general satisfaction at the results of Paulin's mission. All the outstanding differences with England, say the French, have been settled, and they will have the money for Boulogne ready by next October, when they will be able to decide whether to use it for that purpose or for another—that is to say, against the Emperor. Paulin, it is said, is going to be sent to Germany with 40,000 crowns for John Frederick, in addition to which 60,000 have already been sent to Lübeck. Warlike preparations are being carried on but the French protest that they are only meant for defence; and *Olsacius* says that the nobility wants to fight, but the King does not. Van der Delft, in the meantime, has been told by the Protector that a new Anglo-French agreement is going to be concluded, but that far from containing anything to the Emperor's detriment, it is more advantageous

* Appendix, *p.* 499.

to him than to the English themselves. As Paget is unsparing of assurances to the same effect, Van der Delft fears nothing worse than that Boulogne may be restored on easier terms than those stipulated at Campe; on April 2nd he writes: "From a trustworthy source I hear that there has been some talk of marrying the King to the daughter of the Dauphin, and the Lady Mary with M. de Vendôme, which for many reasons does not look to me very probable." Van der Delft's forecast might have proved erring, and this harmless agreement by which the English, had, in their own words, "done more for the Emperor with the French than for themselves" become the thin end of a wedge to sever England completely from the Imperial side. But on March 30th Francis I died, and a clean sweep was at once made of Mme. d'Etampes and her faction. Cardinal de Tournon and Admiral Annebault fell from power, and all who had seen adversity while Mme. d'Etampes' reign lasted now looked for, and received, their guerdon. Diane de Poitiers became the most influential person in the kingdom, and Constable Montmorency and the Guises took over the management of affairs. Paulin, who had for months been negotiating the new agreement with England, had been sent back to London a few days before Francis' death, but shortly afterwards he was recalled and, on his arrival in France, deprived of his command of the galleys in Peter Strozzi's favour. We next hear of him in the Bastille where, as St. Mauris puts it, he had leisure to lament the many crimes he had committed against the Emperor. In the latter part of May M. de Vielleville was sent to England, Van der Delft supposed for the further ratification of what Paulin had negotiated. It soon became clear, however, that though the new King of France professed himself willing to continue treating on the lines pursued in the last weeks of his father's reign, he had in reality decided upon another course. On June 6th St. Mauris writes that Henry has not confirmed the last treaty with England or paid the six months' instalment of the pension that fell due in May*; and on the 17th the Protector tells Van der Delft that the French refused to ratify

* Appendix, *p.* 504.

Paulin's arrangement, but would ratify the treaty of Campe if the English would fulfil their part of it, admit the Scots into the peace, and cease fortifying Boulogne. The Protector and the English ambassador in Paris repeated the argument, already set forth, about the impossibility of including the Scots without the Emperor's consent, and affirmed that they knew of no fresh fortifications at Boulogne. St. Mauris and other observers saw that the English were anxious to come to an agreement with France at this juncture; but France was no longer in an accommodating mood. The deaths of Henry VIII and Francis I opened a period of hostility between the two countries that lasted for three years.

The Emperor's great victory over the Protestants at Mühlberg, on April 24th, 1547, served further to recommend to Henry II a departure from his father's policy, to which other considerations also were leading him. Francis had spent his last days in trying to make friends with England, with the immediate end of falling upon the Emperor while entangled in Germany. The advantage he hoped to secure seems to have been to force the Emperor to agree to another solemn treaty after the model of Crépy, vouched for by a royal marriage, by which Savoy should remain French, and Milan, or perhaps part of the Burgundian possessions, become French or come under French influence. Scotland, in this scheme, would have been left to look after herself for the time being. The Emperor's embarrassments seemed to offer far too good an opportunity to be missed for widening France's frontiers in Central Europe. With Henry II, however, the Guise influence soon became most powerful, and as Mary of Guise was Queen-Dowager of Scotland, and her one child Queen, the Guises cared for nothing else while Scotland was threatened with annexation by England. After Mühlberg, moreover, the Emperor's position was no longer as interesting, from a French point of view, as it had been a few weeks before. There was no more open opposition against him in Germany, and for a time, at least, an attack was not to be thought of. Scotland, therefore, and in the second place Boulogne, were now occupying the attention of France. England was to be

frightened or driven out of both as soon as peace with the Empire could be assured. Henry liked a forward policy; he always found it paid well to bluster and shout loudest; and his keen desire not to break with the Emperor until Boulogne and Scotland were quietly his, did not prevent him from making as much trouble for Charles as he could without infuriating him to a point where he might drop his Council and all to turn and rend France. Played with coolness and skill this game of setting on North Germans, Switzers, Pope and Turks against Charles—French alliance "with Saracens, Moors, infidels and Protestants" as St. Mauris said—was indeed most profitable; for however angry the Emperor grew, he could ill afford to fight while his hands were full in Germany and Italy.

The battle of Mühlberg pleased the English no better than it did the French. Besides the fact that their sympathies were with the Protestants, the young King's mentors sincerely believed in the danger of Imperial intervention in the Lady Mary's favour, which might bring with it such an event as the restoration to the Orders of the abbey lands, of which they all enjoyed a share. More than ever anxious to treat, therefore, they welcomed M. de Vielleville in May. The Protector and Council hoped for a ratification of Paulin's negotiation, and were sorely disappointed to find Paulin disavowed. M. de Vielleville's errand was to tell them that they must "include the Scots in the peace," and stop fortifying Boulogne. To have agreed to the first proposal would have been to abandon the project that had been uppermost in Henry VIII's mind during the last years of his life, had been adopted warmly by the Protector, and was popular in the country. Moreover, the terms in which it was made showed that the new French King intended to fight in Scotland. In fact Paniter, Scottish ambassador in France, was already being caressed more than any other ambassador, and told to encourage his mistress and her advisers to hold out and refuse to negotiate with the English. In June, Van der Delft reports the sending of more English ships to Scotland, and while the French were doing their best to prevent the English from treating, they made overtures to the Regent of the Netherlands

to induce her to come to terms with the Scots, in order to insure their allies against Imperial help for England. The Regent refused as flatly to treat with the Scots without the English as the English had refused to treat with them without the Emperor, and this attitude was further insisted upon and justified by frequent complaints of depredations committed by Scots pirates, who were afterwards sheltered with their booty in France, where restitution was never made. French policy was now one of mystification and apparently contradictory headstrong action, the object of which was to cajole the Emperor with talk of peace and a better understanding, to keep him quiet while Scotland was being secured, and, at the same time, to stir up difficulties for him in all parts of the world. On July 20th, 1547, St. Mauris reports* that more French galleys have gone to Scotland, and that it is being said openly that they are intended to carry Mary of Guise and her daughter back to France, for fear the English may obtain possession of the young Queen's person. At the same time St. Mauris has a conversation with the Constable, in the course of which Montmorency assures the ambassador that preparations for war in France need not alarm the Emperor, as they are only aimed against the English, who are breaking the last treaty by their course of action in Scotland and the Boulonnais. The King of France, says Montmorency, desires to live on the best of terms with his Imperial Majesty. It was ill-done on the late King's part to send money to aid rebellious German Protestants, and the present King is afraid the Emperor may be angry with him for it, but sons, urges the Constable, ought not to be made to answer for their fathers' sins. On July 27th St. Mauris writes that Brissac is to be sent to make overtures to the Emperor, and on Aug. 15th, that the Emperor's sister Eleanor, Queen Dowager of France, is receiving the kindest and most dutiful treatment from her step-son. Strange as it may seem, at this very time the French ambassador at Venice was doing his utmost to persuade the Seigniory to join a league, with France and the Pope, against the Emperor, into which Pier Luigi Farnese of Piacenza and

* Appendix, *p.* 509.

the Duke of Ferrara would enter. On July 19th, Don Juan de Mendoza writes with great glee that he has dissuaded the Seigniory from doing so.* Much as the French would have liked to try to draw England into anti-Imperial intrigue, they were unable to accomplish this and at the same time strain every nerve to turn them out of Scotland. The taking of St. Andrews castle, which had been in English hands since Cardinal Beaton's murder over a year before, stung the English into hurrying on their great expedition, and the ambassador in Paris voiced bitter complaints, which were met by calm assurances to the effect that the occurrence had nothing to do with England, as the French had only acted against undutiful subjects of their ally, the Queen of Scots. Unable to tempt England themselves, the French got Pier Luigi Farnese to do so. On August 25th, the Protector told Van der Delft that he had received a letter in which Pier Luigi proffered his help against France, and good offices with the Pope, if England would enter into an agreement with him. The object of this can have been none other than to sow discord between England and the Emperor, for in reality Pier Luigi was not in favour with the Pope but hand in glove with the French, to whom he was probably prepared to hand over Piacenza, making greater concessions than could please the Holy Father.† Pier Luigi's murder, however, the arrangements for which had been reported to the Emperor by Fernando Gonzaga on July 23rd, put a stop to his machinations, taking place, by a curious coincidence, on September 10, the day of Pinkie. The news of both events arrived in Paris at about the same time, and greatly depressed the French.

Elation in London was high. Van der Delft writes on September 22nd to say that Paget has come to tell him that the Protector now finds himself in a position to tfeat with the Scots, though of course he will not do so without the Emperor's consent. Will the ambassador ascertain his Imperial Majesty's wishes and intentions as soon as possible? For the English are anxious to take advantage of their victory before the French have time to send more

* Appendix, *p.* 507.
† Appendix, *p.* 516.

forces to strengthen further resistance in Scotland. The Regent of the Netherlands was less sanguine than Van der Delft about the Protector's ability to treat at once. She replied* that the Emperor would certainly not object to a favourable arrangement, always provided that the Scots would make ample reparation for all the damage inflicted on the Emperor's shipping. His Majesty had remained at war with Scotland solely for England's sake, and this was the very least he could accept. Van der Delft, who as usual believed Paget's assurance that the Emperor's consent was all the English were waiting for to pass a most advantageous treaty, was much exercised by the question throughout October and November. On November 15th, the Emperor sent his consent to the negotiations on the aforesaid condition; but the Regent of the Netherlands was right in believing the matter to be more difficult than Paget had made it out. St. Mauris informs the Emperor's Council on November 26th† that the French are instructing Paniter to bid Arran and the Queen Mother to be of good cheer, for ships are being fitted out at Brest, and France will not desert them, come what may. At the same time the English ambassador proclaims that his government will make no terms with Scotland that do not provide for the little Queen's marriage with Edward VI. It seems that the crushing defeat of Pinkie was unexpected in France; doubtless the Guises had represented the Scottish enterprise as easier than it really was, and perhaps the Protector's earnestness of purpose had been under-estimated. After the battle, however, there could be no more uncertainty. England meant to hold Scotland, and France would have to fight hard and spend vast sums of money to clear the Lowlands of the invaders. Matters scarcely looked more promising in the Boulonnais, and an international commission had sat in September without achieving anything. Hostile feeling was running high, ships were being arrested, property embargoed on both sides. In October, M. des Cordes was sent to England to negotiate the release of embargoed goods, and to make proposals for peace in Scotland.

* *p.* 165.
† Appendix, *p.* 526.

Naturally enough after their experience with Paulin, the English refused to have anything to do with M. des Cordes unless he would produce his credentials. His mission was successful as far as the embargoes went, and the English Government seems to have consented to send commissioners again to discuss matters of dispute, and try to pave the way for a general understanding. Whenever either side wished to wait on events for a little, a commission was proposed, and it is unlikely that either French or English imagined it could accomplish anything on this occasion.

The autumn of 1547 was a dark season for France. News from Germany told how the Emperor was busy with the Diet at Augsburg, negotiating a new Swabian league in which all Germany should combine to play the Habsburg's dynastic game. The French were seriously alarmed, and Paget displayed the greatest anxiety to get England included in the league. Both countries realised that the Emperor would be a very terrible power if he succeeded in passing it, and France began urging the Venetians to join with herself, the Pope, and four Protestant Swiss cantons, that were as interested as France in preventing the Duke of Savoy from recovering his dominions. France certainly did not want a European war, and her efforts to unite opposition to the Emperor and set loose the Turk against him were aimed quite as much at keeping the Imperial Majesty too busy elsewhere to attack her, as at strengthening her own position against possible attack. The Pope, seeing danger on every side, granted the Emperor a Bull for 400,000 ducats from half-fruits and fabrics of churches in Spain which he had long refused, and sent to France imploring the King not to desert him, swearing that he would keep the Council at Bologna come what might; though not long before he had sworn "with such oaths that it was most painful to hear him" that the Council had removed to Bologna of its own accord, without his knowledge, and that he could do nothing. The Emperor's failure to pass his league dispelled France's gravest fears; but even so her enemy was powerful in Germany, and she could not afford to declare war openly on England until she knew more about the Emperor's

plans. At this juncture doubts not unnaturally arose in French minds as to the wisdom of attempting to win both Scotland and Boulogne at once by force of arms. Pinkie had been a rude shock; in Paris it was judged necessary to prevent the extent of the disaster from reaching the ears of any but those who managed affairs. In October the King made a journey to Picardy, and rode to a point whence he could view the defences of Boulogne. When Henry saw how strong and well devised they were, tears fell from his eyes, and he declared that such a place could never be taken, and it would be easier to seize a town of equal importance in England, against which Boulogne might be exchanged.* In this chastened mood the French bethought them of a proposal that had been discussed in the old King's day, but had at first found no favour with his impetuous son. On December 15th, St. Mauris heard from *Olsacius* that the Constable had sent an unofficial envoy to England to tell Paget and the Protector that there would be no objection on the French side to the marriage of the young Queen of Scots with Edward VI, if the English would hand over Boulogne without more talk of the 2,000,000 crowns. As the man had no credentials, the Protector sent him back with a present.† A few days later he returned to England; but on December 27th, St. Mauris reported that the Protector had refused to discuss the proposal.‡ Doubtless the French never intended to keep their promise regarding the Scots marriage, and merely hoped to be enabled to face the two great difficulties, Boulogne and Scotland, one by one instead of having to cope with them together. The Protector was right to answer as he did, quite apart from the fact that the temper of the English was high for winning Scotland and keeping Boulogne, and composition with the French would have been very unpopular. At the close of the year Somerset seems still to be sanguine about the success of his persuasive policy in Scotland; he tells Van der Delft§ that hundreds

* Appendix, *pp.* 524, 525,

† *p.* 236.

‡ A paragraph to this effect exists in a letter from St. Mauris to the Queen Dowager of Dec. 27th, 1547 (Vienna Imp. Arch. F 25). The letter has not been printed as it repeats news given elsewhere and chiefly concerning France.

§ *p.* 238.

of Scotsmen are coming in every day to offer their services to the King of England, and that Arran has been obliged to abandon the siege of Broughty Craig. But M. de la Chapelle was going to Scotland with a brave company of captains and gentlemen, a great expedition was already being fitted out in French ports, and Henry II, though he had failed to cajole the English out of Boulogne, was determined not to leave them in undisturbed possession.

In February, 1548, St. Mauris wrote that Henry II would abandon the Scottish enterprise altogether if the Emperor were to declare war on him.* The great expedition being made ready to sail in the spring was to be sent in the name of the Pope and the Guises, to lessen the risk of England's forcing the pace and carrying hostilities beyond the limits permitted by "friendly relations." In a large measure Scotland's fate at this moment seemed to be in the Emperor's hands, and the Emperor seized the opportunity of showing he was not to be trifled with, by executing a certain Vogelsberg (or Vogelsberger†) and other Germany mercenary captains who had taken service with France. He knew he was safe enough in doing so; but the news stung the French into a frenzy, and popular feeling went so high in Paris that all classes talked of lynching the Imperial ambassador by way of reprisal. The King, however, could not choose but swallow the affront. The Pope had refused to send his prelates back to Trent, it is true, but had not dared to do so in a manner that shut out all possibility of negotiation; and he was so much alarmed by the outlook in Germany as to instruct his legate to assure the Emperor that no treaty had been passed between him and France. At the same time Henry II was sending to his Holiness to urge him to deny the existence of any understanding between them,‡ and the danger that the French expedition to Scotland might run, if forced by storms into ports of the Netherlands, made him doubly anxious to propitiate Charles. Early in April, the Queen Dowager of Hungary

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* Appendix, *p.* 549.

† The second form has often been adopted by historians; but the Emperor's letter to the Queen Dowager of Hungary, and other contemporary documents plainly give the name as Vogelsberg.

‡ Appendix, *p.* 551.

stopped in Lorraine by the Emperor's orders and held a conference with M. de Guise on the best means of improving relations between France and the Empire. Very little was said beyond a suggestion that envoys should be sent to the Emperor; but it is clear from Charles' letter to his sister that he wanted large concessions or would not treat at all, and that he had no intention of making terms with Scotland except with England's consent. Indeed he suspected Guise of some plan to estrange him from England, and warned the Queen to beware. However anxious Henry may have been to keep the peace between himself and Charles, he had no intention of making sacrifices, and he probably hoped nothing better of Guise's meeting with the Queen, than that it might tide over the critical time when his great expedition was being manned, and piloted through the Channel past fear of Imperial interference. In the meantime French and English commissioners were supposed to be about to meet to settle points of difference in the Boulonnais, in accordance with the decision arrived at when des Cordes went to London in October of the preceding year. St. Mauris observed little alacrity on the part of the English commissioners, and, late in April, succeeded in eliciting from the English ambassador an admission, that one of them was shamming illness, and that the meeting would probably not take place at all because of the course adopted by France in Scotland.

As the Protector and Council became more and more convinced that France meant to fight in grim earnest in Scotland and watch for an opportunity for surprising Boulogne, they began to evince a desire for a closer alliance with the Emperor. They could hardly hope to bring the Scottish campaign to a successful issue, now that a large French force was being sent, unless the Emperor allowed them to raise mercenaries in his dominions; but on August 3rd, Charles told Van der Delft* that he had been obliged to refuse the English ambassador leave to levy 2,000 Germans, to be employed under Courtpennick (Conrad Pennick). On May 25th, Van der Delft reports that the Protector has broached the subject of bringing the French to reason

* *p.* 279.

by joint action, and let fall a hint about "marriageable ladies on both sides of the sea."* Van der Delft replies that he does not see how the already existing friendship could be made closer, and of course his Majesty had treaty obligations with the French, which he would never break. The Protector remarks that, if England cared at any moment to come to an agreement with France about Boulogne, she would be given a free hand in Scotland. Charles was well aware, however, that the Protector could ill afford to give up Boulogne before the end of the eight years stipulated, and he did not care to sell his aid cheap to England; for as long as that country and France could be kept at daggers drawn, he was free to busy himself with forcing his *Interim* on an unwilling Germany. Throughout the summer he refused the requested leave to raise troops in Cleves and Juliers, until in August the Protector flew into a passion and cried out to Van der Delft that he saw he must settle his affairs and live in peace with everybody; by which he meant handing over Boulogne to the French. Charles would have been greatly embarrassed at this time by having to deal with the new situation resulting from peace between France and England; his hands were quite full with German affairs as it was, and a France free to interfere in the Empire might have meant the ruin of all his schemes, so in September he allowed the 2,000 men to be raised. Henry, having succeeded in landing his great expedition in Scotland (June) and in carrying the little Queen over the seas to France (August), was now much less afraid of the Emperor than he had been in the spring.[a] Far from protesting that no league existed between himself and the Pope, far from using the Guise's name to mask his intervention in Scotland, he was now on the frontiers of Savoy, making no secret of his negotiations with Legate Dandino, and proclaiming himself to be King of Scotland by virtue of an oath of fidelity to his son sworn by the Scots, who had also handed over the crown of the country to his procurator. The French were vigorously besieging Haddington, though quarrels between them and their Scottish confederates did not fail to enliven matters. Henry's position

* *p.* 269.

was less insecure in the autumn of 1548 than it had been in the spring, but a new source of anxiety sprang up in the great salt-works rebellion in Guienne, provoked by the heavy taxation of the past year and a half ; and St. Mauris observed a good deal of impatience in France over the slow progress of the Scottish campaign. There seems also to have been some anxiety that England might send help to the Guienne rebels, who were proclaiming that they wished to be treated as they had been under English rule. Arras wrote to Van der Delft to try to put this idea into the Protector's head, though without advocating it openly enough to enable the English to make capital out of it with the French.* But Van der Delft was far more occupied with going to Flanders on leave than with matters of State, and left London in September, not to return for three months. Unrest at home and the large stake he had risked in Scotland made Henry anxious to find out exactly how much chance there was of interference on the Emperor's part, and the French embassy that went, under Brissac, Biron and Ménage, to Charles' court in October was somewhat in the nature of a reconnoitering excursion, for Henry must have known that Charles would not treat unless the Duke of Savoy's lands were to be returned to him. The envoys came away with the conviction that the Emperor was not to be cajoled out of his refusal to admit the Scots to enjoyment of the Treaty of Crépy's benefits. Blandishments and proposals for united Catholic action against heresy in Germany were of no avail, and Henry was left in a state of disagreeable uncertainty as to what Charles might or might not do.

As long as there was any hope of obtaining possession of Mary Queen of Scots' person, the Protector had done his best to make England popular across the border, and gave non-observance of the treaty of 1543 as the ground for intervention. With Mary in France and betrothed to the Dauphin, however, this policy could no longer be followed, and in October the English ambassador in Paris was setting forth before Henry England's claim to the suzerainty of Scotland,† demanding therefore that French

* Appendix, *p.* 578.

aid should be withdrawn. Henry, unwilling to venture on a dispute which might have had grave consequences, did not reply with an assertion of his own right to the Scottish crown, but said he would leave the Scots to argue out their allegiance among themselves, though he remained bound by ancient treaties to give them the help they asked for. St. Mauris was of opinion that no compromise between France and England was yet in sight. The English ambassador had told him that the Protector and Council were determined not to stand as much from the French as they had in the past, and daily quarrels over seizures of shipping and skirmishes in the Boulonnais maintained a possibility of open and declared war at any moment. The French were thoroughly dissatisfied with the small success that had so far attended their arms in Scotland, and had made up their minds to make a still greater effort next season, if only they could make sure that the Emperor would remain neutral. The Emperor, however, continued to refuse to show his hand, and Ambassador Marillac could elicit nothing from him but the oft-repeated refutation of the French assertion that the Scots ought to benefit by the Treaty of Crépy. Anxiety in France was not allayed by news that Charles was allowing the English to levy troops in Cleves and Juliers, or by comparative success in imposing the *Interim* in Germany. The Pope had refused his consent to French proposals because Henry insisted on occupying Parma, in exchange for which he offered compensation in France to Orazio Farnese; the Protestant Switzers were driving a hard bargain, insisting on better treatment for their evangelistic brethren, who, being subjects of Henry, came in for none of the friendly encouragement that prince was always ready to lavish on heretics in other lands than his own. St. Mauris believed, on the authority of the Venetian ambassador in Paris, a great friend of Wotton, that the Protector had put forth the claim of suzerainty over Scotland with the hope of securing a cessation of hostilities in that country, pending the discussion of rival claims, before the French should send another great expedition costly enough to make withdrawal impossible. Though Henry and his ministers were perplexed and disturbed

by the change in English policy,* they were yet unwilling to depart from theirs, and in January, 1549, it was decided to send another large force.

Such was the position when Van der Delft set out from Brussels to resume his labours in London. At Calais, where he was detained for days by heavy weather, he heard strange news, and on January 27th he reported to the Emperor that Thomas, Baron Seymour of Sudeley, Lord High Admiral of England, and brother of the Protector, had broken into the King's apartments by night with the intention of killing him. The alarm was given by a watch-dog, which was found dead when the guard arrived, and suspicion fastened upon the Admiral because he had dispersed the guard on various errands. He had been seized and taken to the Tower, and several persons about the court, as well as the Lady Elizabeth, were said to be implicated in his plot. After Van der Delft had been in London several days he still stuck to the same account of this occurrence, dead watch-dog and all, though he makes no further mention of the Lady Elizabeth's complicity. An opening such as that offered by the Admiral's plot was indeed welcome to Henry II. He seems to have known about it at St. Germain sooner than Van der Delft at Calais, for on January 31st St. Mauris says the King "was lately informed by a special messenger from his ambassador in England that the Protector's brother had planned to marry the late King's second daughter and kill the King, the Lady Mary and the Protector, to ensure a more peaceful, or rather more despotic reign." And at Simancas (E. 506) there is a document purporting to be a translation of Henry's instructions to M. d'Aboys to proceed to England and seek to unite and encourage the Admiral's faction with promise of help from France. According to this document M. de Selves, French ambassador in England, had written to his master on January 19th that not the Admiral only, but "many other great lords," had been imprisoned. Henry doubtless thought the Admiral had sympathy and numerous supporters in the country of whom he might easily make use; but his hopes on that score were

* *p.* 331.

deceived. The Admiral may have given M. de Selves an exaggerated notion of his influence. At any rate, the utter collapse of the Admiral's plans and the general indifference to his fate shown in England sorely disappointed the French ; and St. Mauris was inclined to believe that there had been some agreement between the Admiral and Henry, by which, had the plot succeeded, Boulogne would have been given up and a close alliance concluded between France and England.* As France wished the Admiral well, the Emperor could not fail to be hostile to him. Just before Van der Delft's departure from Brussels, however, the English had happened to exercise the right of search, in accordance with their custom, on some sixty ships belonging to the Emperor's subjects, detaining them for a day and a half while they satisfied themselves that no French goods were on board. The Emperor, aware that in the next session of Parliament the First Act of Uniformity was to be passed, and fearing that his cousin, the Lady Mary, might be pressed to abandon the mass and submit to the new regulations, had instructed Van der Delft to inform the Protector and Council that he would tolerate no attempt to disturb her in the discharge of her accustomed religious duties. The arrest of shipping furnished Charles with a convenient grievance, and on January 25th he summoned the English ambassador and gave him a thorough scolding, threatening to come to Edward VI's assistance in such a manner that the Protector might find himself in sore need of help, and at his wit's end where to look for it. With this Charles laid an embargo on the property of English merchants in Flanders. His object in making such a commotion was merely to render the English Council anxious to appease him by refraining from disturbing the Lady Mary on account of religion ; but when he heard of the Admiral's plot, his long experience of affairs told him that his enemies would not fail to interpret the embargo as a proof of his complicity in it, and he wrote to Van der Delft on January 30th, warning him to dispel any such rumours. On February 11th, Van der Delft had a long talk with Paget, Southampton, the Privy Seal and Secretary Petre, in which it came

* *p.* 347.

out that the Venetian ambassador in Paris had written to the Venetian ambassador in London that the Emperor had abetted the Admiral. Paget and his colleagues did not take the story seriously, and laughingly said that if they believed all they heard about the Emperor they would be kept busy. A few days before, Paget had complained very bitterly about the embargo in Flanders, and so knowingly played upon Van der Delft with his assertions that England would have to make peace all round that Van der Delft wrote to the Emperor advising him to raise the embargoes, both in Flanders and Spain, at once, for the English had been more reasonable in Renegat's and other affairs than could have been expected. Speaking of the Admiral's case, Paget said that as sure as he hoped to reach his house that day, the Admiral had intended to kill the King and the Lady Mary Mary, and marry the Lady Elizabeth, adding that he was "a great rascal," a partner with pirates, and a man of more cupidity than understanding. The Emperor doubtless thought the occasion inopportune to use further rigour with the English, and raised the embargo, whilst the English, on their side, agreed to pay damages for all harm done to his Majesty's shipping.

Van der Delft found himself, in the spring of 1549, busied with more important work than at any time in the two preceding years, during which merchants' and private individuals' claims, and the maintenance of the wool-staple at Calais, had occupied his activities. His letters for 1547 and 1548 contain scanty information touching the changes that were taking place in religion, for he knew little of England, hated religious controversy, and regarded reformers as seekers after the flesh and riotous living. He could not avoid hearing evidence of the country's hostility to Roman Catholicism, but his meagre conception of its spiritual condition is expressed in such phrases as "the common people are totally infected," "religious affairs are going from bad to worse." The ferment that followed the repeal of the Six Articles and Henry's Treason Acts went on under Van der Delft's nose without exciting the slightest interest in him. Moreover, nothing positive had been enacted by Parliament until the First Act of

Uniformity became law, and the ambassador was able to ignore complicated disputes that had no attraction for a mind wholly innocent of intellectual curiosity. The Emperor knew, for Chapuys had told him so plainly,* that he was powerless to stay the course of the Reformation in England, and he directed his ambassador to do no more than express a pious wish to see things reduced to the condition in which Henry VIII had left them. He was not strong enough on the continent to be able to make his alliance with England conditional on forbearance from innovation. One thing, however, Charles was determined not to put up with, and that was interference with his cousin, the Lady Mary. She had been allowed to do exactly as she pleased hitherto, but so had everybody; and as the First Act of Uniformity was intended precisely to put an end to the chaos of sects and conflicting observances resulting from this general licence, it was to be apprehended that efforts would be made to induce her to conform. Charles instructed Van der Delft to inform the Council that he would not tolerate pressure in her direction, and sent her letters, Mary's reply to which, dated April 3rd, shows that she was far from tranquil.† She feared that the Council would try to force her, and assured the Emperor that she would rather die than abandon her faith, imploring him to protect her in its observance. Van der Delft also found that matters in Scotland were not wearing the same face as when he left on leave in the autumn. Haddington was holding out, and dissension rife between Scots and French, but the odds were so unfavourable to the English that in London Haddington was already said to be untenable, and Warwick, who was to have gone to take charge of the English forces in Scotland, was unwilling to risk his popularity on so uncertain a venture. The French were redoubling their activity against the English forts in the Boulonnais, attempts to surprise one or another of which took place at short intervals, and more troops were being marched into Picardy from other provinces. It is true that the French were no better pleased with results in Scotland

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* See *Spanish Calendar*, Vol. VIII, *p.* 558.
† *p.* 360.

than were the English. The common people said that the barren soil of that country would be fertilised with Frenchmen's bones,* and the soldiers had to be forced to embark. The Scots had refused an extra aid in money demanded by the French, leaders on both sides spent their time in exchanging recriminations, soldiers and townsfolk fought and murdered without cease. This miserable state of things did not prevent great companies of Scots gentlemen from flocking to Paris and demanding pensions, which Henry was obliged to pay for fear of turning the solicitors into pensioners of England. The anti-Guise party was grumbling, the King, alarmed at the huge and unforeseen expenses imposed by the Scottish policy, reduced the state of the little Queen, and is said to have contemplated peace with England, so disgusted was he by the way events had taken. St. Mauris believed that in April he would have been only too glad to accept a truce, each side to keep what it had. If expense in men and money was to go on at the rate of the last year, Henry would soon be in so inferior a position in Europe as to run the risk of attack from the Emperor. The Pope was still afraid or unwilling to come to terms with him about Parma, the Rhinegrave's efforts to stir up trouble in Hamburg and Bremen were not as successful as had been hoped, the Turk's reluctance to invade Hungary was such that Henry was fain to send a special mission under Leone Strozzi to encourage him, and the league with the Switzers, of which Henry hoped great things, was still unsettled. Late in May the French King's tone was very different from what it had been just a year before; Henry nearly apologised to an English envoy for Châtillon's attack on a fort in the Boulonnais, and Simon Renard, who had succeeded St. Mauris as Imperial ambassador in Paris, reported that the King would very much like a three years' truce, whilst the Constable was warning the English ambassador that no one could gain anything by their protracted hostilities but the Emperor, who would like nothing better than to attack them both when thoroughly exhausted.†

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* *p.* 334.
† *p.* 377.

Protector Somerset, however, was not for truces or suspensions of hostilities, and signs of reasonableness on the part of the French served rather to encourage him to push on to a final issue in Scotland. This could only be done if the Emperor allowed levies of troops in his dominions, which, indeed, he was quite prepared to do although he made a great favour of it on each occasion. But far better than leave to employ Germans would be, from the Protector's point of view, a closer alliance with Charles in which England and the Empire should combine to make France hear reason. On March 30th Van der Delft and Somerset met, and the subject was raised. Van der Delft said that the Emperor was full of the warmest feelings of regard for England, but failed to see how the present friendship might be increased. He, Van der Delft, while in Flanders, had mentioned the matter to his Majesty, in accordance with the Protector's wishes, but had felt embarrassed by being unable to make any actual proposals to justify such a step. Somerset replied with much talk about assuring all the Emperor's conquests against France, and compelling France to give up the land she had occupied, but nothing definite was said. A couple of days later he made suggestions for a closer alliance, which seemed important enough to induce Van der Delft to send his secretary with them over to the Emperor. What these suggestions were comes out in Charles' letter of May 10th to Van der Delft, in which the Emperor answers each point in full. The principal defect in the alliance which Somerset desired to remedy was that, though the Emperor was bound to declare war on France if she invaded England or the "Older Conquest" (Calais and the Terre d'Oye), Boulogne had fallen into English hands after the treaty had been concluded, and consequently did not come under its provisions, which also, of course, ignored the English claims to Scotland. The Protector's object, therefore, was to obtain the Emperor's consent to the inclusion of conquests made by both parties since the passing of the last treaty, which would have meant immediate war between Charles and the King of France. The Emperor replied that he could not give his consent without violating his treaty with France, but that he intended strictly to observe

the existing agreement, and would be glad to modify it in any way desired by the English were he at liberty to do so, adding that all Christendom was dismayed by religious innovations in England, and that he himself would be freer to meet the English if they were willing to maintain matters as the late King had left them until the conclusion of the General Council. The next heading was a proposal to marry the Lady Mary to Don Luis of Portugal. This match had been discussed twelve years before, and had fallen through because Henry VIII insisted on Don Luis' acceptance of all the statutes relative to Katherine of Aragon, though it is not unlikely that that difficulty might have been solved had the parties been agreed on the amount of marriage settlements. At the present juncture it is quite possible that the Protector expected no more from the proposal than that it might make Charles readier to agree to the proffered closer alliance. The Emperor replied that he was sure Don Luis would not enter into negotiations unless his conscience were set at rest on the religious question, and that, in the meantime, if the English were in earnest, they had better say plainly how much they were prepared to give the Lady Mary. Van der Delft's messenger also reported that Paget was anxious to come over to Flanders to have some obscure points of the treaty cleared up, but the Emperor, suspecting that the English might intend to make use of this mission to frighten the French, instructed the ambassador to try to prevent it unless he felt confident of its bearing good fruit. In conclusion, Van der Delft was to press for a written assurance from the Protector that Mary should never be troubled with the object of making her conform, in the discharge of her religious duties, with any Act of Parliament, past, present or future. Van der Delft himself was to go on having mass said publicly as long as he was able to do so without courting a violent rupture with the English government.

On May 28th Van der Delft informed his master of an interview with the Protector, in which he communicated to Somerset the Emperor's answers to his proposals. Somerset's ardour for a closer alliance was not cooled by them; he told Van der Delft that he would soon talk

to him at length on the subject. As for the written assurance for the Lady Mary, he declared himself unable to give it. The Emperor, he said, would surely have another opinion of recent legislation on religion when he was possessed of all the facts. He himself was a devoted servant of the Lady Mary, and would always remain so, and though he could not defy an Act of Parliament by giving her a written exemption, he would not inquire into her actions. He hoped that, as she was a lady of great prudence, she would eventually conform of her own accord. Van der Delft retorted that, even if she were inclined to abandon the old religion, the Emperor would leave nothing undone to prevent her, and once more expressed his astonishment at the refusal to grant her a written assurance. It is quite clear from the correspondence printed in this volume that Somerset never gave the desired writing, and also that Mary had to put up with serious interference on this ground.* Coming to the proposal for a marriage between Mary and Don Luis of Portugal, the Protector said that, if Don Luis would not consent unless a stop were put to innovations in religion, he had nothing more to say, and dismissed the subject with the words: "Our maid must practice patience." Van der Delft told the Emperor that in his opinion Somerset was indifferent about the match, which would nonetheless be a good thing for the unfortunate lady, who was unhappy at having to remain in England. He ends his letter with the report of news, current in London, of a rising in the West Country, where the peasants were breaking down enclosures, and in Norfolk, where a good 5,000 were said to be under arms, though without committing any outrage.

On June 1st the Protector summoned Van der Delft, and told him that he had thought over what they had said at their last meeting. Both he and the Council were whole-heartedly devoted to the Emperor, and not merely meant to observe the existing treaty, but hoped to revise it in a way most favourable to his Majesty's interest, for which purpose they had decided to send over a person pleasing in his Majesty's sight, Controller Paget, to expose

* *pp.* 393, 397, 406.

to him their plans for corroborating the existing amity. Van der Delft, knowing that the Emperor did not want to see Paget, said he trusted the envoy would be given such power that a good result might be obtained, for otherwise his mission might do more harm than good; then, seeing that Somerset's mind was made up, he said no more, but hurried off to make sure that the Controller had been informed of the real condition of affairs. As usual, Paget handled the Fleming with consummate skill. He was not as anxious to go to the Emperor on this occasion as he had been on others, because he feared his Majesty might think he was not doing his best in the cause of religion, but he really had done all he could, and for the moment there was no possibility of successful action. However, he would tell Van der Delft what he would not say to anyone else alive: that he believed all might yet go well if only the Emperor would show the Protector a little favour now. Paget left Van der Delft convinced that the English would do anything for his Majesty in return for some slight consideration, and on June 13th he departed for Flanders with letters of recommendation from the King, the Protector and the Lady Mary. Van der Delft himself, when asked for a letter, replied, much to Paget's delight, that no letter of his could make so pleasing a person more welcome to his Majesty. A characteristic incident attended the writing of Mary's letter of recommendation. A day or two before Whitsuntide the Protector sent the Chancellor (Lord Rich) and Dr. Petre to visit Mary, ostensibly to ask whether she would consent to the Portuguese match, and really to attempt to induce her to adopt the new service. They told her that Parliament had enacted certain dispositions respecting religion, which ought to be obeyed in her household. Mary replied that she would not change if her life depended upon it; and the Protector's messengers informed her that they had instructions to warn the members of her household of the danger they were running in defying the law. They also told her that the Protector desired her to give Paget a letter to the Emperor. This last clause they had done better to hold back, for Mary, whose wit was not slow, threatened to write in Paget's letter what treatment she

was receiving unless they promised not to meddle with her servants. Outwitted, Rich and Petre departed, full of soft words.

After Paget had gone Van der Delft busied himself in watching the progress of the peasant's revolt, and in helping Mary to baffle the Protector's attempts at robbing her of the mass. He recognised that the peasants could hardly be expected to take the enclosures calmly, and gives some interesting figures to show the enormous rise in prices brought about by the landlords' corner in meat and wool. His sympathies were doubtless influenced by the fact that the Flemish merchants suffered heavily, being no longer able to buy wool at Calais staple at the prices fixed by the commercial convention.* The West Countrymen also demanded the mass and other rites of the Church that had been done away with by the Act of Uniformity, but Van der Delft's pity for their spiritual plight was counter-balanced by the threat, voiced all over the country, to kill every foreigner in England if foreign mercenaries were used against English rebels. It might have been expected that Somerset would refrain from interfering with the Lady Mary while Paget was negotiating with the Emperor, but hardly a fortnight had passed after that envoy's departure, when he caused the controller of her household and one of her chaplains to be summoned before the Council. Mary, in terrified apprehension, sent to Van der Delft for advice, but before his reply reached her a second and sharper summons came from the Council, which she did not command her servants to disobey. On the way, her controller went to see Van der Delft and was schooled as to how he must answer. The Council pressed him to try to persuade his mistress that her duty lay in obedience to the laws of the realm, but met with a refusal on the ground that he, a faithful servant, could not presume to advise, far less dispute with her. He was at length allowed to depart, leaving the chaplain behind to be examined in his turn. Did he hold, asked the Council, that the King's laws and ordinances were good and in accordance with the Holy Scripture? On replying in the affirmative, the chaplain was asked why he

* *p.* 397.

had broken them by saying mass? The answer gives in epitome the philosophy of life of many an English churchman of the day. He was, said this priest, a servant of the Lady Mary, and as such obeyed her orders in her own house, but it would not be found that he had committed any infringement of the law in the place where he had his living, and he hoped that his conduct might not give offence. The chaplain was doubtless a more serviceable instrument than the controller, for he consented to return with instructions for persuading his mistress. These comings and going were talked about openly enough for Van der Delft to be able to tell the Protector he had heard about them, without admitting that he was in constant correspondence with Mary. Somerset, paying no attention to Van der Delft's repeated assurances that the Emperor would not allow Mary to change her faith, even if she felt inclined to do so, said again that he hoped she would see how righteous was the Council's request. He then told Van der Delft of the result of her servants' cross-examination. "I see," said the ambassador, "that you wish to take away the mass from my Lady by removing her priests." "We have never," replied Somerset, "forbidden my Lady to have mass said in her private chamber; but for every two masses she formerly had said, she has three since the prohibition, and with greater ostentation." With this Somerset fell to explaining how all the trouble that had overtaken England in past times had sprung from diversity of opinion between those near the Crown and its wearer, and even now conflicting religious sects were causing discord. He did not wish to blame the Lady Mary in any way, but the fact remained that the Cornish rebels' leader had once been her chaplain. Van der Delft retorted that if no innovations had been attempted this commotion would never have arisen, and to end the conversation Somerset said: "Now you know all that has happened with my Lady. We must see to it that the King and his laws are obeyed, and if my Lady does not wish to conform with them, let her do what she pleases in privacy, without giving cause for scandal."*

* p. 408.

Throughout the latter half of June and most of July Paget remained in Flanders ; but no news of his negotiation were sent to Van der Delft, nor did the Protector make any mention of it. On July 26th the Emperor wrote him a full account of all that took place in the series of interviews. Paget, received in audience by Charles, began by stating that the King of England was nominally at peace with France, but, as fighting was constantly going on, commissioners had been deputed to meet and decide whether it should be peace or war. If the English received some favour from his Imperial Majesty, they would be able to hold their own ; if not they would have to make such terms as they could. The Emperor made a reply in general phrases, and instructed the Duke of Alba, old M. de Granvelle and his son, the Bishop of Arras, to negotiate with Paget. This second interview was also formal, Paget asking how much Don Luis would have, and refusing to say what Mary's portion would be, though he thought a lump sum of 100,000 crowns, or a revenue such as she was receiving at the time, of about 40,000 crowns a year, would be reasonable. It was then decided that nothing more could be done until the Portuguese settlement should be specified, and Paget repeated that he hoped his Imperial Majesty would make it possible for England to hold her own against France, adding that it would be well to have the existing treaty ratified, and certain dubious clauses explained. Next day Arras and Presidents Viglius and St. Mauris, armed with the text of the treaty, met Paget and Sir Philip Hoby, the English ambassador. Paget then desired to be enlightened on four points, of which the first two concerned the circumstances in which the Emperor was obliged to declare war on France, the third the question of reprisals in the event of failure to obtain restitution of shipping or property unlawfully seized, and the fourth the ratification of the treaty by Edward VI, Prince Philip, who was then in Flanders, and the Estates on both sides. Answers were eventually made on these points, which look as if they had been selected rather to give colour to Paget's mission than because of any need of elucidation. The only interesting feature came out in the reply to the fourth heading, in which Arras explained

that in Flanders the Parliaments of the several dominions held their sittings separately, that their consent was quite superfluous, as their rulers were empowered to bind them by treaty without obtaining it, and that the Emperor being still alive, the only ratification needed was the King of England's, or, as he was a minor, the Protector's, who had better be furnished by Parliament with a power to give it. Paget could not let this last insinuation pass, and said it semed strange that Arras should speak as if the King could do nothing during his minority, for "by the laws of England the King's authority was the same whether he was one or forty-five years old."

The real object of Paget's mission appeared when the session was closed, in which the above-mentioned four points were discussed. Paget drew Arras aside and told him that he would like to have the treaty amplified so as to include Boulogne on the same footing as England and the "Older Conquest," in exchange for which his Imperial Majesty's ministers might choose a place, of equal importance with Boulogne, to be included on their side. The French had broken the treaty of Crépy, as there was no reason why his Majesty should longer consider himself bound by it, and sooner or later he would have to fight the French, whose principal motive in all they did was jealousy of his greatness. If the King of England and the Emperor attacked France together, they might put an end to the constant menace of French ambition; but unless the Emperor was willing to accede to this proposal, the English would be obliged to give up Boulogne, for they could not burden their young King with further expenses, whilst they were daily receiving very favourable propositions from France. Paget had to wait many days for his reply, and followed the Emperor to Ghent. He was finally told by Arras that the Emperor had made peace with France with the late King of England's approval, and concluded with that country the treaty of Crépy, which was still in force. The inclusion of Boulogne proposed by Paget would be in direct contravention of the treaty of Crépy, and his Imperial Majesty, who always abided by his obligations, could not consider such a step, though he would be glad to do anything in

his power for his well-beloved son and brother England. His desire had always been, and still was, to see France and England at peace, sure as he was that the English would never negotiate anything contrary to their treaty with himself. How constant the Emperor had been in friendship might be seen from his behaviour towards the Scots, whose repeated offers to treat without England's consent he had declined. As for abandoning Boulogne, he could not believe the English meant to do it; for the late King had set his heart on keeping it, at least for the stipulated eight years, and the people of England would not like to see it go. Besides, even though the French might promise to interfere no more in Scotland, they would never cease doing their utmost to keep the English out of that country. Paget made no reply beyond expressing a wish that the Emperor had spoken more plainly on the question of the assistance to be given against the French, but said he would make a very favourable report of his negotiation. The Emperor, on dismissing Paget, said he would cause a letter to be written to Portugal to find out the amount of Don Luis' settlement, and added that he had heard of the English Council's efforts to persuade the Lady Mary to conform with the new laws on religion, and could but be greatly surprised by their attitude in the matter. He did not intend to allow the Lady to change her religion, and would like to receive an assurance, in writing or otherwise that she should be exempt from the new laws, for he could not tolerate attempts to prevent her. Here Paget interrupted the Emperor, saying that the Council did not intend to go so far, and the Lady should be pressed no more. Charles then went on, in his most impressive manner, to warn Paget of the dangers and pitfalls of heresy, which turned men into insolent and disobedient subjects. And so Paget took his leave, and returned to England.

From the day on which it first became known that Paget was going to the Emperor to that of his dismissal—from April to July, 1549—all Europe was in suspense. Henry II was frightened into showing England a more conciliatory face than he had worn since he came to the throne: he knew that a war with the Emperor and

England would be a desperate venture at a season when there was little trouble to be made in Germany, when the Switzers were growing suspicious of France,* when the Turk refused to fight,† and the Holy Father's aid had to be bought at a higher price than it was worth. For three months the French King talked about arbitration with England, daring neither to advance nor retreat ; but about the middle of July he heard from Marillac, his ambassador with the Emperor, that Paget was accomplishing nothing, and at the same time news came of the peasants' revolt in England. Tired of waiting on events, he ordered his commissioners to meet those from England, and set on foot rapid preparations for mustering an army of 15,000 to 18,000 men in Picardy, to be used if, as he knew was most likely, the English failed to agree with his proposals. The shrewd informant Carneseque prophesied that if the English gave way, Henry would declare war at once on the Emperor, trusting that next year the Turk, the North German cities and John Frederick's sons would join the fray.‡ On July 28th, Simon Renard reported that the English ambassador had made anxious inquiries as to what steps were being taken to arrive at a peace or truce, and had met with blustering answers from the Constable, to the effect that the King knew all about Paget's proposals to hand over Boulogne to the Emperor, which he could and would not abide. Simon Renard added that Henry was quite convinced that Paget had made this offer, and some historians§ appear to have accepted the story, though the Emperor's long letter to Van der Delft of July 26th leaves no room for doubt that Paget's object was to enable England to retain Boulogne, and that the Protector, if he ever contemplated giving it up, never went so far as to make overtures of the matter to the Emperor. Charles also, just after Paget's departure, wrote to Simon Renard that, in his opinion, the mission had had no other object than to frighten the French into making peace on favourable terms. As we have just seen, however, the mission was a failure ; Henry now might feel safe from

* *p.* 422.
† *p.* 391.
‡ *p.* 403.
§ See *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, *p.* 493.

the Emperor as long as he left England itself and the Older Conquest alone. The event for which he had long been waiting and hoping, civil war in England, could not have occurred at a more opportune moment, and Henry caused the English ambassador to be arrested (thereby deeply shocking the other ambassadors) on August 5th, the very day on which the Constable and M. d'Aumale set out for Montreuil-sur-Mer, where a general muster was to be held on the 12th.* The King had been dissuaded from leading his army in person, but insisted on following it as near as he could, the court remaining at Compiègne. In England, the French ambassador informed the Protector that his master could no longer put up with the outrages committed by the English, and that he was recalled; but Somerset wisely declined to let him go until he should produce letters from the King, and the English ambassador should be delivered over.

Simon Renard at Compiègne, and later at Amiens, was well-placed to judge French feeling about the war. It seems that the hot-headed young bloods of the court found campaigning a greatly overrated sport; they hated getting their feet wet, and having to sleep on the cold ground. The weather was very bad in the late summer and autumn. Renard reported that the English forts were much stronger than the King had been led to suspect, and his Majesty was not far from regretting that he had followed his gossip's (the Constable's) advice, and rushed into war. Compensations came with the fall of Ambleteuse and Boulemberg, though the latter place was abandoned by treachery which the Count della Mirandola's younger brother engineered, and the captain of Boulogne killed its commander with his own hand.† These triumphs changed the current of opinion in France, and the busy-bodies who had just before criticised their King for his improvidence now hailed him as a hero. The Venetian ambassador went to Simon Renard and told him no one knew what to think of the Emperor's attitude, for his Majesty did absolutely nothing, though he knew he had only to make a sign to stop the French and save his allies.

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* *p.* 425.
† *p.* 439.

Renard was prudent enough to see that his colleague hoped to draw him, and answered with generalities about the Emperor's scrupulous observance of all treaties. The fall of Boulemberg by no means ended Henry's difficulties, for Ardres tower remained to defy him, and Boulogne itself was so strong that he and his ministers came to the conclusion that it could only be taken if they succeeded in blocking the mouth of the harbour, and starving it into surrender. The Parisians, forgetful of their enthusiasm over Boulemberg, began laughing at the King, saying that he would have to go to Rome for absolution of his oath not to return before Boulogne had fallen. Thus the autumn wore away.

Protector Somerset hid his disappointment at the failure of the real object of Paget's mission, and Paget himself assured Van der Delft that everyone in the Government, especially the King, was overjoyed by the excellent tidings he had brought back from Flanders.* Nevertheless, Paget was anxious to talk over certain points, namely those concerning religion which the Emperor had touched on at his last audience, before Van der Delft saw the Protector. The ambassador replied that he was thoroughly dissatisfied with the Protector because of the treatment he had received while Paget was away, and it was unfortunate that a man who set himself up to govern a kingdom should continually be breaking his word. Moreover, he would not hide it that he held him, Paget, to be personally responsible for all the ills that had befallen the country, because he had created so wretched a Protector. To this Paget made answer: "He has a bad wife"; and Van der Delft rejoined that no greater proof of a man's inferiority could be given than that he allowed himself to be ruled by a woman. The upshot of the matter was that Paget agreed to let the Protector know how bad an opinion Van der Delft held of him, whilst Van der Delft was to show no sign. In this manner, Paget said, Somerset might be induced to try harder to please the Emperor.

A few days later, the Protector sent for Van der Delft, and told him that the Emperor had shown him such favour that all his life long he must be obliged, for his very father

* *p.* 429.

could not have expressed greater affection for him, and he begged Van der Delft to thank his Majesty most humbly. Van der Delft replied that he only wished the Protector's government had been more successful, and he had always warned him to beware of these new apostles, enemies to the mass. Somerset asserted that they still had the mass, and the only change was that it was now said in English and no consecration took place except when there were communicants. After long argument he admitted having said that he was sorry things had gone so far, and confessed that he still regretted it, for he saw no harm in the priest consecrating and communicating alone, but the Government had been forced to act as they had done by the perversity of the sects that abounded in England, whose jarring doctrines and practices had done so much evil already. He would like to send the Bishop of Rochester (Ridley) to Van der Delft, to explain all. This ironical suggestion was anything but welcome, but Van der Delft went away convinced that the Protector's object was rather to put a term to chaos than to attack religion. Before taking his leave, he received an assurance that the Lady Mary should no more be troubled, and a promise that Somerset would think over the possibility of granting her letters patent to guarantee her from further interference. Encouraged by this report, the Emperor wrote to Van der Delft on September 2nd to press harder than ever for the letters patent, and study the means of inducing the Government to adhere to his *Interim* until the consummation of the Council of Trent. By the time this letter had reached its destination, however, affairs had taken so new and surprising a turn that Van der Delft felt obliged to send his man over to the Emperor to ask for instructions.

Jehan Duboys informed his Majesty that the Protector had sent Paget and the Great Master of the Household (William Paulet, Lord St. John) to Van der Delft to assure him verbally that the Lady Mary, her priests and servants, should no more be troubled on account of their religion. Van der Delft reminded Paget that what the Emperor wanted was letters patent, and said his Majesty would certainly not be satisfied with anything else. Paget promised to see what could be done, and went away. The

ambassador then thought well to visit the Lady Mary, with the Council's knowledge and approval, to tell her of all his Majesty had done for her sake. She expressed undying gratitude, but asked if it would not be better to accept the proffered verbal assurance that she should no longer be troubled, rather than solicit for letters patent, which, it seemed to her, might imply a sort of recognition on her part of the legality of the recent measures; for she would not admit that ordinances defying the Divine Will and her father's testament could ever be law. The Lady Mary then said she had excellent reasons for believing that there was dissent in the Council, where the Earls of Warwick, Southampton and Arundel, and the Great Master, were preparing to bring a charge of treason against the Protector. Emissaries had already been sent to ascertain whether she would favour the enterprise, and she was most anxious to hear from the Emperor whether she should do so or no, for the weight of her influence would doubtless count against Somerset. Until she received his Majesty's instructions she would reply that she never meddled in questions of government, though she was sad at heart to see the kingdom in such sorry plight, but would accuse no one personally, only praying God to have mercy on them all. Were they to press her further, she would say that she would take no step of importance but by the Emperor's advice. Duboys was also to report the defeat of the rebellious peasants by Warwick, and a visit he paid, at his master's orders, to Southampton, whom he found shamming sickness because the Protector's ill-will kept him from going to court, and who spoke equivocal words about the public misfortunes, saying he saw no remedy but to adhere strictly to the late King's will. The ambassador, considering that these symptoms clearly showed that hostility to the Protector was in the air, desired his Majesty's commands as to what course he should keep.

The Emperor's reply* came as a damper to Van der Delft's ardour. The ambassador was to go on pressing for letters patent; and as for the Lady Mary's scruples about recognising the new measures, they were mere

* P. 449.

nonsense. A political change seemed far from desirable at that moment: in any case Van der Delft and the Lady Mary had better not meddle in it, for it was not unlikely that the Protector himself had caused her to be approached in order to accuse her of plotting against the government of the kingdom. She was therefore to take the greatest care to avoid expressing any opinion whatsoever on politics, or talking about the Emperor in connexion with them, beyond such lamentations as she had already uttered for the pitiable state of the land, or pious hopes that God might better it. Duboys had brought to the Emperor from the Lady Mary a ring, a former present from his Majesty, which seemed to signify that she would like to leave England. She was not to be encouraged in this wish, for it would be exceedingly difficult to remove her, and also to find means to support her when once in Flanders, for in that event no provision would be made for her by the English government. The English ambassador had recently told the Emperor, imploring him to keep it secret, that his government was in direst need of money to defend Boulogne, which they could hardly hope to hold unless his Majesty gave them some assistance. The Emperor answered that the approaching winter would afford some respite from hostilities, which they would be well advised to improve by reforming justice and undoing the ungodly mischief that had already brought such disaster on their heads.

Regretfully did Van der Delft submit.* No reason less compelling than his Majesty's commands could make him conceal his contempt for so wretched a government as Somerset's. Good Bishop Bonner had been imprisoned like a common thief for refusing to uphold in the pulpit the legality of all measures passed during the King's minority. Pirates came and went at court. The administration of justice was perverted, and everything, at home and abroad, was going to wrack and ruin. In Scotland all was as good as lost, for Haddington had fallen. In short, everyone was disgusted with the Government, and even Paget complained of the Protector's suspicious nature. The King was with Somerset at Hampton Court, where

* *p.* 453.

the Council met on Sundays ; but it was significant enough that Warwick had retired to Greenwich. On the way he had come to see Van der Delft, and sounded him about his feelings for the Protector ; and it had gone sorely against the grain to let Warwick say he knew the ambassador to be a great friend of the very man for whose ruin he was praying. In conclusion, Van der Delft repeated that there was nothing to be hoped from the Protector, who would always be ruled by his wife in the fostering of heresy, and implored the Emperor to allow him to express some sympathy with Warwick's party, if not in his official capacity, at any rate as a private individual. The Emperor seems not to have deigned to reply. On October 8th, Van der Delft sends an account of the development of the plot : Somerset's summons to Warwick, Southampton and other Councillors to attend at Hampton Court disobeyed, Cranmer, Paget and Smith alone remained with the Protector, who saw the danger threatening him and summoned the peasantry. A large number assembled, but suddenly, at five in the afternoon of October 6th, the Protector changed his mind and disbanded them. He then sent his wife home, who left court amidst the revilings of all present, peasants and courtiers, who attributed the disaster to her alone, and straightway departed, with the King and those about him, to Windsor, where great numbers of peasants were coming to his aid. Just before leaving Hampton Court, Paget spoke to one of the ambassador's friends who chanced to be present : "I beg you, when you return to London, tell the Emperor's ambassador in what state you saw me, and that he was a great prophet ;" and then, with tears in his eyes, "recommend me to him." On the 7th, the Council met in London, and sent Sir Thomas Cheyne, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, recently ambassador in Paris, to inform Van der Delft that they had decided to endure no longer the ruinous rule of Somerset, and that now the Protector had called upon the peasants to make him lord and tyrant of all, they saw they must lend a hand to remedy the ills caused by a man who cared for nothing but building houses for himself, while the kingdom was falling a prey to its enemies.

Van der Delft replied as duty, not inclination, bade him, saying no more than that he was sorry things had come to such a pass, but was sure the Council had tried every milder measure first, and trusted that all might come right in the end, to God's service and the Emperor's great relief, for his Majesty loved England as dearly as his own dominions. "I clearly perceive" says Van der Delft in his letter to the Emperor, "that the Protector will be so loaded with crimes that he will be unable to acquit himself of all, and it will cost him his life if they catch him." The Lady Mary had just written to ask Van der Delft to send her one of his men, apparently to instruct her as to what she should reply if, as rumour had it, she were invited to accept the regency. Van der Delft thought that really too good to be true, but was jubilant enough over the Protector's collapse. Ironically, he ends his letter: "The Protector had sent word that he had appointed, as commissioners on the question of the bulwark near Gravelines, the lieutenant of Calais castle, Brian, and the controller of the same, Hall."

Van der Delft's joy increased day by day. On October 14th he wrote of the Protector's arrest. All was going as smoothly as possible, and Warwick had sent to tell him that the Council intended to send a very agreeable person over to the Emperor—the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) or the Earl of Southampton, thought Van der Delft. On the 17th the King "looking astonished" entered London with the Councillors and nobility; he had been persuaded by the Protector that the other members of the Council meant to harm his person. Paget's good offices in removing the Protector's servants from about the King at Windsor had not been forgotten, and he was now in favour; Van der Delft had not omitted to put in a word for him with Warwick. Cranmer still attended the Council, but would probably not be allowed to do so long "unless he mends his ways." All the men now in power were of the old religion, except perhaps Warwick, who was also beginning to observe its usages; but they would proceed slowly in re-establishing the faith in order not to excite the people. Everyone had forgotten Boulogne and Scotland in the enthusiasm of overthrowing Somerset.

The Emperor remained unmoved by all these happy earnests, and merely repeated his commands that the Lady Mary and Van der Delft were to refrain from expressing any opinion, beyond exhortations to return to Henry VIII.'s religious settlement. The first hint of disappointment from Van der Delft came in his letter of October 22nd, in which he said that Sir Thomas Cheyne was being sent to the Emperor, and had asked him for a letter of recommendation, though without mentioning what his instructions might be. The Venetian ambassador had been to court to congratulate the Council on the issue of their enterprise, and had been most favourably received. It seemed to Van der Delft that they were behaving rather coldly to him because of his aloofness. Might he not at least go and encourage them to take some steps in the matter of religion, and to remain in close alliance with the Emperor? He had recently heard news alarming in that it showed the fickle disposition of the English, for Somerset, who had always passed for an enemy to France, had actually contemplated handing over Boulogne to the French before any of the forts fell in August.* Van der Delft had discovered this from a French gentleman called Bertheville, who was to have gone to France to negotiate the matter, but was delayed by illness, and, as soon as the fall of the forts became known, was thrown into the Tower, presumably because his untimely ailment had prevented the Protector from getting the higher price Boulogne was worth while the forts remained in English hands. In the Tower Bertheville remained, begging that his offence might be specified, for then he should be able to prove his innocence, and bewailing the loss of 10,000 crowns, which he was to have received for the successful accomplishment of his mission. This same Bertheville is mentioned by Simon Renard as having been in command of the English forts in Alderney; he was a refugee, whose brother had lost his head in Paris on some charge of treason.† Van der Delft was shocked by such lack of principle in Somerset, and for a time he was confident that the new

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* Paget left the Emperor's court on July 25th (*see p.* 410), but it was generally known that his mission was a failure some time before.

† *p.* 387.

government would behave better. His failure to foresee the religious and political results of the change need not surprise us, for English observers, with far more opportunities for forming an opinion than he, believed that a violent catholic reaction was going to take place. Van der Delft, moreover, never understood that the Protector's sympathy with the peasants' revolt had united all the landed proprietors against him, and become the chief cause of his downfall. He was too little conversant with the national temper to realise how many considerations modified even the catholic lords' desire to re-establish the old religion.

November found Van der Delft trying in vain to find out what was actually going on in the Council.* Warwick was ill, or pretending to be, and everlastingly putting off his promised visit. Finally Warwick sent a secretary, who used flattering words, said that his master would never have undertaken to right the country's wrongs had he not been encouraged by Van der Delft when he went to see him in September—though by Van der Delft's own showing he received no encouragement at all—but gave no precise information of the sort Van der Delft wanted. The ambassador then sent his man to visit Southampton, another politic sufferer, whom he believed to be the most powerful man in England, and Warwick's source of inspiration. Southampton begged Van der Delft not to press for audience until Warwick and Arundel (also unwell !) could attend the Council, and assured him that all was going as smoothly as might be desired ; there was no difference of opinion among the lords, and all would come right with time. Van der Delft took these words to mean that Southampton would study the best way of coming to a satisfactory settlement, and was reassured enough not to be greatly exercised over information he received in secret, to the effect that a Florentine merchant, called Antonio Guidotti, was being sent to France to negotiate peace. Some said that Boulogne was going to be given up, but Van der Delft believed the English intended to perform some brave exploit there in the course of the winter. So on the whole the outlook was far from bad.

* *p.* 467.

The Lady Mary, it was true, boded nothing but evil, and desired more than ever to be out of a country which she could but believe God intended to punish for its stiff-neckedness. There was a rumour in London that Ambassador Hoby had taken over an excellent likeness of the King, and that he and Sir Thomas Cheyne were to negotiate a marriage between Edward and a daughter of the King of the Romans. Time passed, and Van der Delft remained as short of news as before. At last Arundel gave him a day on which he should have audience of the Council, but he heard nothing but formal compliments, and not a single one of the important members was present, which made him fear that, in spite of Southampton's cheerful words, there was discord between the gentlemen. Worst of all was the change come over Paget, who, hand in glove with Warwick, now avoided Van der Delft, leaving the unfortunate ambassador without a friend at court. On November 25th Van der Delft went to see Warwick at his house,* where he was still playing the sick man, the Council coming to him there, and all business being despatched by his orders. Conversation turned at once to religion, and Van der Delft, finding the Earl obstinate, spoke sharply, reminding him that he and the other councillors were not kings of the country to meddle lightheartedly with the gravest concerns, and introduce changes that no prince in this world had ventured to attempt but to his ruin. After this Warwick spoke more softly, and said that he personally was not so obdurate as Van der Delft might think, but the present ordering of religion was the work, not of Somerset alone, but of all the members (of Parliament), and had been carefully examined and approved by their bishops and learned men. Warwick then complained that the Emperor had refused them permission to raise troops in his dominions, which obliged them to take their men away from Scotland to reinforce the garrison of Boulogne. To this Van der Delft replied that he hoped they would need no more troops, as Guidotti had been sent to France to negotiate peace, with Boulogne up his sleeve. Warwick laughed loud: "He is a poor devil, deep in debt," and changed

* *p.* 476.

the subject. Van der Delft was beginning to be disillusioned about the character of the new government, and he felt great anxiety lest Southampton, now ill in grim earnest, might die ; for he realised that no one else in the Council was strong enough to make a stand in the matter of religion. "If he does not recover, and if the Earl of Warwick remains obstinate in his opinion, we shall see terrible confusion and destruction in this realm."

The Emperor, as on former occasions, granted the English leave to raise troops* after having, by repeated refusals, made a mighty favour of compliance. At the same time he knew from Simon Renard that French and English commissioners were meeting to discuss terms of peace, and had heard of Guidotti's mission from Van der Delft. The commissioners had come to a standstill late in November, Renard reported,† because the English insisted that the provisions of the treaty of 1546 should be maintained. The Pope's death, promising changes in European politics, and news of the Emperor's permission to levy troops also contributed to cool English ardour for an understanding. The French were having difficulty in holding their own in the Boulonnais, their troops were ill-paid and mutinous. English reinforcements were arriving, and Simon Renard's last letter for 1549 told of the recapture of Blackness by the English. The new government was none the less determined to sell Boulogne, and a desire to obtain the highest possible price prompted the exploits of December. Guidotti came back to London after his first journey, and was sent off again : Simon Renard saw him looking happy, and heard that his instructions were to arrange a marriage between Edward VI and the King of France's elder daughter. The Pope's death had come at an inopportune moment for Henry II : only a couple of weeks before, the league with the Holy Father from which he had hoped so much had seemed to be assured, and Parma within his grasp. Now all was confusion once more, and the election of an Imperialist more than likely ; indeed, on December 17th, it was believed at the French court that Pole had been chosen. Simon Renard

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* *p.* 478.
† *p.* 480.

was in the highest spirits, and the French sorely cast down, for it was known that Pole would not lend himself to French schemes for interference in Italy, and would smooth the way for reformation by General Council. As a matter of fact Pole only obtained twenty-four votes out of the twenty-eight that would have made him Pope, but it was for all that none the more certain that a French partisan would be elected, and the element of danger rendered Henry II doubly anxious to make peace with England, lest some untoward event might enable the Emperor to form a coalition against him. Ever since Paul III left Charles in the lurch in Germany and caused the Council to be removed to Bologna, ever since Henry II mounted the throne, Papal ill-will towards the Empire had been of enormous assistance to French policy, and if the Emperor was now to have the Pope on his side, France must needs make friends elsewhere.

In the circumstances, nothing more fortunate for Henry II could have happened than Warwick's triumph in England; and before the end of the year it was clear even to Van der Delft that Warwick, and not Southampton, Arundel and the Catholics, had won. On December 19th, Van der Delft wrote a gloomy letter, full of bad news. Not a word was being spoken about re-establishing the old religion, and those who desired it had been alarmed by the recent admission to the Council of the Marquis of Dorset and the Bishop of Ely (Goodrich), rank heretics both. Van der Delft supposed that Warwick had done this to strengthen his party, and took it to be an indication of what course he proposed to follow. Warwick was said to be under the Duchess of Somerset's influence: another ill-omen, as the ambassador believed that lady to have been responsible for most of the evils of the last three years. The favour shown to the Lady Elizabeth, who had conformed with the new laws on religion, contrasted with the Council's neglect of Mary, and Van der Delft hoped that the Portuguese match might at length be arranged and enable the unfortunate lady to leave the country. Were this alliance impossible, he told the Emperor frankly that he considered his Majesty ought to take her out of England, and support her at his court,

for, as she always repeated, she had no other refuge on earth. News of what was going on in the Council, Van der Delft had none to give, for no official communications were made to him. All he knew was what everyone was aware of : lively negotiations were being carried on with France through Guidotti.

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The present volume opens with rumours of a projected alliance, to be strengthened by a marriage, between France and England. Henry II's adoption of the Guise's Scottish policy threw England back into the traditional Burgundian friendship that for centuries had been one of the chief factors in European politics ; but only for a time. Somerset, who would have made friends with France just after Henry VIII's death, was no less willing to do so when the failure of Paget's mission told him plainly that the Emperor would not start a European war in order to enable England to keep Boulogne and Scotland. Henry II made a speciality of alliance with heretics, though he was hard enough on his own heterodox subjects, but Charles was of a different temper. He would strike a bargain with Maurice of Saxony for the purpose of confounding German protestantism, but he would not help protestant England while any possibility remained of obtaining a return to catholicism as the price of his assistance. The gossips at the French court therefore spoke truth when they said that Paget had been sent home discomfited on the score of religion, and his unsuccessful mission marked the turning point of English policy under Edward VI. The easiest way out of the difficulty was then to sell Boulogne for as much as Henry II would give, and, as the Queen Dowager of Hungary shrewdly said after Henry VIII's death, the abandonment of Boulogne must lead to an estrangement between England and the Emperor. Van der Delft knew this as well as another, and his anxiety to prevent England from falling into French arms was most cunningly exploited by Warwick. The papers here calendared supply no hint of Warwick's intentions regarding foreign policy before he succeeded in overthrowing Somerset, but, his main object once achieved, he was willing to sacrifice the country's interests to any extent in order to keep

himself in power. Having craftily disposed of the Catholics, by whose help he had risen, he courted popularity at home by encouraging the reformers, and purchased immunity for his own malpractices, such as debasing the coinage and ruining the country's credit. Abroad he gave way to the hereditary enemy in every respect, turning the realm into little more than a French province. It is idle to speculate what might have happened if Somerset had remained at the head of affairs; but his conduct during his Protectorate makes it legitimate to doubt that he would have brought England to the wretched condition to be illustrated by the next volume of this Calendar.

ROYALL TYLER.

# CORRIGENDA.

p. 8, line 38, for *Wurtemburg*, read *Württemberg*.

p. 13, line 25, for *he* (*Henry*), read *he* (*Francis*).

p. 13, line 51, for *who is*, read *and they* (*the French*) *are*.

p. 37, line 12, for (*the Papal power*), read (*the Council of Trent*).

p. 41, line 9 (and wherever the same word occurs in subsequent pages), for *Boulognais*, read *Boulonnais*.

p. 41, line 38, for (*Scottish* ?), read (*English*).

p. 43, line 35, for *de Logaste*, read *del Guasto*.

p. 46, note, for *Franche-Comtois*, read *Franc-Comtois*.

p. 59, line 24, for *Wurtemburg*, read *Württemberg*.

p. 62, line 22, for *Betzares*, read *Welsers*.

p. 115, last line, for *go Coutrai*, read *go to Villers-Cotterets*.

p. 119, line 31, for *R. 1487*, read *K. 1487*.

p. 132, line 8, for *Ville de Coutrai*, read *Villers-Cotterets*.

p. 133, line 28, for *Coudrai*, read *Villers-Cotterets*.

p. 149, line 32, *Count Jehan Angusol*. The name of this person is given, p. 125, line 29, as *Count Giovan Agostino*.

p. 157, line 21, *Juan Luis de Aragonia*. The name of this person is given, p. 144, line 38, as *Juan Luis de Arazonia*.

p. 160, lines 29, 32, 38 and 41, for *Lussac*, read *Brissac*.

p. 175, line 16. The signed original of this letter (Vienna, Imp. Arch. F. 25), is dated 11 October, not 15 October.

p. 185, lines 38–40, the last clauses of this sentence should read: *as an ambassador* (*had been sent*) *from France to the Seignory* etc.

p. 192, line 3, for *Bawens*, read *Bawers*.

p. 194, line 17, for *13 November*, read *3 November*.

p. 200, line 41, for *Bawens*, read *Bawers*.

p. 208, note. The assumption that the names left in blank are those of the Emperor and his daughter, Dõna Juana, is disproved by the extract from Advices sent by St. Mauris, dated 25 November, 1547 (*see* Appendix, p. 526). The rumour current in France was that the Lady Mary was to marry the King of the Romans, one of whose daughters was to be given to Edward VI.

p. 209, line 20, for *the Fleming Orpheure*, read *the Flemish goldsmith.*

p. 237, line 19, for *to beg me to send you*, read *to beg you to send me.*

p. 287, line 30. The original of this letter (Vienna, Imp. Arch. E. 17), is dated *1 August*, not *end of August.*

p. 302, line 30, for *Condes*, read *Condé.*

p. 359, note, for *statute*, read *statue.*

p. 393, 5 lines from the bottom, for *consistancy*, read *constancy.*

p. 396, note‡, for *this must be the King of the Romans*, read *this must be the King of the Romans' younger son, the Archduke Ferdinand.*

p. 456, line 11, for *gack*, read *back.*

p. 473, line 13, for *it is quite time*, read *it is quite true.*

p. 507, line 19, for *Languillart*, read *Languillara.*

# SPANISH CALENDAR.

## EDWARD VI.

1547.
Jan. 9.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to LOYS SCORS (Louis de Schore, President of the Council of Flanders).

I am now writing to the Queen, amongst other things to learn her Majesty's good pleasure touching the affair of a Moravian gentleman named Stephen d'Assenberg, who is urgently pressing me* to comply with the Queen's letter commanding me to speak to the King in his favour, although it may be feared that he will only find a refusal here to his petition. Nevertheless, on the strength of her Majesty's letter he has come hither with his wife, although he was formerly dismissed, and has since been absent for two years. I shall be much obliged to your Lordship if you will obtain for me the knowledge of her Majesty's good pleasure in the matter by the first opportunity, as I have put him off until I can hear from you. In my own opinion we shall have quite enough to do in obtaining what concerns us much more deeply than to interfere between the King and his servants.

I must not omit to tell you that the King has acceded to the petition of my wife, and has pardoned a gentleman and his servant who had been condemned to the last penalty, by which petition and its result my wife has given pleasure to many worthy persons, and to the people at large, although the crime for which these men were condemned was more than a capital offence. Monseigneur, I have written on other occasions asking how I am to manage with these couriers. They raise difficulties about carrying my packets on account of their receiving no profit by it, and they say that they used to be paid. Those packets, therefore, which come hither to me from Flanders are often of old date, having been delayed on the road. I inform you of this that you may please provide a remedy. The scoundrel about whom the Queen wrote has not yet arrived here with his wine.† I am afraid the wine I shall give him will not be so much to his taste as that which he brings. Nevertheless, I shall have a good excuse for entertaining him in my acquaintance with his father.

London, 9 January, 1547.

Jan. 23.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.‡

I wrote to your Majesty on the 24th of last month§ about the indisposition of this King (Henry VIII). For the first day that the King granted the audience for which the French

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* *See* Calendar, Vol. 8, *p.* 543.
† *See* Calendar, Vol. 8, *p.* 537.
‡ The whole of this letter except the first line is in cypher.
§ *See* Calendar, Vol. 8, *p.* 532.

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ambassador and Paulin had been so urgently pressing, I also was summoned with your Majesty's Commissioner, who had been recalled by the Queen your sister, since his further stay here would be fruitless, and who desired to take his leave of the King on his return. We were admitted before the others, and were requested not to speak to the King at length in consequence of his indisposition. I accordingly limited myself to saluting him in your Majesty's name, and congratulating him on his convalescence. He took it in good part, saying that he had suffered and passed through a great deal since I had seen him last ; and he instructed the Commissioner to give his kind remembrance to your Majesty if he went to Germany, and in any case to the Queen your sister if he went no further than Flanders. After we had taken leave, the French ambassador and Paulin went in, and I am told that they spoke rather longer to him than we did.

On the following day Secretary Paget sent to tell me that the said French ambassadors had given an account to the King of how the city of Genoa had revolted, and that the greater part of the galleys had either been sunk or had gone over to the Turks, which is considered a great disadvantage to your Majesty, as indeed I fear it would be if affairs are as they are represented. We are not in a position here to learn the truth, but I would fain presume to discover my suspicion to your Majesty, in the hope that you will pardon me for expressing my humble opinion. It is that the King of France is meditating some enterprise, as he is mustering his forces, and has also sent orders to his pensioners in Germany to hold themselves ready, as I am informed by people here. He is also soliciting this King (Henry VIII), Paulin still remaining here, whilst the Baron de Saint Blancart is going backwards and forwards. The Commissioners also of the Protestants, namely, the Chancellor of the ex-elector of Saxony* and others, came on hither after they had conferred on their business with the King of France, who as I am informed here, received them very favourably, so that if the occasion should be propitious, or this Genoa business is really as serious as they make out, it may be feared that the whole intrigue may be directed against your Majesty. If not, it may possibly all be intended to the detriment of these people here (*i.e.*, the English), though from what I can perceive they themselves are in no great fear of it, which makes me all the more apprehensive on your Majesty's behalf. This is increased by the fact that the King of France maintains his galleys in full commission on the coasts of Brittany, where a large number of new galleys have also been constructed, and these galleys might be able to interfere greatly with the commerce of your Majesty's dominions if they were to take the offensive against you, whilst maintaining their (*i.e.*, the French) friendship with this country. I do not know how true it may be, but they are saying that the King of France intends to keep these galleys always in these seas (*i.e.*, the

* John Frederick who had been deposed in the interest of Duke Maurice. For particulars of this protestant embassy, *see* Vol. 8.

1547.

Channel), and that as a consequence he has had constructed several new galleys at Marseilles to be employed on that side (*i.e.*, in the Mediterranean).

With regard to the secret of what they (the French) are soliciting here, I have been hitherto unable to discover it, as there is very little communication between us, in consequence of the indisposition of the King, and I have had no opportunity of entering into conversation, which is usually very agreeable to them (*i.e.*, the English Councillors) about it. Nevertheless, so far as I can make out, the Council remains steadfast in favour of friendship with your Majesty, although for the present the earl of Hertford is the principal of them. I cannot believe, moreover, that this King would ever fall away from the friendship and alliance with your Majesty, having regard to the conversation he (King Henry) had with me, in which he urged your Majesty to come to some amicable arrangement in Germany, in order thereafter to join with him, and together avenge yourselves upon the French, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 14th of last month.*

I will seek an opportunity, one of these days soon to get speech with Paget, since there is no chance of my gaining access to the King, in order to discover, if I can, the cause of Paulin's continued stay here. I shall try to get information from him also about the coming of these protestant Commissioners, and to find out how they (*i.e.*, the English) stand with the Scots, whose ambassadors are still here, although the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley) told me the other day in answer to my question that he had no hope of coming to any agreement with them, and would not communicate anything of importance with them without letting me know.

Last Wednesday the earl of Surrey was executed. Four or five days previously he had defended himself at his public trial from nine in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon. The principal charges against him were that he had usurped the royal arms of England, and had also used certain ancient (*sic*) pictures representing him, suspected to have been inspired by evil thoughts. It was further urged against him that he had maintained that his father was the most qualified person, both on account of his services and his lineage, to be entrusted with the government of the Prince (Edward) and of this realm; and, that in order to bring this about more easily, he, Surrey, had exhorted his sister the widowed Duchess of Richmond to come to Court and lay herself out to please the King, and so to gain his favour. With regard to the arms, the earl maintained that they were his by right and he was entitled to bear them. As to the picture, which represented a broken pillar against which he was leaning with a young child beneath the pillar, he excused himself by saying that he had done nothing to the prejudice of anyone, nor had he acted maliciously. With regard to the accusation as to his father, he confessed that he had said what was alleged, and set forth his merits and services in

* Calendar, Vol. 8, *p.* 528.

1547.

comparison with those of those who had been preferred to him. When he came to the point referring to his sister he emphatically denied the truth of the allegation, although he was shown a certain writing in the hand of his said sister in which she made this charge against him; whereupon he exclaimed: "Must I, then, be condemned on the word of a wretched woman"? He did not spare any of the Lords of the King's Council, who were all present, and he addressed words to them that could not have been pleasant for them to hear.* At length, twelve men were summoned and they condemned him. His father (the Duke of Norfolk) is still in the Tower and very little is said about him.

Parliament has opened and sessions are held daily, but nothing has yet been decided upon. It is said that the Prince (Edward) is to be recognised as the rightful heir to the throne, and that he will be placed in the government and possession of the State, that the earl of Hertford is to be created a duke, and that the Lord Chancellor (Wriothseley), the Lord Admiral (Dudley), the Master of the Horse (Sir Anthony Browne), Paget and Master Seymour will all receive accession of title.

London, 23 January, 1547.

*P.S.*—Since writing the above I have heard that Captain Paulin is much pleased with the good words he has received from these people (the English). This makes me more solicitous than ever to get to the bottom of all this business; but I have no other means of doing so than to get hold of Paget.

23 Jan. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

I have received your Majesty's letters dated 10th instant, bringing me the copy of what you had written to the Emperor for which I humbly thank you, and also for the directions you have pleased to send me the better to enable me to carry out my office here. If your Majesty will deign to permit me to give my opinion I must express my admiration for the good advice and reflections you sent to the Emperor in the aforesaid letter. Especially would I venture to praise the advice you give to his Majesty to make an end with the Germans, in order that he may the sooner and more effectually take measures in his dominions in case of any danger appearing to them from France. This Madam, it seems to me, is very greatly to be feared, for the reasons set forth in your Majesty's letters, and also in view of the efforts the French are making here to win over the King of England.

They are persuading him that the city of Genoa has revolted, and all the galleys are dispersed, a number of them being sunk and the rest gone over to the Turk. However this may be, Captain Paulin is still here; and the same day that he had audience of the King, the Commissioner Van der Burch, who had to take leave, and I were also summoned to the palace and were

* A Spanish resident in London at the time (Antonio de Guaras) gives a vivid account of the trial of Surrey and quotes especially the earl's indignant abuse of Paget. Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII, Martin Hume.

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admitted first, the members of the Council having requested us to converse as briefly as possible with the King because of his indisposition. After I had saluted the King on behalf of your Majesties he told me that he had suffered greatly since I had seen him last, and he bade the Commissioner remember him to your Majesty, thanking you for the presents you had sent him, and for the others you promised. When we had taken leave of him, the French ambassadors entered, and I am told, were rather longer with him than we were.

On the following day Secretary Paget sent to say that the French ambassadors had informed the King of the mutiny at Genoa, and he (Paget) said that it would be a great disadvantage to his Majesty (the Emperor) if things were as they were represented here. In such case it may give an opportunity for the King of France to undertake what we have been fearing; and as these people here (the English) are less in fear of him than before we have all the more reason to be distrustful. I understand that the King of France has decided to keep his galleys in Brittany, and that he is building certain new galleons at Marseilles to be employed on that side (*i.e.*, in the Mediterranean), which, in good truth, seems to me a very dangerous thing for the interests of the Emperor's dominions; especially for Spain and the Netherlands, if the galleys should occupy these Straits (*i.e.*, the Channel) with ports of refuge in England. Your Majesty better than anyone else will be able to realise the disadvantage of such a position. I have not been able to get to the bottom of the intrigue which the French ambassadors are carrying on, but I will seek every opportunity of getting into communication with Secretary Paget, since the illness of the King prevents all access to the latter.

The Germans who have come here, namely, the Chancellor of the former Elector of Saxony (*i.e.*, John Frederick) and Dr. Brun, I am informed, met with a favourable reception in France, although up to the present no great welcome has been extended to them here. In my own opinion these people (the English) will not be very favourable to them, so far as his Majesty (the Emperor) is concerned, but with respect to our holy father the Pope they may probably agree together to thwart, as far as they can, the Council (of Trent).

I have not been able to learn anything fresh about the Scots, whose ambassadors are still here, except that when I asked the Lord Chancellor about it, he said that they were still in the same position with them as before, and that no appearance of a harmonious agreement existed. He said that I should be apprised of everything that might be done in this respect. I have since been informed from a good source that these Scotsmen (the ambassadors) are in constant daily communication with the French, and both parties three or four days ago sent couriers to their respective governments, and are expecting a reply shortly. It is asserted that M. de Guise is to go to Scotland; and that the men who are holding the castle of Saint Andrews have made some sort of capitulation to surrender the place,

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one of the conditions they require being that they should be granted remission and absolution of the Pope; this it is said having been put forward simply to gain time.

Your Majesty will see by the aforegoing that I have had no opportunity of presenting the demand for the restitution to his Majesty's subject of the properties they owned in the Boulognais, but I will do so without fail on the first possible occasion.

On Wednesday last the Earl of Surrey was executed.

(The rest of this letter is a copy of that of the same date addressed by Van der Delft to the Emperor.)

London, 23 January, 1547.

23 Jan. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to LOYS SCORS.

I wrote to you to-day by Councillor Van der Burch, who is leaving here this afternoon, and I have thought well to advise you of this by the present letter, which will probably arrive sooner than he will. You will learn from my letters to the Queen everything that is passing here, and I am also writing fully to the Emperor. I informed you in my recent letter that the packets sent from Flanders hither are delayed too long on the road, so that letters written on the first day of the month, for example, do not arrive until the 18th, and the postmaster excuses this by writing that he is only instructed to send the packets, not to expedite them. I think that if it was properly managed their Majesties would be better served and at less expense by the couriers, who every day are requesting me to pay them according to the usual custom. I wish your Lordship would see to it, for I have no wish to hear the blame of these mens' faults.

London, 23 January, 1547.

31 Jan. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Five days since I sent my man to the Queen, your Majesty's sister, at the request of Secretary Paget, to ascertain whether your Majesty would be displeased if the King (Henry VIII) undertook to approach you for the purpose of urging you to come to some accord with the protestants, on terms that would be entirely to your Majesty's honour and advantage; and the King's desire in this respect had already been further demonstrated by his having represented to me your Majesty's position with regard to France as being very doubtful. All this was set forth at length in the message I sent to the Queen by my man.

Three days afterwards I learnt from a very confidential source that the King, whom may God receive in His Grace, had departed this life, although not the slightest signs of such a thing were to be seen at Court, and even the usual ceremony of bearing in the royal dishes to the sound of trumpets was continued without interruption. I should like to have conveyed this intelligence to your Majesty before this, but that all the roads have been, and still are, closed; so that in order to send the present letter a passport has been necessary. This I obtained after Dr. Petre, one of the principal secretaries, and another

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member of the Council, had come to visit me, sent, as they said, by the Council to convey to me their sorrow and grief because it had pleased God to call to Him their master the King, who had expired on Friday morning the 28th instant. In his last instructions, they said, he had very expressly enjoined all his Council to maintain your Majesty in good friendship with his people above all others, and had declared the great confidence he reposed in your Majesty, not doubting that you would always be to his people a true father and protector. They would, they said, more amply set this forth to your Majesty by a gentleman of great confidence of the King's Chamber, named Bellingham, who would very shortly be with your Majesty.

I understand that the late King appointed as governors and administrators for his son and the realm, the earl of Hertford, the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley), the Great Master of the Household (Paulet, Lord St. John), the Lord Admiral (Dudley, Viscount Lisle) and Paget; but I do not yet know the secret of it, although it is said that the earl of Hertford will be the chief, and indeed was in possession of the place before the King died.

The Prince was to-day proclaimed and recognised as King Edward, the sixth of the name, and this afternoon he will make his entry into the Tower to assume his first crown, although the full solemnity of his coronation will not be performed for the next fortnight.

No mention whatever is made of Madam Mary. Many people assert that the Duke of Norfolk has been secretly despatched in the Tower, which may well be believed.

London, 31 January, 1547.

Jan. 31. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER of HUNGARY.

Although I was secretly informed the day before yesterday that this King (Henry VIII) had on the previous day, the 28 of January, 1547, passed from this life—God receive him in His Grace!—I was unable, notwithstanding all my efforts, to advise your Majesty of the fact earlier than now, the passages all being closed, as indeed they still remain.

I have been promised a passport for a letter for this day; Secretary Petre and another member of the Council having been to see me this morning. They said that they had been deputed by their colleagues on the Council to express to me their great sorrow and sadness since God had been pleased to work His will upon their royal master, who in his last moments had expressly enjoined all his Council to maintain good relations with the Emperor before all other sovereigns. He had also to the last declared the entire confidence he had in his Majesty, who, he doubted not, would always be a true protector of the English nation and a father to his (Henry's) people. The Council intended to convey this more at length and formally to his Majesty by means of a gentleman named Bellingham, who was greatly trusted by the late King, and who would in a very short time start on his journey to visit the Emperor in the name of the new King.

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I am given to understand that the late King appointed as administrators and guardians of his son the earl of Hertford, the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley), the Great Master of the Household (William Paulet, Lord St. John, later Marquis of Winchester), the Lord Admiral (John Dudley, Lord Lisle) and Secretary Paget, but I am not quite sure yet of the secret. It is whispered already that the leading man will be the earl of Hertford, who, indeed, occupied that position before the death of the late King.

The Prince has been this day publicly proclaimed King Edward, the sixth of his name, and will after dinner this afternoon make his entry into the Tower to assume his first crown. The final solemnity of the state coronation will take place in fifteen days from now.

There is nothing said about Madam Mary. Many people are saying that the Duke of Norfolk has been secretly despatched in the Tower of London, which is easily believed.

London, the last day of January, 1547.

Jan. 31. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received from the hand of your Secretary, who is the bearer of the present, your letter of 23rd instant: and have heard what Secretary Paget proposed to you, as a means of pacifying German affairs: that the King would willingly act as intermediary if he had reason to believe that the Emperor would accept his help towards a settlement, but that he (the King of England) is anxious not to expose himself to the slight of a refusal. We have no doubt that this proceeds from the sincere affection which the King bears to the Emperor, and from a desire that the affairs of the latter may prosper; and you will accordingly thank him for it, in our name, when opportunity offers. We know well that the intervention of no prince in Christendom would be so welcome to the Emperor as that of the King of England, but since you wish for our opinion as to whether his Imperial Majesty would at present accept his intercession, and Paget reposed this confidence in you, we will inform you of the present state of affairs in Germany, according to our advices. Since the submission of the Duke of Wurtemburg and the cities of Ulm and Frankfort, the people of Augsburg have become reconciled, submitting themselves to his Majesty's clemency, and accepting the conditions prescribed to them. The Strassburg people have also sent their representatives to make a similar arrangement: although some have striven to prevent them from doing so. The ex-Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse are seeking by every possible means to become reconciled with his Majesty: the Landgrave having even prayed our brother the King of the Romans through the Landgrave's son-in-law, Duke Maurice, to agree to an arrangement; but as our brother the Emperor has no intention of treating these two (*i.e.*, the Landgrave and the Elector of Saxony) as princes; regarding them as his vassals, and rebels who, by means of false libels and other writings,

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have declared him to have forfeited the Imperial crown, and to be no longer their liege lord and sovereign, with many other shameful insolences too execrable and hateful to be repeated, his Majesty has caused them to be informed that he will not deal with them unless they submit to his mercy, or as it is called in their language, "ingnade." In such case, his Majesty will make known his pleasure to them. Others whose offence has been less grave than theirs have thus made their submission, and having regard to their great transgression and injury towards their sovereign, we do not see how his Majesty can possibly act otherwise, without a sacrifice of his dignity. Now that the cities that supported them have submitted, it may be hoped that it will be easy to punish their great insolence, and although we know that the intercession of the King of England for the Landgrave and the Saxon would be very agreeable to the Emperor, yet we are not without fear that the latter would decline to enter into any capitulations with them if they did not first submit to his good pleasure. We do not believe that, considering the King's sincere friendship for the Emperor, he would advise him to act otherwise, particularly bearing in mind the condition and quality of the offenders; who are but rebel vassals. You will communicate this to Secretary Paget in the same strict confidence with which he addressed you, assuring him that, beyond what we have said, we are quite ignorant of the Emperor's intentions, but if we can discover anything further with regard to it, we will, with due secrecy, inform you of it. Thank him also for the good offices he performs in his Majesty's affairs.

If the French attempt to sustain the rebels, or mix themselves in this war, we trust that the Emperor will find means to resist them, and that they will be unable to avail themselves of the aid of the Turk, who, during the coming year, will not invade Hungary. According to the latest news we have from the East, the third son of the Turk, who has been sent against the Persians with a great force, was defeated, and consequently the Turk, who had come from Constantinople to Adrianople for the purpose of preparing his army for the attack of Hungary, had returned to Constantinople, and had thrown the whole of his forces against the Persian and his adherents. The Turk had also immediately sent back the Ambassador of the King of the Romans, with most gracious messages, whereas before the said ambassador had the greatest of trouble even to obtain an audience. This gives us hope that by this means God may afford time and opportunity for a beneficent union of Christian Princes, for the purpose of jointly directing their forces against the Turk.

The Emperor in his latest letter to us repeats what you wrote to him about the impending change of government in England, in order that we may consider what can be done to improve the way in which his interests are dealt with there, and to preserve the good friendship now existing. Our opinion is also desired as to whether it would be advisable to take any fresh or special steps in this direction for the purpose of influencing those who

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are at present in the English government or those who may succeed to the charge of the young Prince and the realm after the death of the King. You will please send us your opinion on this point as soon as possible and your advice on all else that may occur to you with the object of keeping England friendly, and especially tell us if there is any way of preventing the country from further surrendering itself to sectarianism.

Binche, 31 January, 1547.

January. Paris K. 1487.

ST. MAURIS to the KING OF THE ROMANS.

An ambassador has been sent by the King of France to the Turk to request him to make a descent upon Sicily, and to press him earnestly to attack Austria, in the assurance that the Protestants, although they have retired now, are determined to re-commence the war next year. They are in no want of money and have plenty of means to take the field. One half of them will join the Turk, even, if necessary . . . . . .

Monluc has been arrested at Paris at the request of the Turk, as being too favourable to the interests of the Emperor.

The Protestants have sent hither three ambassadors, Sturmius and the Chancellors of Saxony and Hesse, to beg for French aid, and to endeavour to negotiate an offensive and defensive alliance with this King (Francis I). There came with them two Switzers, sent by the Protestant Cantons. It is ascertained that the King (of France) promised to treat with them for a defensive league only, to provide them with 60,000 crowns monthly during a period of six months, and to lend them 200,000 crowns in cash to be sent to Basel for the defence of the States of Wurtemberg, Hesse and Saxony. The cities of Basel and Strassburg are to be the guarantors of the sum advanced, and the King promises to lend more on the same or similar good security if need should arise. The condition is that all the said Protestant States and cities are to stand united against the Emperor, without which the pledges of France fall through. Sturmius has been sent to the Princes to urge them to hold out, whilst the Chancellor of Saxony has gone over to England to persuade that King if possible to help them and enter into the alliance. They are to explain to him (the King of England) that he is equally interested in the conflict as they are, as they seek to destroy and the Emperor to maintain the Papal supremacy, and if the Council goes on he (the King of England) will be the first to be attacked. They report here that the King of England has told some private friends of his that he would be very willing to enter into a confederacy with the Protestants, but he excludes the Landgrave in consequence of the trick he played him last year.*

* It will be recollected that the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, had undertaken to raise a body of mercenary troops for the use of Henry VIII in his war with France, and had without the King of England's permission employed them himself in capturing and depriving the Duke of Brunswick, his private enemy. This attack upon Brunswick, it will be remembered, was one of the Emperor's pretexts for his hostile action towards the leading Protestant Princes.

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The King of England has had the Duke of Norfolk, his son and fifteen gentlemen arrested as it is alleged that the Duke had been concerned in a conspiracy to raise him to the throne on the death of the King, he being near the succession. The English ambassador here tells me that the son of the Duke greatly aggravates his father's offence. The King of England has also on some suspicion he entertained, changed all his officers in Boulogne, and the other places he holds on the coast.

There is great hope here of the marriage of Horatio (Farnese), the Pope's nephew, with the consent of *Dux* (the Dauphin). The latter makes a condition that the Pope shall furnish 400,000 crowns in ready money to buy estates for Horatio. On this point the King recently said to Hercules (Guise), that he asked for this sum mainly for the purpose of making the Pope unable to give any more help to the Emperor. It is undoubted that the King did have the Pope requested indirectly to find some pretext for avoiding to furnish more aid to his Majesty, knowing full well that the Emperor will ask for it before he listens to any proposal for the marriage of Madam Margaret with our Prince (Philip). He (the King of France) declares that if the offers made by his ambassadors in Bruges for the said marriage are accepted he will undertake to give aid against the Turk and the Protestants, do his best to secure the entire success of the Council (of Trent) and furnish money for the recovery of Hungary.

It is said that the Pope is on this account urging the Emperor to enter an alliance with this King of France against the Protestants, and to cement the friendship by consenting to the marriage in question, by which, as he says, the Emperor would be able to settle everything satisfactorily, whilst on the other hand the rejection of these advances would infinitely protract them. From what I can understand, his Majesty could hardly approve of the retention of Piedmont by France.

Your Majesty will have been informed that up to the present the Scots have remained at war with the Emperor, and that recently the King of France had approached his Majesty with the request that he might be allowed to negotiate peace. The Emperor declined to accede to this, but in the course of the negotiation his Majesty said that the King of France might cause some Scotsmen to come and treat with him (the Emperor) direct, in which case he would receive them. I have acted on these instructions and the Scottish representatives will soon arrive in Flanders.* The two principal points to be discussed are first the redress for the injuries caused to the Emperor and his subjects, and, secondly, the restoration of the plunder unjustly taken by the Scots from his Majesty's subjects in violation of the safe conduct. The King of France confesses that these demands are reasonable, but he nevertheless begs that the said offences may be passed over, as it is a (poor ?) country and wishes for peace with the Emperor, because the King of England will not allow the Scots to frequent his country until it is made.

* *See* Calendar, Vol. 8, *p.* 536.

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The King of England asserts that he is bound to assume this position and made a declaration to that effect recently in the presence of the imperial and the French ambassador when a discussion arose as to the interpretation of the terms of the last treaty between England and France.

The French insist that the Scots are included generally in the treaty, and the King of France is much annoyed with the King of England on the matter, blaming him entirely, and asserting that by thus excluding the Scots he has already violated the treaty. He says that it is clear that the one object of the King of England is to reduce Scotland to his rule. You may see by this, Sire, how little true friendship exists between these two Kings (of France and England), and so far as can be seen there is scant appearance of greater cordiality for the future on account of the daily squabbles that arise between them about the new forts near Boulogne, which the King of England says he will visit this spring.

The King of France claims that these forts ought not to be constructed, because they were not commenced before the conclusion of the peace, which is quite notoriously untrue, and the King of England insists upon proceeding with the work. The King of France says that next October, at the latest, he will tender to the King of England the two millions in gold, and they (the French) are making all possible provision of money with this object, not having lowered the tallies nor other subsidies, which are now heavier than during the war. The tallies for this year amount to nearly five millions of francs, and the taxes to three millions and a half. They are withholding the money which was to be repaid to the merchants at Lyons, paying for it an interest of 15 per cent. If the King of England refuses to receive the money (*i.e.*, the indemnity for Boulogne) the French say that they will spend it next year in making war upon him. They have retained their galleys in the Channel, most of them being at Rouen. From the best information I can gain it is my own belief that they really mean to make war upon England if the money is not accepted, as they are determined that the King shall not go on fortifying Boulogne. They are very anxious therefore to keep the peace with the Emperor. They think it sufficient to fortify and victual Piedmont, and to complete all the forts they are already constructing by the end of May. They have made arrangements to this effect with various engineers for the sum of 500,000 francs.

They are victualling their fortresses in Picardy and Normandy for three years, Salcedo, a Spaniard, having charge of the operations. Under colour of defending and assuring their strong places they are putting in readiness four of their legions, namely, those of Burgundy, Picardy, Normandy and Champagne. The captains in command of these were warned not to fail; but they protested that it was impossible for them to muster the men ready by the time mentioned by the King, namely the end of this month (January, 1547). They pointed out that the King had previously caused them to dismiss their men entirely, so that

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it is very difficult to get fit men together again in a short time. The King sees by this what a mistake he made in not keeping the forces afoot. He was prevented from doing so by the fear that if the people were trained and accustomed to arms they might rise against him and refuse to pay any more taxes. The mustering of these legions is a good sign that they (the French) will undertake some enterprise if they see a favourable opportunity. But, Sire, there are many reasons that may divert them from making any move against the Emperor, the King of England not being friendly with them and the Emperor having given them no pretext for quarrelling with him.

Their desire to tender the money to the King of England and to make war upon him if he refuses it, in order to prevent him from growing stronger on this side of the Straits, also would make them hesitate. Time will show, however, what is the object of their preparations.

The Papal Nuncio has complained to the King of France of his receiving so frequently and welcoming all Protestants that resort to him, as well as the official representatives of the Protestant Princes. He points out that this action is likely to make them more obstinate than ever in their heresy. The King replied that as the Emperor had desired that they (the Protestants) should be included in the peace of Crepy against his (Francis') wish, he could hardly refuse to listen to what they had to say. Besides this, when he (Henry) was at war with the King of England the Emperor received all the Englishmen who came to him. It was only reasonable that he (Francis) should be allowed to make and keep what friends he could. Even if he made treaties with these Protestants, he said, he would take care that nothing was done against the peace (of Crepy) since they were included in it. He was the more justified in this course by the fact that the Emperor had another treaty with the King of England, of which neither he (Francis) nor his ministers had ever been able to obtain details, they being informed that its object was limited to settling certain difficulties arising out of former treaties; which was extremely hard to believe.

People here are saying that the King ought to help the Protestants, as the Emperor has caused them to be comprised in the treaty with him, and it is said to be the intention of the King to do so, whether with good foundation or not I am not sure. The King has repeatedly told me that he is desirous of preserving the peace with the Emperor, even if he does not form a closer alliance with him, which he is most anxious to do. This last assertion is easily believed; for there is in this country no suitable match for his daughter (Margaret of France); but as for the first, his actions make it doubtful; and in all cases it is well to keep on the alert in dealings with him, as I have no doubt the Emperor is doing. With regard to the above mentioned marriage they justify themselves to all the ambassadors resident here, except the one representing the King of England, who is making every effort to bring about a closer alliance (of the King

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of France) with the Emperor, leaving Milan to the latter and taking Piedmont as a recompense for himself (Francis). He expresses the opinion that by these means his Majesty would put an end to all his quarrels and give lasting peace to Christendom. He urges this point by every argument and persuasion in his power, but his Majesty should not conclude that his intentions are really directed towards the establishment of peace, but rather to provoke future wars. The design of the King of France in making an arrangement with the Emperor would be first to make war upon the English, and then when a favourable opportunity offered itself to turn his arms against his Majesty from Piedmont. When their (the French) ministers were told that the retention of Piedmont was only for the purpose of keeping Italy in alarm they replied that if the King wished to do that he might easily effect it from the Marquisate of Saluzzo and other places belonging to the Dauphiné, without any possibility of interference from anybody. They say also that they have the right to demolish the fortresses of Piedmont, which will never subsequently be able to oppose them, this being only another cloak for their retention of the country.

Some days since a great affray took place at Rouen between the men of the galleys and the townspeople, and it reached such a pitch that the King had to send some of his men at arms to put an end to the disturbance. The Pope has claimed the money which the late Cardinal of Scotland owned in the bank at Paris, which the King (Francis) has reserved for the heirs of the said Cardinal. This is the knot of the difficulty, and as far as can be seen the Pope is likely to get very little out of it. The French are delighted with the advance of the Turk to Adrianople, and hope that he will soon enter Hungary.

There is an ambassador in this Court from the King of Poland requesting the King of France to send a French husband to the widow * (of the Waywode) when the Turk enters Hungary, and to procure for him from the Turk the investiture of the dignity. The King dislikes the proposal. The King (of France) has had it announced that the free cities of Augsburg, Hamburg and Lubeck intend to aid the Protestants with money. They are much rejoiced here also at the report that a certain Danish count will help the Duke of Saxony with twenty-seven companies of infantry, They are forming a strong army and new naval force on the coast of Normandy, as they have lost all their important vessels by fire. tempest, etc.

Feb. 6. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

We received this morning your letters announcing the death of the King of England, and we immediately despatched a special

* In another letter from the same source written to the King of Romans shortly after the above, but containing little of interest, it is mentioned that the widow in question had sent fresh instructions to the ambassador, who was to ask the King of France to use his influence with the Turk to give to her the reversion of Transylvania in case of the death of her son. A description is also given of an affray in which the said Polish ambassador was concerned in the streets of Paris ending in his imprisonment by officers unaware of his identity.

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courier to his Majesty the Emperor. We have lost no time over this, as previous to the arrival of your courier no news whatever of the event had reached here. Even the English ambassador resident here (Dr. Carne) assures us that he had received no word of it.

Since it has pleased God to work His will upon the King, it will be necessary for you to do your best to temporise with them there as far as possible pending the receipt of a reply to your letters, from his imperial Majesty. You will in the meanwhile entertain the members of the Council with fair words and courteous generalities; and in order to assist you in this as far as we may, we are sending you herewith letters of credence to the Councillors, authorising you to condole with them in our name on the loss of their King. You may say that we have felt this bereavement with the sorrow due to such a prince as he was, and so good a friend and neighbour to his Majesty the Emperor and his dominions. As we have always maintained good and perfect amity with the late King we are desirous of continuing in the same course perpetually with his successor. They (the Councillors), you may say, will find no falling off from this, either on the part of the Emperor or ourselves, as they will without doubt be amply assured as soon as possible by his Majesty himself after the news of the late King's death reaches him.

We make no mention at present of the young Prince, as we are ignorant as yet whether or not he will be recognised as King, and we await intelligence of the Emperor's intentions on the matter. We likewise refrain from sending you any letters for our cousin the Princess Mary, as we do not know yet how she will be treated. Nevertheless, pending the arrival of instructions from the Emperor, do not fail to keep a constant watch upon the behaviour of the rulers of the realm, and also upon any intrigues that the French may carry on, as peradventure they may think that this change in the government of England will give them an opportunity of re-opening the question of the restitution of Boulogne. Keep a sharp eye also on their (the English Councillors') behaviour towards the Scots, and inform us from time to time of what you may hear.

As the suggestion made by Secretary Paget that an attempt might be made to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and the ex-Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse thus for the present falls through, it will be necessary for you also to keep a vigilant regard upon the treatment of the representatives who were sent to England by the said ex-Elector and the Landgrave.

Buichs, 6 February, 1547.

Feb. 8. Vienna Imp. Arch.

REPORT from the QUEEN DOWAGER'S SECRETARY to the FLEMISH COUNCIL.

On the 8 February, 1547, an English gentleman arrived at Valenciennes and addressed himself to the Queen (Dowager), bringing with him two letters from the new King of England; one of them announcing that the King was continuing and

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confirming Dr. Edward Carne in his commission as resident ambassador in her Majesty's Court. The second letter was one of credence to her Majesty in favour of the bearer, who in virtue thereof represented to the Queen that he had been sent by the young King his master and his government to the Emperor, for the purpose of delivering to his Majesty the message which the late King had ordered to be conveyed to him.

The envoy continued that he had been instructed to visit the Queen (Dowager) on his way towards the Emperor, for the purpose of informing her of the very sad news of the passing of the late King of England. The King, he said, had died as a good Christian on the 8th of last month, and in his last extremity he had ordered that an envoy should be sent to the Emperor to carry his final recommendations to him, and to pray him, in consideration of the close and sincere friendship that had always existed between them, to be good enough to continue the same relations towards his young son, whom he had enjoined never to depart from the alliance with the Emperor, but on the contrary to draw it closer and increase it. The King now dead earnestly prayed his imperial Majesty to consent to be the protector of the young King and his realm, in the same way as he (King Henry) had always intended to be the protector of the Emperor's son, the Prince of Spain, if fate had decreed that his imperial Majesty should die before him. The late King had also declared, that as her Majesty the Queen (Dowager) had always been a mediatrix in the said true and sincere friendship between the Emperor and himself, he prayed her to continue to be a means for its uninterrupted observance and perpetuation, and for the good relations and neighbourship between his imperial Majesty and the young King of England.

Her Majesty replied to this address, saying that she would truly have wished that the envoy had been sent with more agreeable news than those he brought, for the intelligence of the death of the King was extremely painful to her. Nevertheless, as it had pleased God the Father thus to ordain, there was no other course but to resign oneself to the divine will and to pray for the King's soul, which duty her Majesty would faithfully fulfil. She doubted not, she said, that the Emperor would receive the news of the King's death with marvellous sorrow, though she was equally sure that, having regard to the singular and perfect amity that had existed between them, the Emperor, whose affection towards the late King was very warm, would continue to bear the same feelings towards his son, to whom he would give such support and assistance as circumstances might render necessary. For her own part, her Majesty continued, she would always use her efforts in every way to maintain the good friendship referred to.

The gentleman in question then proceeded on his journey towards the Emperor, and the Queen informed him that if on his way back he would come to where she might be she would give him a written answer to his message, and would also send

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by him letters to the young King and his Council, or otherwise she would make similar communications through the imperial ambassador resident in England.*

Feb. 8. Simancas. E.R. 874.

JUAN DE VEGA† to the EMPEROR.

I wrote to your Majesty by Don Juan de Mendoza, and your Majesty will have been made acquainted by his relation and my letter with all that had passed previous to his departure. In obedience to the order I had received from your Majesty, I afterwards went to see his Holiness about the 500,000 ducats, and had much discussion with him on the subject. He complained that your Majesty had not granted audience to his Nuncio, and sent him no information as to the progress of affairs in Germany. I gave him such replies as seemed necessary, and he concluded by saying that he loved your Majesty and would see what could be done. He told me to speak to Farnese about it.

The next day, which was the feast of Candlemas, we happened (*i.e.*, Cardinal Farnese and the writer) by chance to be close together at the Mass, as he was serving the Pope as assistant, and we had some talk on the matter, in which he promised that he would speak to the Pope and let me know later with what result. A couple of days afterwards he sent word to me by Maffeo that his Holiness had said that the redress must begin from the other side, and some attempt be made to satisfy his Holiness. I replied in a way that seemed to me suitable to such a cool and ineffectual mediation. To say the truth, everything that Farnese has done since his last return from Germany has partaken of this character.

The next day I sent word to the Pope that, if he would allow us, Don Francisco de Toledo and I would wait upon him for the purpose of fulfilling your Majesty's instruction brought by Don Francisco. The Pope replied that he was indisposed. I know not whether he was really so, or if it was intended simply to make a show of displeasure at your Majesty's treatment of his Nuncio, of which he complains. I am informed, however, to day that the Pope has asked whether I am going there. He shall be informed in the same terms as before that I wish to do so, and if he gives us an opportunity Don Francisco will submit to him the mission entrusted to him by your Majesty.

Soon after Count Fiesco left here last summer, a gentleman called the Chevalier Podrato, who was suspected of looking after Fiesco's affairs here, dropped a portion of a letter in cipher, a copy of which I send herewith, and also a deciphering of it made by one of the Duke of Florence's men, it having been sent to Florence for deciphering. It will be seen by this paper that the understanding with France was in such a condition that it has since doubtless become closer.

Since the article of "Justification" was promulgated, the

* The Queen Dowager was at the time absent from the seat of her government, and in such cases a summary of her proceedings was sent to the Privy Council at Brussels for record and reference.

† The Spanish ambassador in Rome who was pressing the Pope for aid against the German Reformers.

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Pope considers the Council (of Trent) at an end, and his friends are already saying that there will only be two more sessions. His Holiness is delighted at this, and his pleasure makes him less apprehensive and respectful than usual, because the National Council, which they think is certain to follow, inspires them with infinitely less fear than the universal one. This I hear from a person who is intimate with one of the principal men with whom the Pope discusses his affairs. It is the object they have aimed at for a long while, it having been resolved in the Pope's Council that this was the lesser evil. Germany, they say, is lost to them in any case, and that France will not hold one (*i.e.*, a Council), as they feel sure that peace will not prevail between your Majesty and the King of France, and they (*i.e.*, the Papal ministers) will always use their influence to prevent a Council from being held there (*i.e.*, in France). In Spain, on the other hand, a Council might be held and not much risk be run in consequence, because they feel certain that the Pope's interests and wishes will be respected, owing to the strength of the religious feeling in the country. A Nuncio, moreover, would be sent to attend any such Council in Spain. In short, they are of opinion that in national Councils they incur no such peril to their dignity, or of being obliged to reform their mode of living in Rome, as they would do in a universal Council. As for what would be most advantageous, or otherwise, for the common welfare, and for the service of God, that is what they think least about.

Cardinal Santa Cruz wrote to the Pope recently, as I am informed by a person who saw his letter read, saying that a National Council would be held in Germany; and that judging from the gravity of the maladies now afflicting the Christian body, needing as they do much doctoring, he thought it would be well that each province should dress its own wounds, his Holiness sending a legate to each Council. It is said that the Pope was much pleased with this letter, as it exactly conformed to his own views, and he greatly praised the Cardinal and his opinion; although he dissented about sending a legate.

Rome, 7 February, 1547.

Since the above was written, and whilst the courier was about to start with it, his Holiness sent word to-day for Don Francisco and myself to go and see him. We went, and Don Francisco submitted his proposals in really appropriate terms. He also gave fitting answers to the Pope's remarks. I refer your Majesty to Don Francisco's report of the interview.

Rome, 8 February, 1547.

Feb. 10. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Vienna Imp. Arch.

I have received by my man your Majesty's letters respecting the affair about which I despatched him to Flanders.

Having regard to the best interests of his Majesty the Emperor I will convey to Secretary Paget what your Majesty has instructed me to say on the matter in question,* which I find

* See letters of 31 January from Van der Delft to the Emperor and to the Queen respecting Paget's suggestion that Henry should act as intermediary between Charles and the German Protestants.

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extremely appropriate and calculated honestly to satisfy him. It is, in good truth, most desirable that we should keep Paget in hand, for his authority in this country is great. But, nevertheless, Madam, the great change that has come over affairs here with the death of the King, and the consequent confusion, makes me think that these people will have less desire than before to interfere in the affairs of others, since they are at present so troubled about their own.

With regard to your Majesty's directions that I should write giving my opinion as to what course is best to be adopted, in order to maintain the good relations we have at present with the English, and if any means exists to prevent the latter from giving themselves up more completely than heretofore to the sectarianism that now afflicts them: and also in reply to your Majesty's enquiry as to whether it will be advisable to take any particular steps to entertain those who are at present the heads of the government, or those who may in future, be entrusted with the guardianship of the young Prince, I may say that your Majesty will have learned from my letter of the 31 January last the names of the men into whose hands the government of the realm and the custody of the Prince have fallen. I have, however, thought well to enclose also in the present letter a memorandum of them.

It is to be borne in mind, in the first place, that amongst these men there are four, who, according to present appearances, will take into their hands the entire direction of affairs. These are the earl of Hertford, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Admiral and Paget. Each one of these will strive his best for his own advancement, and it is already evident that this is the case by the action of the earl of Hertford himself. He was simply appointed first of the Councillors by the testament of the late King, but he at once made himself the head of them all, and has assumed the title of Protector of the present King Edward and of his realm. He causes to be borne before him two gilt maces, and his intention is to create his brother (Sir Thomas Seymour) Lord Admiral, the object of this apparently being the more firmly to consolidate his authority, whilst the present Lord Admiral aspires to be Lord Chamberlain and Commander in Chief, which office was held previously by Hertford himself. The Lord Chancellor and Paget, who were in co-operation with them before the death of the late King, the one perhaps out of fear, and the other by reason of affection, will now uphold and sustain them for the sake of their own preservation and the augmentation of their authority, which must certainly increase, since the others are perfectly aware that without these two they can do but little. It thus seems probable that the earl of Hertford and the Lord Admiral (Dudley) will enjoy the honours and titles of rulers of the realm, whilst the Lord Chancellor and Paget will in reality have the entire management of affairs.

It is, of course, quite likely that some jealousy or rivalry may arise between the earl of Hertford and the Lord Admiral, because, although they both belong to the same sect they are nevertheless widely different in character: the Lord Admiral being of high

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courage will not willingly submit to his colleague. He is, moreover, in higher favour both with the people and with the nobles than the earl of Hertford, owing to his liberality and splendour. The Protector, on the other hand, is not so accomplished in this respect, and is indeed looked down upon by everybody as a dry, sour, opinionated man.

Your Majesty will see from what I have written that it will be advisable to keep these four personages at least satisfied and in good humour; and to this end I will do my utmost, as indeed I have hitherto done, not doubting that his Majesty (the Emperor) will entertain them in the usual way.

It is said, Madam, that they are in great anxiety to ensure themselves on the side of France, but I am strongly of opinion that they will never conclude any treaty with France to the, prejudice of the Emperor. The (German) Protestants, however may perhaps find more favour with them than heretofore; but I cannot believe that they will obtain any assistance against the Emperor, whose friendship is far more necessary to the English than theirs, as they (the English) know full well.

It is true that I have been informed in confidence that the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) was not placed in the Council because he was the enemy of France, but my own opinion is that his exclusion is much more owing to the difference of his religion than to his partiality to the Emperor; because both the Lord Chancellor and Paget have never made any secret of their preference for the friendship of the Emperor to all others, and they are marvellously attached to the person of his Majesty, in the entire confidence that he will never fail them. Paget, indeed, told me that the amiable words the Emperor had deigned to address to him were firmly believed in by him, whereas if *the other* (by which expression he denoted the King of France) had used similar expressions towards him, he would have been very doubtful about them: for, said he, I hold the Emperor to be a true, good and loyal Prince to his word and faith.

On a subsequent occasion I was in conversation with the earl of Hertford and the latter asked me after the Emperor's affairs. I set forth the favourable progress and just causes of the war in Germany, and though he learnt from me that there was no change yet in their (the Lutherans') religion, he showed no signs of partiality, but on the contrary welcomed me effusively and made great offers. I have since then kept in the friendship of the Lord Admiral by acting as god father with him; so Madam, as you will see, they are all on very good terms with me, and I have left our affairs in their management, in order to keep them all attached to our interests, and if possible to avoid their complete abandonment to the sects. We shall be able to judge by the road they may take if it will be necessary to provide any further remedy for this. It will to some extent depend upon whether the French preparations are intended against them or against us. I expect, nevertheless, that your Majesties will consider it advisable to send some special personage hither with formal condolence, and at the same time to congratulate the

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new King on his coronation, which is to be solemnised on the twentieth of this month. The best course to pursue can then be decided upon. I have thought well, however, in any case, to describe in this letter to the best of my ability the way that things are going here, so that your Majesty may be guided thereby in your resolutions.

Paulin is still here, and persists in his assurances that his master the King of France will not make war on the English. The galley of Baron de Saint Blancart is being prepared to be taken back to France, but without the galley slaves.

The Scots (ambassadors) are also remaining here, and have sent to their government requesting that more ample commission should be given to them in consequence of the changed condition of affairs here brought about by the death of King Henry. All this looks like mere procrastination, but in the meanwhile these people (the English) are not slackening in their preparations of all sorts of warlike munitions, men and other necessary elements, both for Boulogne and Scotland.

On Monday next the body of the late King will be transferred to Windsor, where the interment will take place and the service be performed. They have sent me some cloth according to the usual custom, in order that I may attend the obsequies.

London, 10 February, 1547.

In a note enclosed with the above letter, the following list of the Council is given for the information of the Queen :—

The earl of Hertford, uncle of the Prince.
The archbishop of Canterbury (T. Cranmer).
The Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley).
The Great Master of the Household (W. Paulet, Lord St. John).
The Privy Seal (John, Lord Russell).
The Lord Admiral (John Dudley, Lord Viscount Lisle).
The bishop of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstal).
The Master of the Horse (Sir Anthony Browne).
Secretary Paget.
Dr. Wotton, English ambassador in France.
*Mr. Edward Wotton, his brother.
†The Lord Chief Justice.
‡Mr. Herbert, brother-in-law of the Queen, formerly of the Chamber.
§Mr. Denny, the most confidential of any of the gentlemen of the chamber.
||Mr. Bromley.
**Mr. North, Chancellor of the Augmentation.

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* Sir Edward Wotton, Treasurer of Calais, of which place his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Belknap, was controller.

† Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

‡ Sir William Herbert, who had been the chief gentleman of the King's bedchamber. He was married to Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, a sister of Queen Katharine Parr. He was noted for his ostentatious magnificence.

§ Sir Anthony Denny, the greatest personal friend of Henry's latest days. He alone had the courage to announce to the King his impending death.

|| Sir Thomas Bromley, a Justice of the Common Pleas and subsequently Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

** Sir Edward North, afterwards Lord North of Kirtling.

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Feb. 11.
Simancas.
E. 644.

The EMPEROR to DON DIEGO DE MENDOZA.

M. Girone Bertano has come to us from the Pope, bearing letters also from Cardinal Farnese, urging us by the usual arguments to make peace with France: and with this end suggested, (1) that we should propose terms upon which a closer friendship with France might be made. (2) That we should arrange an interview with the King of France, at which the Pope might be present, for the purpose of promoting such friendship, or at least that we and the King of France should send representatives to Rome in order that the Pope might reconcile if possible the differences between us.

We replied saying that his Holiness knew better than anyone that our great desire had always been to live in peace with France, and this feeling had been expressed many times, but (the reasons are given at length in the letter) we were unable to accede to the suggestions submitted to us by Girone Bertano. The latter fell back upon his last suggestion (*i.e.*, that representatives should be sent to Rome) saying that really that was the object of his mission, and his instructions went no further. It was far, he said, from his Holiness' thoughts to set himself up as an arbiter between us and the King of France. He knew well how dangerous such an office is between two powerful sovereigns, one of whom he would probably offend. He only aspired with the most perfect impartiality to bring about a good and durable peace. In any case no harm could be done by hearing what each side had to say, and perhaps if we would send a person there, some means might be proposed to bring about so righteous an object as our supremacy over the whole world, for if we were reconciled with France no one would be able to stand in our way.

We stopped him at this, and said that everyone knew, and our acts all proved, that we did not aspire and had never imagined for ourselves such universal supremacy. If we had done so it is quite likely that some people would have grieved more than they do now. We were, we said, entirely favourable to peace; and would very willingly discuss means to that end, if fitting conditions could be proposed. But at present our answer must stand as we had given it.

We then went on to express our surprise at the long delay that had taken place in the giving by his Holiness of the reply to Don Juan de Mendoza, and, after all, that the answer sent was such a dry one as it was, and so regardless of the position in which we were. We had commenced this holy enterprise on the persuasion of his Holiness, and when we had brought it to the point it had reached it seemed to us unfitting that the answer should be coupled with this talk of peace. It was also unfitting that his Holiness should take his stand upon his desire to remain neutral in order not to avoid giving the French an excuse that he had departed from neutrality by aiding this enterprise in which we are engaged. We could not believe, moreover, that the King of France, being a Christian monarch, could consider that his Holiness was departing from his neutrality in helping forward so saintly an enterprise as ours. If his Holiness did not do so

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we should have much greater reason to complain of his departure from neutrality, and from his high duty. We added that it had been asserted that the French had solicited his Holiness not to furnish any further aid ; and even that his Holiness had promised not to contribute anything further but we had refused to believe such a thing, until this reply (to Don Juan de Mendoza) gave signs that there was some truth in it. This was not the way, we said, to bring about a closer peace and friendship. We had told the French ambassador the same a few days before ; and we had said that if the King was anxious to break with us, which we could not believe as he had assured us so emphatically of his intention to keep the peace undisturbed, we should be obliged to make the best arrangement we could here (*i.e.*, in Germany) looking after our own interests without thinking of other people's. This matter, we said, was already so far advanced that if the Pope would not help us any further, and we saw ourselves pressed, we should take the course most advantageous to us. This, we continued, would be perfectly easy to settle ; and if we joined with these people (*i.e.*, the German Protestants) against France, in case the latter power moved against us, God might carry into effect the saying of the Psalmist, "*Vindicabo inimicos meos de inimicis meis.*" The Pope would have a better excuse for his action if we were asking him to do anything beyond reason ; but in fact all we were asking him was that he would fulfil the capitulations he had agreed upon. The delay in paying the subvention, now that affairs have been brought to their present favourable position by our success, could not fail to appear most extraordinary to the world, and especially that the Pope after so long a delay should give us this curt answer now. We were, we said, not accustomed to do things by force, or by any other means than by good will and reason. To this the Nuncio replied that the Pope had already fulfilled the agreement as to the subvention, and if the contingent had dwindled in number that was not his fault. His decision to discontinue it (*i.e.*, the armed contingent) had been adopted because winter was coming on when we should not need an army. We answered that as the contingent had been weak for a long time past, it had been of little or no service to us, and had done more harm than good. The Duke of Camarino* had been told that the harm they did might be put up with if the number of men were large, because they might be of some use ; but notwithstanding their reduced numbers they still continued to commit their numerous outrages without being of any use at all. We should, indeed, prefer that they had gone home, only we thought that such a course would have been disagreeable to his Holiness. The Pope, however, ought to have brought their number up to the full strength agreed upon, and have had them paid more regularly ; or, at least, he should have made up the deficiency of men by a money payment, in order to fulfil the undertaking. With regard to his remark about not needing an army in the winter, we said, we should like to see the countries

* Ottavio Farnese, the Pope's grandson, who commanded the Papal contingent.

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surrender as they were doing if we had no army; above all those that have still to submit. Nevertheless, as we had said, we should take good care of our own interests, without regard to those of others, if we found we were being pressed in the present circumstances.

Girone was either unable or unwilling to reply to this, and asked that we would leave that branch of the subject and deal with the question of peace, which was so holy and necessary an object to aim at. We answered that we had no more at present to say on that point, but would give it our consideration.

Alexander Vitello then came forward to say that he had letters from Cardinal Farnese, who was much grieved that his Holiness would not proceed further in the granting of our request, which was so just; but, in effect, the Pope was old and had his own opinions, though the Cardinal had done all he could, as befitted one so deeply attached to our service and so desirous of pleasing us. He added that, as he was young and very well intentioned, he could still be of much service to us. Fifteen hundred good Italians might yet be raised, and if they were brought to proper discipline they might be made very useful.

We expressed our thanks to the Cardinal for his offer and good wishes, but deplored that his influence with the Pope to forward so holy a cause had been so small. As for the Italians, there were so few of them, and they daily deserted and did much harm and no good, we very often wished they were all in Italy instead of here. Indeed we should have dismissed them already only we did not wish to give offence to the Pope.

During Candlemas, the Nuncio sought audience of us, and came to see us before Mass. Handing us a brief from the Pope he commenced his address by saying that his Holiness was recalling his contingent in consequence of the expiry of the period for which he had agreed to furnish it, and the winter was so far advanced. His Holiness had also been moved to do so by the compassion he felt for the condition of the men and to avoid their perishing altogether to the detriment of Italy, where they might be needed. His Holiness congratulated us upon the happy issue of the enterprise, at which he rejoiced and for which he had heartily thanked God, celebrated Masses, and ordered processions, praying also that the victory might be fruitful as to the results desired.

The Nuncio then expressed his regret that he could not avoid saying certain things which his Holiness had charged him to say, but he was obliged to obey the command given to him. He had, he said, been forced to inform the Pope that we had deferred giving him audience, and his Holiness was displeased thereat as he considered that more respect should be shown to his ministers, especially when they were entrusted with public interests and matters related to this enterprise. The Pope himself, notwithstanding his age, did not fail to give audience to our ministers, he said, whenever necessary, as they would inform us. His Holiness, nevertheless trusted that we, as a Catholic Prince would not neglect to utilise the victory, which God in His

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mercy had sent us, for the due establishment of religion, though he much regretted that so little information was sent to him on the matter. Territories were submitting every day, and treaties were being negotiated and concluded with them, and yet no express mention of his Holiness was made in them, as he thought there ought to be.

Seeing by this where the shoe pinched (*considerando el pie de que se cojeaba*), we thought best to speak more plainly than we had previously done. It was quite clear that suavity was thrown away upon these people, and that however amiable we were they did not abandon their designs, as was seen by the short answer the Pope gave to Don Juan de Mendoza's mission, which was submitted so respectfully and was of itself so reasonable. The assurances conveyed to the Pope by Don Juan, of our good-will towards him produced, as we know, only a curt reply after a long delay, notwithstanding the anxiety and difficulty in which we were at the time, as the Pope's own brief acknowledged. Having regard to all this we replied to the Nuncio as follows. With regard to the recall of the troops, we were very glad of it, since as we had already said they did a great deal of harm, and were of no use at all. We should be much pleased if they were already in Italy : but as for the reasons alleged for the recall we declined to discuss them as they were pure fictions (*frasquerias*).

We thanked his Holiness humbly for his congratulations, but we could not believe the statement that he rejoiced at our victory Indeed, as time went on we grew more convinced of the truth of the previous view of his Holiness' intentions and aims ; and of the desire attributed to him, namely that of entangling us in this business and then to leave us in the lurch for his own ends. We called to mind the saying in Italy, that for young men to catch the French malady was excusable, but it was unpardonable in old men. The Nuncio interrupted us to say that we were speaking of something quite new to him, and he had up to the present not understood anything we had said. But we continued our speech, saying that no doubt, however, it was a long standing disease, and in a subject naturally disposed to the malady from his youth. This was said in a way that the Nuncio could not fail to understand, because, we continued that, although the Pope and others might be displeased, we hoped with the help of God, even failing that of his Holiness, to be able to bring this enterprise to a favourable issue. As for the Masses and processions, of which he spoke, they were good enough in their way, but they did not suffice to fulfil his obligations. In the matter of the delay in giving audience to the Nuncio, no one, we said, knew better than the latter, how reasonable were the causes of the delay. After the great heavy work we had had, the pain of the gout from which we had suffered had prevented us from taking the necessary rest. The reference made by the Pope to his age, and his statement that he always gave audience to our ambassadors was beside the mark. It was well known that the only things that interested him were the prolongation of his own life and the promotion of the advantage of his family.

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These things blinded him to everything else and led him on to the false paths he followed. We were aware that the Nuncio, moreover, brought nothing but empty words, and for the business we had in hand something very different was needed. To tell the truth, if we had known that the Nuncio was going to open up the questions he had done, we should have deferred still more giving him audience, and thus have avoided the necessity of saying what we had been obliged to say in reply to him. In reply to the remark of his Holiness that he hoped that we should as a Catholic Prince make fit use of our victory, and to his complaint that his name was not mentioned in the treaties, we said that his name had been omitted because it was so odious not only here in Germany, but in many other parts of Christendom for his evil deeds. The inclusion of his name, moreover, could serve no good purpose, and could only result in trouble; such, for instance, as a repetition of the evil caused by the divulging of the clauses with regard to the Swiss, which, as is now evident, was done maliciously for the Pope's own ends. With regard to our fulfilment of our duty as a Catholic Prince, we hoped that we should fulfil that and comply with all the calls imposed upon us by our dignity, better than his Holiness did with his, serving as he does his own aims, and pursuing the course he does, as we hoped some day to tell him face to face.. Notwithstanding his refusal to continue his aid to the enterprise, we hoped to carry the latter to such an issue that, by God's grace, we shall be able, complying with that which our duty and dignity demand, to attain a result that some people will be sorry to see.

The Nuncio wished to reply on this point but we left him, saying that it was time to go to Mass. We thought better not to reply specifically to the points alleged by the Nuncio as forming the Pope's reasons for the recall of his contingent, especially the remark about saving the rest from perishing; the whole of the evil and disorder having arisen through his Holiness's fault, by reason of his having failed to provide for the payment of the men in due time. These wages, in any case, were so small that they would have been insufficient to keep the men, who have thus been in a manner forced to commit outrages, and themselves to suffer privation. Alexander Vitello again addressed us in justification of Cardinal Farnese, dwelling much upon his attachment to us and the good offices he had already performed to his own detriment. We replied that if the Cardinal had been so anxious to serve as he said, we wish that his influence with his grandfather had been stronger than it appeared to have been. We could only judge by results. As his grandfather treated us we should treat him and his house, now and hereafter. In addition to this, the subvention of 200,000 crowns was of very little use to us, because we had counted upon it for the pay of the army, and as it did not arrive until very late and then in driblets, our arrangements were all upset. We dwelt much upon the heavy interests we had had to pay, and upon the fact that 6,000 crowns were still wanting to make up the sum promised.

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With regard to the Nuncio's complaint about the audience, we said that he had requested the audience at a time when we were occupied in taking up the position which forced the enemy to retire, and after that nothing more was seen of the Nuncio until we had so bad an attack of gout, as to explain fully our refusal to receive him.

The Nuncio afterwards conversed with Granvelle, and said that he could not avoid informing the Pope of the substance of our remarks but he would omit what he thought might exacerbate matters further. Granvelle gave him a fitting answer favourable to his doing this. The Nuncio then tried to justify the Pope: saying that he had given considerable help to the enterprise, and that the answer given to Don Juan de Mendoza was not prompted by any lack of goodwill towards the business, nor was it out of consideration for the French, but simply to gain some respite from the expense he had been at, and in the meanwhile to promote the peace with France. To this Granvelle answered, unofficially as he said, not having spoken of these matters to us, that not we alone but everyone who knew of Don Juan's mission and its great urgency, were surprised at the long delay in the reply, and at the curt answer eventually given, heedless of the peril and need in which affairs in Germany were at the time, and of our strenuous efforts. The answer, said Granvelle fully confirmed the news that had reached us for some time past both through France and Italy, that the Pope had promised not to continue his aid to the enterprise. As for the expense incurred by his Holiness, continued Granvelle, it was quite evident, that in the circumstances it had been of very little use; and it had not been so large as to justify the Pope in saying that he was unable to do any more, the opposite being notoriously the case. The excuse he gave for discontinuing the aid, and his talk of discussing an understanding with France, would not hold water. There was no reason why the King of France should not treat directly for an understanding if he wished, since he knew very well that we were favourable to it, and the intervention of a neutral party, which the Pope spoke so much about, was quite unnecessary, especially considering how deeply the Pope is pledged to this enterprise, and that we were drawn into it by his persuasion and promises of co-operation. The Nuncio hereupon took his leave, and we told Granvelle to summon Girone to receive a reply to the proposals for peace, negotiations with France.

Granvelle informed him (Girone) that after due consideration, and our talk with the Nuncio and Girone himself, we did not see how we could go any further than the declarations we had already made. Our intention was well known. We desired to keep the peace with France and improve our relations whenever a fitting opportunity occurred; but in the present circumstances we did not see our way to send envoys to the Pope. As you (Mendoza) were going to Rome we said to reside as our ambassador you would be able to learn if there was good ground for the suggestion made and report to us.

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Subsequent to this Girone and the Nuncio jointly sent to ask for audience on the 7th instant in the morning. We offered to receive them in the afternoon and they came. Girone began by saying that he had been told our answer to the peace suggestions he had been instructed to submit to us, and that he hoped we would do what we could to cement the peace which was so necessary to all Christendom, to which end he promised he would strive his utmost. We repeated our previous reply that we desired to keep the peace with France, and upon fitting opportunity to render it more intimate. Nothing should be wanting on our part to effect this, consonant with our dignity and honour; and as you (Mendoza) were going thither (to Rome) as our resident ambassador, you would report from there what seemed desirable. He replied that he was sure that so just a person as yourself would do so efficaciously.

The Nuncio then opened by saying that we had given him no opportunity of replying on Candlemas day, to the whole of our remarks, and begged permission to do so now, which we gave him willingly. He began by referring to our remarks in the previous audience about the French malady, saying that he had been pondering why we had said it. He could assure us that the Pope was so much attached to us and to our interests that he had never done anything to cause us to hold such an opinion of him. He had never had any other desire but to maintain his neutrality, which he thought was most consonant with his dignity, but still helping us as he had done in the past. He hoped we would not give credit lightly to sinister reports circulated by persons who wished to raise discord between the Pope and us. We replied that under cover of this neutrality, of which the Pope was so fond, it could not be denied that he had been much more anxious to please the King of France than us, both in great matters and small. Our affairs were so fully justified that it was unnecessary to say anything on that point, as anyone could judge for himself. With regard to what he said about past events, of which we principally complained, we remarked that the Pope might recollect that, although the King of France had recommenced war against us after the truce of Nice, which was made by the influence and in the presence of his Holiness, the latter had never consented to depart from his neutrality, although there was ample reason why he should have helped us; and we mentioned other instances of his demeanour at that time which were very far from repaying our goodwill to him. There was, moreover, no present reason why he should take such a stand upon his neutrality, since we were now at peace with France, whilst this German enterprise, which his Holiness ought to help for his own honour's sake, had nothing whatever to do with the question of our relations with France. To the Nuncio's request that we would not lightly give credit to rumours about his Holiness, we replied that we were slow in our own affairs, but even slower in believing things to other people's disadvantage. But his Holiness' proceedings were so notorious, that it was not a question of hearing and

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believing, but of seeing and believing; as witness the defection of his contingent for lack of pay, and the delay in sending the subvention in money to our heavy loss in interest. If we had not been popular with the troops the loss and danger might have been much greater. To this we would add the Pope's action in making known the clauses of the agreement, which rendered the enterprise more difficult and costly than it would have been; and this at a time when his Holiness was in duty bound to aid strenuously so saintly a cause as ours, which we had so auspiciously commenced. The Pope's answer to Don Juan de Mendoza's mission, moreover, was so curt and so long delayed; and all this seemed to argue that his Holiness' intention from the first had been to draw us into this business and then leave us in the lurch at the critical moment. Confirmation of this may be found in the universal belief both in Italy and elsewhere, that some time before Don Juan's arrival in Rome on his mission, his Holiness had assured the King of France that he would give no further aid to our enterprise. This we could not believe, nor could we credit for a moment, in view of his obligation and the saintliness of the cause that his Holiness would discontinue the promised subsidy or fail to provide his contingent. But we see the proofs now too clearly to disregard them. If they were insufficient, however, there was also the case that had since happened at Argentina (Strassburg), where the townspeople were desirous of submitting to us as the other towns had done, and they were told on the part of the King of France that they might stand firm, since his Holiness would on no account help us any more in the enterprise. We might adduce, we said, many more such instances if necessary, such as the delay in the brief for the sale of the monastic manors, but we had said enough to explain why we were offended with his Holiness, and the Nuncio and all the world might appreciate the justness of our reasons.

The Nuncio answered point by point, doing his best to meet them and justify the Pope, by throwing the blame on our ministers who professed themselves satisfied. Girone, who was present, putting in a word now and then to help the Nuncio. We ended the discussion by saying that, as our ministers said they could squeeze no more juice from his Holiness, they were obliged to be satisfied with what they could get; and we should soon have an opportunity of seeing what his Holiness would do, as we proposed to proceed in that way in future. (After some paragraphs relative to the fortification of the Romanese by Pier Luigi Farnese against the Emperor's wish, and other affairs in Italy of small present moment, the Emperor records the departure of the Nuncio and Girone. His instructions to Diego de Mendoza then proceeds thus.)

By your practice and experience of affairs and the information contained in this letter and that which you will have learnt from Juan de Vega and Don Juan de Mendoza, etc., you will be able to justify the replies given to the Nuncio and Girone, and also to maintain the good reasons we have for being offended with the Pope. Having regard to the fact that mildness has been

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thrown away, the kindness and services done to the Pope have been ineffectual, the long patience we have exercised in awaiting the still unfulfilled engagement with regard to the contingent and the subvention, and the curt answer to Don Juan de Mendoza given after so long a delay, you will consider whether it will not be best to pursue in the Rome the other course which we have adopted here.

If you think that by these means and God's help any thing can be obtained, or other advantage you will proceed with the dexterity and skill you usually exercise in such matters. At the same time you will endeavour to learn the objects that the Pope and his friends are aiming at, giving them to understand that, notwithstanding the terms in which we had addressed the Nuncio, the matter is still entire, and that if the Pope does his part we shall not fail to do ours as we have hitherto done; but that otherwise we shall be obliged to take the course most advantageous to our own interests and our own dignity. We trust that you will already be in Rome when this letter arrives, but if this should not be the case, you may give to Juan de Vega information as to the parts of it that you may consider necessary, in order that, pending your arrival he may act as may be necessary.

Ulm, 11 February, 1547.

(There is a postscript of a page referring entirely to Italian affairs, Pier Luigi (Duke of Castro) the Galleys of Count Fiesco, etc.)

12 Feb. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since my last letters advising your Majesty of the decease of this King I have received your letters of 18 January*; and, as your Majesty directs me therein to follow precisely the instructions that may be transmitted to me by the Queen (of Hungary) with regard to the matters dealt with in my dispatches of 24th December having relation to the changes that may apparently occur here after the death of King Henry, her Majesty the Queen has desired me to send her my opinions thereon. I have therefore written her what, according to my poor understanding, appears important, in view of the condition into which affairs have fallen.

In order not to trouble your Majesty unnecessarily I have sent a copy of this report to Sieur de Granvelle, and also a copy of my last letter with regard to the conversation I had with the Bishop of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstal) and Secretary Paget, who is, for the present at all events, the person most in authority, and not without reason, since he assures me that the late King three or four days before his death insisted upon having him (Paget) with him alone, they passing entire nights in conversation together; and that at his (Paget's) request the other Councillors were admitted to the King's presence, he having urged in the first place that the Earl of Hertford should be summoned, whereafter the earl was closeted with the King and Paget for at least two

* *See* Calendar, Vol. VIII., *p.* 546.

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or three hours before the other Councillors were called in. It would therefore seem that the whole body of Governors are to some extent under obligations to Paget, as indeed they appear to recognise by the great consideration in which they hold him.

On Sunday last the prince received the order of Knighthood at the hands of the Earl of Hertford, who has been called and appointed Protector. He produced certain letters-patent sealed with the great seal of England under the late King, granting authority to him (Hertford) to assume the position, but these letters-patent were not examined by anyone. Directly after the ceremony the prince dubbed the Lord Mayor of London and other knights.

Parliament is prorogued until after Easter, although those (members) who had come to attend it still remain here, not being allowed to return home; which may well be in order to prevent them coming back with changed opinions, owing to some influence of popular feeling.

The Chancellor of the late Elector of Saxony* and Dr. Brun of Strassburg are still here, but they have not yet been admitted to the King's presence, nor has a certain doctor, sent hither by the King of Portugal as ambassador. This doctor has been once to see me, and, as far as I can discover, though he has told me nothing, his mission is on private affairs.

London, 12 February, 1547.

Feb. 12. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Just as the enclosed letters were ready for despatch the courier arrived with those of your Majesty dated 7th of the present month, to which was attached a credential letter in my favour addressed to the Lords of the Council. It appeared to me important that this should be presented without any loss of time. As, however, I was confined to my rooms by gout I thought best to send to ask Secretary Paget whether it would be more advisable to have the letter presented to the Council at once or to retain it for two or three days when I hoped to be able to deliver it myself in person.

Paget came to see me at once with the Bishop of Durham, and on their entrance they expressed their sorrow at the loss of their King, to present your Majesty's condolence on which sad occurrence, I said, was the special mission now entrusted to me. I did this in the most appropriate words I could find, and I then went on to assure them of your Majesty's earnest desire to maintain the good friendship that at present existed between the countries. They replied that they made no doubt whatever of this, and they hoped sincerely that the Emperor would remain always their good and true friend, as the long standing amity between the crowns required. They dwelt at length on this, recalling the affection that the late King Henry always bore towards his imperial Majesty and his dominions. This, they said, continued to the very last act of the King's life, and

* John Frederick.

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this brought them to the statement that the personages to whom by his dying dispositions the King had entrusted the administration of the realm would strive their best to keep it in peace and tranquility. But, they continued, if this proved impossible they hoped to be able so to conduct their affairs that with the help of their friends they should have no fear of their enemies. In order to give me to understand that they regarded the Emperor as one of their friends Paget added the following words: "What I have always assured you, you will find to be as true as the Gospel. We know perfectly well that the Holy Father (*i.e.* the Pope) is our enemy and wishes us all the harm he can. He has sent an envoy to the Emperor, a man whom he (Paget) named as having been formerly here to negotiate with him, and afterwards in France, but they had such complete confidence in his Majesty the Emperor that they were not in the least alarmed at this intrigue.

After much discourse I told them of the progress of events in Germany, which were going on excellently still, and said that to such an extent had affairs altered there that the former inimical cities now reconciled, as well as all the people at large, acknowledged that their welfare depended upon the victory of the Emperor's arms, seeing the clement treatment that his Majesty extended to them. Thus, I continued, his Majesty was gaining on all sides not only the towns and territories of those who had opposed him but their hearts as well. I then went on to express to Paget in confidence what your Majesty wrote to me about the proposed mediation to terminate the war in Germany, and pointed out the many difficulties in the way. Paget seemed extremely pleased with your Majesty's message, especially as he recognises now that the instrument he hoped to use has failed him. He therefore did not speak any more on the point of the proposed mediation, but reverted to the confidence he felt in the Emperor's friendship with many other amiable expressions.

At length I asked him whether he knew to what end the warlike preparations in France were directed. I asked him as an attached friend in strict confidence if there was any certain information as to these preparations being intended against us. He replied that he knew nothing whatever about that. I then asked him if there was any assurance or certain opinion as to the preparations being really directed against them (the English) whereupon he affirmed most emphatically, and calling upon God as his witness, that he had no knowledge at all of what the King of France intended to do, but that it might well be conoluded that he had his eye fixed either on the dominions of the Emperor or else upon them (the English). He recounted to me the great jealousy that Paulin had demonstrated upon my despatching my secretary to your Majesty, knowing that on the previous day I had been in close conference with him (Paget). Paget said that he had told Paulin that the subject of our communications was the complaints made by private subjects of the Emperor in regard of certain ships. I remarked that this would give to Paulin a plausible ground for claiming some advantage of privacy with

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him (Paget) seeing that he (Paulin) was jealous of my having conferred confidentially with him. To this Paget replied in the words I have already quoted textually about their friendship with the Emperor, making a solemn declaration that I might take as Gospel what he said, and adding the following words *cum cretensibus cretisandum*; "for that reason," said he, "no matter what rumour or appearance may be made, you may rest assured that we shall never separate from our friendship to the Emperor; come what may we shall remain always good loyal friends and colleagues."

Although, Madam, I did not fail to reciprocate these expressions with honest words, yet I did not quite penetrate exactly what they wished to convey by what they said. But I verily believe that they wish for nothing else but to continue in amity and alliance with the Emperor. I suspect nevertheless that the French are courting them for the purpose perhaps of misguiding them or else to bring them in reality to their side, whilst these people (the English) think to entertain them with words in order as Paget says, *cum cretense cretisare*.

The two Councillors when they finally took leave of me pressed me earnestly to do my best as a good minister to preserve the ancient friendship of your Majesties for them as I had done in the time of the late King, although they said they had no mistrust about me. I have thought well to convey details of this interview to your Majesty.

London, 12 February, 1547.

Feb. 12. Paris K. 1487. ST. MAURIS* to PRINCE PHILIP.

(A long letter in cipher informing him that there is a rumour at the French Court to the effect that Albret† had begged the King of France to help him to begin war in Navarre this year. He represented that he had already some fortresses on a war footing on the Bearn frontier. The writer does not think there is much probability of the proposal coming to anything, as the King of France is not in a position to begin war on the Spanish border.)

"A fortnight since Cardinal Du Bellay met the Nuncio at Court, and with great outcry said to him: 'What do you think of the news the King has just received, that the Emperor was in treaty with the protestant towns to let them live in their own erroneous way without interference'? It is even said, he continued, that the Emperor had ordered that no change should be made in religious affairs. Du Bellay asked the Nuncio whether it was not circumventing the Pope and the apostolic chair to make terms with the protestants in violation of the convention with the Pope, which provided that this should not be done without his Holiness' consent. The Cardinal was quite scandalised that these things should happen, and that the Emperor should have begun war on the pretext of religion, whereas it was evident now that it was against the rebels.

"They are spreadnig a rumour here (in Paris) that the present war in Germany will result in greater injury than benefit to

* Imperial Ambassador in France.
† Titular King of Navarre.

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Christendom, since the end of it is to be that protestants are to be allowed to remain obstinate in their errors. If the Emperor, they say, had taken the course now announced at the beginning they would all have submitted to him at once without bloodshed. It is only evil disposed people, however, who speak in this way. Persons who are reasonable and clear in their judgment recognise the just and holy intentions of his Imperial Majesty, and are sure that he will direct matters to a good issue that will eventually serve the true interests of Christianity. It is, in fact, the Cardinal himself and those of his kidney (*ceulx de sa farine*) who are desirous of embroiling the Emperor with the protestants and of keeping up the irritation of the latter.

"It is just current that the King said not a week ago that if the Emperor made any future move to get the protestants to consent to the Council (of Trent) he (the King of France) knew that all the protestant towns would at once rebel. Even if they did not do so immediately they certainly would in time, when the Emperor was absent from Germany. They would, he said, enter into a secret pledge not to consent to the decisions of the Council unless the latter was free, as they had always demanded that it should be, and that they should not be forced into it. If these sayings of the King be not true, the wish is evidently the father of the thought, as in his present humour he has little desire that the Council should effect anything. His aim is that everything that has been done at Trent up to the present should be fruitless, and it is even asserted that he is inclined to recall his ambassadors from Trent if he sees that the Council looks as if it were going on well. As, however, he still professes his intention to adhere to the last treaty, it is possible that he may not recall his ambassadors. He was recently informed of the resolution of the Council in the point of justification, but he said that was a matter that needed not to be dealt with. There were plenty of others to consider, and it would have been better for the Council to have proceeded otherwise. Dux (the Dauphin) and his wife have gone to pass twenty days at Remorantin, and are expected back shortly with M. Albret and his lady. When Dux departed, it was rumoured that he had other objects in view, and that he would take post at Remorantin for Lyons, in order to inspect the warlike preparations there. But there was nothing in it. In fact he could just as well learn what was being done by the reports of officers, so that the rumour was improbable on the face of it." (The rest of the letter, two pages is occupied by news on the internal affairs of France, the defence of Piedmont, and other unimportant subjects unconnected with the Reformation or with English interests.)

Feb. 15. K. 1487. St. Mauris to the King of the Romans.

In a long letter entirely written in cipher, in which the writer repeats the assurances of the King of France that his warlike preparations are purely defensive and not directed against the Emperor, the following passages referring to England occur:

"Nor, Sire, can I believe it probable that the King (of France) will commence war against his Imperial Majesty this year, seeing

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the uncertainty which still exists as to his position with regard to the King of England. Paulin, who went for him to England has been able to make very little way. It is even considered certain that the King of England will commence war against the Scots this year, and the King of France says that he shall assist the latter. It is therefore believed that he will send twelve of his galleys to Scotland, and Messieurs de la Valrounne and L'Orge (*i.e.* Montgomerie) are already raising men in Brittany to send to the aid of the Scots. This will hinder these people (*i.e.* the French) from interfering elsewhere. . . . . It is rumoured in this Court that the King intends to go towards Normandy and pass Easter at the Abbey of Bec or Vatteville, his intention being to visit all his fortresses and frontiers in that province. This, Sire, will certainly increase the distrust in England. It is said that the (English) parliament are assembled to take the oath of allegiance to the young Prince and provide for the government of the country on the death of the King."

15 February, 1547.

Feb. 19. Simancas E. 874. JUAN DE VEGA to the EMPEROR.

Since my last letter, of the 10th instant, the Pope and his friends have been complaining loudly at what the Nuncio wrote to them on the 3rd, giving an account of his interview with your Majesty. They have been exhibiting some of the paragraphs of the letter in order to throw difficulties in the way of Don Francisco de Toledo's mission and to justify themselves for other unreasonable proceedings as your Majesty will see by Don Francisco's letter.

The day after the Pope's displeasure was made known at the above letter from the Nuncio, the French Ambassador went to the Pope, not on that business, as I am informed, but because he had received instructions from France to urge the appointment of the Cardinal of England* to be sent thither (to England) as Legate, as they feared that the English were about to take up arms either against them (*i.e.*, the French) or against the Scots. He also wished to speak of the marriage of Horatio (Farnese) with the daughter of the Dauphin. Although the Pope knows very well that they lie to him in this matter, he is so greedy and self-seeking that he is delighted in any case to hear talk of such things. No decision was arrived at in either of these matters. The question of sending the Legate they agreed must stand over until they saw better what the English were going to do, and the marriage business was confined to haggling over the amount of money the Pope was to give to the bridegroom.

After that the Pope launched out to the ambassador in great complaints of your Majesty, mostly of a general character, such as that your Majesty was ungrateful, and that you only remembered your friends when you needed them, and many other things of the same sort and as unfounded. He ended by

* *i.e.*, Cardinal Pole.

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saying that he loved the King (of France) and desired his success and aggrandisement, towards which he (the Pope) would help to the full extent of his ability.

The ambassador thanked him for what he said about the King, but observed that they were scandalised that Cardinal Farnese, a grandson of his Holiness and in charge of important affairs, should publicly proclaim his imperial leanings. The Pope laughed at this, saying that Farnese was one of his limbs, it is true, but that he (the Pope) was the head, and the limbs would have to move as the head directed. Farnese, he said, would be either French or Imperial as he (the Pope) wished. I know this for certain.

The talk of the League still goes on, but I cannot hear that much progress is made, for there are many difficulties in the way of concluding such an agreement, even if the Pope should decide to do it, which in my opinion he will not, no matter how much they may talk about it. He would like to get others to enter into the League whilst he kept outside, giving a little help secretly to it, whilst he watched events and adopted the course most advantageous to him.

(Some paragraphs follow giving an account of the remonstrances made by the Imperial agents against the French warlike preparations, and the King of France's explanations and excuses. The Pope is much annoyed at this weak attitude on the part of France.)

The Pope has news from France confirming the death of the King of England, and attaches great importance to it, saying that this opportunity must not be allowed to slip of endeavouring to bring the country to submission again. He sent me the news by Maffeo, saying that he thought of sending Legates and taking other steps, showing himself vigilant in the interests of religion. I replied that the care of his Holiness in this matter was praiseworthy, but whilst he declined to aid your Majesty in the extirpation of heresy in Germany, everything else, however good the intention might be, would be untimely. Maffeo met this by complaining of your Majesty, and saying other impertinent things. I stopped him by saying that even if some of these allegations were true, they would not be sufficient to excuse the Pope's non-fulfilment of his engagements, and of his duty to God and his position. Your Majesty, I said, had better reason to complain of his Holiness. Here was Pietro Strozzi swaggering about Rome after having passed three days in the Lutheran camp, having gone thither with information and advice in direct prejudice to the Christian cause.

His Holiness subsequently held a consistory on the 18th instant, and as the date was so near Carnivaltide it was considered an innovation. He spoke about the reformation of the church, especially with respect to the Cardinals. They have got alarmed at what they learn your Majesty said to the Nuncio on this point, and also at the news they have received from Trent, as to the way in which the bishops have begun to talk there. The Pope also referred to English affairs, and the proposal to send a Legate

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thither, and two other Legates to your Majesty and the King of France. No decision was arrived at, however; indeed I learn that the discussion was confused. (Here follow some paragraphs respecting the efforts of the Pope to bring about an arrangement between the two factions at Siena, of no present importance.)

Don Diego de Mendoza is still at Pomblin. I am most anxious to get away from here as so little can be done here to serve your Majesty just now, because the Pope is acting in such a way that unless matters are remedied by the Council, very little can be hoped for from him and his friends, whilst affairs in Germany must remain insecure. This (the Papal power?) is the true bridle and remedy for all the evil. Even my small intelligence can perceive this much, and I presume to speak thus boldly about it, in the conviction that otherwise I should fail in my duty.

Rome, 19 February, 1547.

Feb. 20. K. 1487. ST. MAURIS to COBOS.

(Extract.) The King of France is fitting out his galleys in the harbour of Rouen, and the rumour is that he is going to send them into the Mediterranean, although I have no certain knowledge of the truth of this, and will make further enquiries about it. The Admiral is still much annoyed about the detention of his ship,* and it is possible that if the galleys pass the coast of Spain they may commit some reprisals, which will afterwards be disavowed. There is no news that the King of France intends to make war against the English, on account of the death of the King; but it is certain that he is still fitting out ships on the pretext of sending them to Brasil and to pillage the Emperor's subjects on the high seas.

20 February, 1547.

Feb. 22. Vienna Imp. Arch. THE EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received your letters of 24th ultimo and by their contents have been amply informed of the occurrences in England.

As it has subsequently pleased God to take to Himself the King of England we consider it now unnecessary to dwell at length upon your remarks touching affairs that happened before the King's death. We need only advise you as to the address made to us by the gentleman sent by the young King and his Council to inform us of the event. The substance of what he said was to the same effect as the contents of your letters, namely, that shortly before his death the late King had very expressly recommended and charged his son and the members of his government to maintain always and increase the friendship existing between himself and us, and to fulfil with the utmost exactitude all the treaties of the strictest confederation, which injunction the young King was determined to follow without any contravention whatever. He also begged us to act similarly

* *See* Calendar, Vol. VIII.

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towards him, and to be to him as a good father and protector of his realm, which he was most confidently convinced that we would.

'We replied to this that we learnt with much sorrow of the death of the late King, as we had thereby lost so good and affectionate a brother and friend: but it had given us satisfaction to hear of the goodwill and affection expressed by the young King and the members of his government, and their intention to maintain the treaties of strictest friendship concluded between the late King and ourselves.

We for our part entertained the same desire, and we would at all times exert ourselves most willingly in favour of everything which we saw would forward the interests and welfare of the realm of England, whose prosperity we desired as ardently as that of our own dominions. We went no further than this with regard to the young King, in order to avoid saying anything that might possibly prejudice the right that our cousin the Princess (Mary) might advance to the crown of England. The gentleman who came, and also the English Ambassador resident with us, nevertheless appeared to be quite satisfied with our answer, and in order to further please the Councillors we have written to the young King in similar terms, as you will see by the copy of our letter herewith.

We have in addition to this decided to send thither the Sieur de Chantonnay, one of our Gentlemen of the Mouth, in order that he may in our name visit the young King and express to him our condolence for the loss of his father, and also to assure him of our goodwill as regards the maintenance of the treaties, in conformity with the contents of our letter abovementioned. We also write to the Earl of Hertford in credence of M. de Chantonnay and yourself, and you may make what use you think best of this credence, declaring to him (Hertford), in accordance with what is here set forth, whatever you and Chantonnay consider will be most conducive to confirming him in his attachment and devotion to us.

Chantonnay will give you an account of affairs here, and will inform you also of our intention to go to Frankfort for the convenience of our affairs in general, and especially those referring to the Saxons, and to be within easy communication of our brother the King of the Romans, with the object of completely expelling the ex-Elector.* We need not therefore enter into any of these matters with prolixity, but refer you to Chantonnay for all information.

Ulm, 22 February, 1547.

* The intention of the Emperor to go to Frankfort was not carried out. His sister-in-law, the Queen of the Romans, had died shortly before this letter was written, and the Emperor attended her funeral ceremonies at Ulm on the 25th February. The cities and the south were rapidly surrendering to the Emperor, but John Frederick of Saxony had overrun the territories of his rival Maurice, and at this time preparations were being made by Ferdinand, King of the Romans, to confront him with imperial troops. For several reasons, however, the great battle, which seemed imminent when this letter was written, did not take place until 24th April.

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Feb. 26.
Simancas
E. 75.

COBOS to the EMPEROR.

Prays for reply to his last letter. Affairs in Spain are in such a condition, especially as regards finance, that every expedient must be taken. The means he proposed in his letter will provide some funds towards the many needs but, there are, as he wrote, difficulties in the matter of the plate and the fabrics of the churches, and some similar course to that taken in other times of pressure must be adopted; that is to say as regards the sales (of ecclesiastical property) and the other expedient for raising money.

The news of the French warlike preparations cause anxiety in Spain. The King of France is well aware of the poverty prevalent in Spain, and it is feared may seize the opportunity of causing trouble. The writer is at a loss to know how or where means can be found to remedy the distress. Congratulates the Emperor on the issue of the campaign in Germany; Augsburg having submitted and the Emperor being at Ulm. God grant complete success there, so that regard may be had to the need for the Emperor's presence in Spain where the necessity is unimaginable. The writer's health. He came to his home from Madrid by slow stages, and though now without fever is still very weak. Juan Vasquez is looking after affairs very carefully in the writer's absence. Prays urgently that the Emperor will take Spanish financial matters in hand without losing a moment, and will answer his last letter on the subject, and also about the Archbishop of Seville: if he is to take charge of the affairs that the late Cardinal of Toledo attended to jointly with the President (*i.e.* of the Council of Castile) and the writer. The writer recommends this course. The Inquisition brief has arrived and the Patriarch President is most anxious to serve his Majesty faithfully. When the Emperor left he ordered the decrees of the Council of war to be signed by his Highness (*i.e.* Philip) the Duke of Alba, and the writer. The Duke of Alba being now absent, the writer alone has signed as minister. Recommends that the Marquis of Mondejar should be authorised to sign in place of the Duke of Alba. Refers to a lawsuit given against Doña Anita de la Cerda, about which she appeals to the Emperor. Begs for reply to his remarks as to the need for increasing the sum allowed for the household of the Infantas, everything being so dear and the Infantas spending more in dress than before. The enmity of the Archbishop of Toledo towards the writer. The later defends himself, and enlarges upon the Archbishop's ill will.

Ubeda, 26 February, 1547.

Feb. 28.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

THE QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

The gentleman sent by the governors of England to his Majesty the Emperor has visited us on his way to Germany, and has delivered two letters to us bespeaking credence for him. One was to explain his mission to the Emperor, and to beg us always to do our best towards the observance of the good and perfect friendship between his Majesty and the young King of

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England, his realm and his subjects. The second credence was to announce to us that the English Ambassador at present resident with us had been granted a new commission to continue in his functions here.

We replied to these communications courteously and in general terms, in accordance with what we had instructed you in our last letters to say to those who are carrying on the government of England. The English gentleman in question on his way back from Germany was anxious to expedite his voyage, and therefore did not go the long way round by Artois in order to see us. We have consequently not been able to send by him our replies to his messages, but we are writing to the young King, as you will learn by the Sieur de Chantonnay, who is going thither for the purpose of condoling with him on the death of his father, the late King, and to congratulate the young King on his accession in the names of his Majesty the Emperor and ourselves.

Since then we have received your letters of the 10th and 12th of the present month, and by them have learnt what had passed between you and the Bishop of Durham and Secretary Paget, as well as the opinions you express with regard to keeping the heads of the English government on favourable terms and attachment towards the Emperor. You will in this respect do all that is necessary and advisable. You are already aware from his Majesty's own letters, and will also learn from M. de Chantonnay, who is being sent, as I say above, to congratulate the new King, what are the Emperor's intentions in this respect, so that it is not necessary to repeat the instructions here: but you must have special regard to the French intrigues and watch them vigilantly.

Although, as you say, it is unlikely that they (the English government) would make any alliance to the Emperor's prejudice, yet it possibly might happen that by reason of diversity of opinion they might allow themselves to be persuaded by French cunning. In any case, it is quite certain that, inasmuch as during the late King's life even, the French tried to reopen the question of Boulogne, they will in the present circumstances make even greater efforts, and will press it much more warmly. They will certainly not fail to take advantage of this opportunity and we hear that they are already talking about it. At all events it will be very desirable that you should discover what they (the English government) mean to do about Boulogne, as the French will certainly try by one means or another to recover the place. Upon this point, indeed, depends the principal problem of how English affairs generally will turn out. If the English give up Boulogne it may be fairly assumed that in future they will tend rather to the side of France than hitherward; whereas if they retain it the contrary will be the case. You will therefore take great care to let us know promptly if any division or dissension is rumoured to exist amongst those who are managing the government of England. It may in such case happen that one faction of them may look towards France,

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for the sake of the support they might obtain, whilst their opponents would tend towards us; although we hope that they will be prudent and well advised enough to keep on good terms with each other, both for the sake of their young prince and the welfare of their country. . . . . *

You had also better tell him that in the hope of receiving a favourable reply from the late King to the request made for the restitution to the subjects of the Emperor of the properties belonging to them in the Boulognais, you had by his advice refrained from urging the matter forcibly upon the King; and you now fear that this tardiness may be laid upon your shoulders. You therefore pray him earnestly to endeavour to obtain for you a favourable answer to avoid your having to press the matter again officially. You may say that, according to all reason and equity, they cannot refuse to make the restitution requested to their friends and allies, above all to those who had actually been in their service at the conquest of Boulogne; and you may add, that as all things in the world are liable to change, and they may at some future time consent to return Boulogne to the French, the subjects of the Emperor in such an event would lose their possessions without any profit or advantage to the English. By these means and others that will occur to you, you will endeavour to find out as far as possible what they intend to do with Boulogne, always bearing in mind that, so long as they retain the place there can never be any good understanding between them and the French, whereas if they give up Boulogne they will be made much of by the French and will not prize so highly as at present the friendship of the Emperor.

It will also be very advisable for you to keep a keen eye upon what negotiations they may carry on with the Scots. The King of France on former occasions endeavoured to persuade the Scots to consent to the marriage of the young King of England to the Queen of Scots, thinking by this means to bring about the restitution to him of Boulogne, not, indeed, that the marriage should actually be effected but simply to gain time and obtain advantage for himself. It may therefore be conjectured that he may now attempt to renew these negotiations, and that the (Scottish ?) Governors, in order to temporise and remain in authority may consent to some such arrangement, under less exacting conditions than would have been insisted upon by the late King (Henry). They may, indeed, give way on the point which formed previously the principal difficulty, namely the immediate sending of the young Queen into England.

We have thought well to advise you of these considerations, in order that you may keep them in mind, adopting as your guide and maxim that the men who are now the leaders of the government will endeavour by every means in their power to gain time and consolidate their position. They will have a difficulty in doing this so long as they remain at issue with all their

* There are several lines here erased. What follows appears to be instructions to Van der Delft as to what he should say in an interview with Paget or the Protector.

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neighbours, as the late King did by holding Boulogne against the French, by keeping on bad terms with the Scots, and by doing nothing for the Emperor but smoothing him over with fair words. By continuing in such a course now their government can have but little stability, and they will be in grave danger at the first movement of the people, whilst they will, on the other hand, find no prince willing to extend any support to them. All these considerations cause us to doubt lest they should negotiate with the French or the Scots in a way that would not suit the interests of the Emperor.

We are also desirous of being informed whether they (the English government) have peradventure sent an envoy to the King of France to notify him of the death of the late King, in the same way as they have done with the Emperor, and also if they have sent anyone to Scotland.

We are sending you herewith the duplicate of certain protests made by an English commissioner against the Receiver of Zeeland, and the counter protests made by the Receiver against the commissioner. By these documents you will see that the commissioner claims to have all the prisoners restored to him, which is not reasonable considering the faults committed. With regard to those now detained, the Receiver, in accordance with our regulations, is willing to surrender all of them except the captain and the ship-master, who have both been condemned to death. It is true that the Emperor has commuted the death penalty upon these men, but they have been committed to the galleys, which is no less a penalty than death. With regard to those who have escaped and are fugitive, the Receiver is not bound to deliver them, but the gaoler who had them in his charge, and against him we are willing to administer justice. As his Majesty (the Emperor) however has been put to great expense on account of these prisoners, we have ordered the Receiver to release them, so as to avoid the expenditure of any more money on them, unless the said English commissioner comes and asks for them and pays the expense of them in prison. We perceive, however, quite clearly that they do not really want these prisoners who are poor sailors; but that the solicitation is made to get the release of the captain and the ship-master, as we had the English Ambassador here informed, since when he has declined to press the matter further.

Arras, 28 February, 1547.

Feb. (?)
Paris
K. 1486.

ADVICES FROM ST. MAURIS to the KING of the ROMANS.

(The writer has made formal complaints of the constant outrages committed at sea upon the Emperor's subjects by the French rovers. If these did not cease the Emperor would authorise his subjects to arm and repel any such outrages against them. The King of France promises prompt redress.)

Complaints were also made to the King that certain Scottish pirates after robbing Flemings and Spaniards were allowed to enter French ports. The Emperor was much annoyed at this and especially as out of consideration for the King of France he

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had consented to allow the Scots, although they were at war with him, to frequent the Low Countries for trade under safe conducts. The Emperor must, therefore, now insist that these pirates should not be allowed to take refuge in French harbours.

The King replied to this complaint on several occasions that the act was most unfortunate, and was not done with his support. He knew that the Queen of Scotland disavowed these men. On one occasion he said that he would have them all hanged. When attempts were made to obtain a decree embodying this the Council (of France) said that as soon as the Emperor included the Scots in the peace, as had been agreed to when the last treaty was under discussion, the King (of France) would have all these pirates arrested and their plunder restored. This is a very different thing from that which the King himself promised, through his Council. The latter, however, still insist that the King intended what they now allege. This proves clearly that they themselves have invented these fictions, and that they support the unfortunate action they pretend to deplore. This is really the truth, and they seek by every means in their power to trouble the Emperor until he includes the Scots in the peace with him. The King recently told the Emperor's ambassador that he wished to keep strictly to the last treaty of friendship with the Emperor, and he swore to do so. He would not, he said, either by himself or his people, allow anything to be done to contravene it. The Emperor caused him to be told in reply that he himself was also desirous of preserving the good relations between them, hoping that he (the King of France) would keep his word. If either of them, he continued, did otherwise, the other would easily perceive it, and would be justified in retaliating. The King was not at all offended at this, appearing to be quite unconcerned, as if there was no probability of affairs taking that course.

The report spread here of the surprise of Turin is now known to be untrue. It was only founded on the Italian who was taken saying to the Secretary of the Marquis de Logaste that he knew a way of delivering Turin to the said Marquis, to which the Secretary had answered that he knew that his master would not listen to such a thing, as they were at peace with the King. So that these people, who have been boasting and swaggering so much about it now say nothing.

The King of France still insists that he will not give up Piedmont: we would rather lose two battles, he said. He is, however, more fervently desirous than ever to bring about the marriage of Madam Margaret with our Prince (Philip).

The Jacobin, who was sent to the Emperor by the King of France about peace was instructed to say that if the Emperor consented to the King keeping the part of Piedmont now held by him, and the said marriage was agreed to, he would recompense the Duke of Savoy in France with the Bourbonnais and Auvergne, would surrender Hesdin and would induce D'Albret to abandon his claims on Navarre.

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The Emperor refused to enter into communication with the Jacobin on these points, because he bore no written instructions from the King, and the man was sent back. At the same time he sent a message to . . . (the Admiral ?) by his ambassador, to the effect, that in consequence of his illness from gout he had been obliged to send the messenger home: this messenger, however, did not bring any written instructions . . . . . replied to the ambassador that the King himself had not sent certain overtures of peace but they were made by the confessor to the Jacobin. Since then the confessor declares that he said nothing whatever about it, and the Jacobin roundly asserts that the King himself had specially authorised him to go on his mission to the Emperor.

Dux (the Dauphin) is making renewed efforts to bring the Constable back to court, and has set Aquila (the Duchess d'Etampes) to persuade him to come, promising her favours if she succeeds. She is doing her best, and they are playing their pieces so well that they have got the King even to listen to it, and he now quite willingly allows himself to be led that way. As soon as *Tris* (Cardinal Tournon) and the Admiral (?) heard of the intrigue they stopped it, as they have the whole favour now.

The Emperor recently sent a representation to the King on the report that was spread that the King had made a league with the Protestants, and that he was egging them on against his Majesty. The latter said that he could not believe this, which if it were true would be quite against the present friendship. The King replied that all he had done was to renew the old league he had had with these Protestants. This was all, and it was permissible for anyone to keep his friends. The King was also told on the part of the Emperor, that the latter having withdrawn his prelates from the Council, for some unknown reason, his Majesty sought for a declaration on the subject. The King replied that he had withdrawn them because he knew that the Pope thought of bringing the Council from Trent to Rome. But as he had since learnt that this was incorrect he had decided to send thither again such of his prelates as had returned home, and had appointed twenty-five more to accompany them. The prelates it appears are soon to leave here.

March 6.
Paris
K. 1487.

JUAN PALACIOS to the GENERAL of the ORDER OF ST. ANTHONY.

Letter of intelligence gathered from a traveller met at St. Jean Pied de Port, and recently arrived from Paris.

The French were raising troops for the galleys fitting out a port near Rouen, because the King of England had sent a herald to demand the restitution of the castle of L'oie and the towns of Montreuil and Therouanne near Boulogne. The King of France replied that if he (the King of England ?) came thither by sea the request should be granted, but he had better make haste or he would be too late . . . There is much talk here of the death of the King of England, but there is no certain

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confirmation of it. Talk of a coming marriage between M. de Vendome and Jeanne d'Albret. (The rest of the information is merely gossip of no importance or interest.)

St. Jean Pied de Port, 6 March, 1547.

7 March. Vienna Imp. Arch. CHANTONNAY (PERRENNOT) to the EMPEROR.

In accordance with what your Majesty was pleased to command, I made all haste on my road in order that I might arrive here at the earliest possible moment. But as the Queen was in Artois it was necessary for me to go round by way of Brussels for sake of the posts. Her Majesty also detained me two days in Arras, in order that she might thoroughly inform herself of the events that had occurred with your Majesty and also to the mission with which I was entrusted.

The Queen, however, did not give me any further instructions beyond those that I bore, and I took leave of her and went to Calais. I was delayed there two days by the wind which was blowing dead contrary, so that it was not possible for me to arrive in this place (London), until yesterday. I found your Majesty's ambassador confined to his bed by gout, and he could not go to the King for two or three days, though his personal presence was not necessary, for the reason he wrote to your Majesty in letters of which he showed me copies, and which I need not trouble your Majesty by repeating.

Your Majesty will have learnt by these letters of the changes that have taken place here, and of the present manner of government, which, in good truth, is taking a strange turn, especially in the matter of religion, as the principal ministers favour the new sects, and order preaching and all sorts of farces in contempt of the bishops and ceremonies, even before the young King. Since the death of his father the images have been taken away from one of the churches and the walls have been simply whitened, the only ornament being a curtain upon which they have had painted the arms of the King. The Bishop of London has made complaints and remonstrances on the subject to the Council, but the only thing that has been altered is that a crucifix has been substituted for the royal arms, and after three months have elapsed the churches may be arranged as may be thought best.

The Duke of Norfolk is still alive, unless they have killed him during the last four days, which cannot be ascertained positively yet. At the King's coronation all those who had offended the King were pardoned except the Duke of Norfolk, who was excluded by name, and also Cardinal Pole* and the son† of the Marquis of Exeter, who had been a prisoner for a long time, since his father's execution. The brothers of the Earl of Surrey have also been forbidden to bear the title of Lord, and have to rank simply as gentlemen.

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* Cardinal Pole had been condemned for high treason by Henry, but of course was out of reach of punishment in Rome at the time.

† This was the unfortunate young Courtenay.

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Sire, I will use every possible diligence here to fulfil your Majesty's commands and return with all speed to give an account of my mission.

London, 7 March, 1547.

7 March. Vienna Imp. Arch. CHANTONNAY* to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

After leaving your Majesty I proceeded to Calais, where a contrary wind detained me for two days so that it was impossible for me to arrive in this place (London) earlier than yesterday.

I found the ambassador confined to his bed by gout, though he hoped to be free from it in two or three days, and I purpose then, Madam, to fulfil the mission entrusted to me by the Emperor to the King of England. Since the ambassador has communicated to me the letters he has written to the Emperor and to your Majesty, which contain all he has been able to learn here of what is going on, I need not repeat the intelligence. I will only report to your Majesty that the Duke of Norfolk has not yet been executed, unless it has been done in the last four days. The general pardon granted on the occasion of the coronation to all those who had offended the King, especially excepted the Duke (of Norfolk) Cardinal Pole, and the son of the Marquis of Exeter (Courtenay) who has been a prisoner for many years past.

I will diligently endeavour to carry out my mission here successfully and return as soon as I can.

London, 7 March, 1547.

March 7. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

I attended the obsequies of the late King at Windsor, where there were also assembled the old members of the Council and the several ambassadors of Scotland and France.

After I had fulfilled my duty in the ceremonies I was invited on the second day, in the name of the Protector and the Council, to attend between one and two o'clock in the afternoon at the Tower of London, for the purpose of accompanying the King from that place to Westminster in State. I arrived at the Tower before the time appointed, but nevertheless I found all the other ambassadors already there. I asked the French Ambassador whether he had not already saluted the King, and he replied that he had not yet done so, although he said he had been waiting there quite an hour. I was very much surprised at this, and more especially still to see that the place where I found the ambassadors waiting was not so honourable as is customary in such cases. There were, moreover, no members of the Council present to entertain the ambassadors, the members of the Council simply saluting them from afar off as they passed from their own Council chamber to the King's apartment.

When the King himself came out I bowed to him, and having commenced my greeting to him in French the Protector told me to address the King in Latin, which he said he understood better

* It will be recollected that Perrennot Sieur de Chantonnay was the son of Charles' favourite, Franche-Comtois, secretary, and brother of the Bishop of Arras, afterwards Cardinal de Granvelle, also Secretary of State.

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than French; but, truth to tell, he seemed to me to understand one just as little as the other; although the Archbishop of Canterbury had assured me that the King knew Latin as well as he (the Archbishop) did himself. The whole of the others present then paid their respects to the King, and he was carried with a great train of courtiers towards his palace at Westminster. There was, however, no very memorable show of triumph or magnificence.

On the road Paget accompanied Duke Philip of Bavaria, then came the Scottish Ambassadors with some other members of the Council. Captain Paulin was with the Great Master of the Household (Paulet) and the Ambassador of France was accompanied by the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley), my companion being the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) who acted the part of a dumb man all the way. After us there followed two or three personages apparalled in antique fashion, and then came the Marquis (of Dorset, *i.e.*, Henry Grey) bearing a naked sword. After him there rode the old Lord Admiral (Dudley) with the Protector, who kept always nearest to the person of the King. The latter had still some suite about him, such as the Master of the Horse (Sir Anthony Browne) and the pages. We were quite four hours on the way from the Tower to Westminster, and we were then requested, in the name of the Protector, to take our leave of the King on horseback before his Court,* with as few words as possible, which we accordingly did.

On my way home I rode with the French Ambassadors, and in the course of talk Paulin asked me if I was going to attend the coronation ceremony on the morrow. I replied that if I was invited I should certainly go, for I was ready to do everything I could in order to show my desire to serve the young King, and to accede to the Council's wishes in all things. The French Ambassador expressed much surprise that I had not been invited to the coronation, as he himself had had some conversation on the matter with the Lord Chancellor arising from his having enquired of the latter whether the ceremony was to take place the next day, whereupon the Lord Chancellor had answered that it was fixed for the morrow between seven and eight o'clock, adding, "and you will be present," although the French Ambassadors exhibited a desire to receive some other sort of invitation than this.

Nevertheless they attended the next day at seven o'clock; and long after the ceremony had commenced I was asked by an Italian servitor of the King (of England) if I was not going to the feast. It appeared to me, Madam, unadvisable that I should push myself further forward than politeness required in the absence of any special instructions from your Majesty, and bearing in mind that any blame in the matter was rather on their side than on mine, I therefore replied to the Italian that

* The expression is somewhat obscure, but the meaning probably was that the King halted before the great courtyard of Whitehall, whilst those who had accompanied him on his progress through the city took leave of him.

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since I had received no invitation to attend the coronation I had no wish to appear intrusive. The Italian took this message to Secretary Paget, who gave him orders to return and bring me with him. But as by this time it was so late that if I had gone I should have arrived after the feast, I excused myself from going.

I have since been informed that the ambassadors who did attend were not treated satisfactorily, either in the opinion of the spectators or of their own : and I have heard this also from Paulin.

The King dined at a great table, at which there were also seated the Protector and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The ambassadors present had no separate places assigned for their accommodation, but were finally led to a table below, at which were seated some of the bishops and smaller gentlemen. This will show the scant respect they pay to their bishops here. The company at the table had already half finished their dinner, and the ambassadors had a great deal of trouble in obtaining seats at all. They say also that in this coronation ceremony there was not much largesse.

During the following two days joust and tournaments were celebrated, and I was asked to come and witness them after dinner ; but I excused myself from going as the Ambassadors of France had been invited for the same day ; so that I took no part whatever in the festivals.* Three days before the coronation the Lord Marquis (of Dorset) Lord Derby, Secretary Paget and Mr. (Sir Thomas) Seymour, the brother of the Protector, were made Knights of the Garter. Mr. Seymour was at the same time appointed to be Lord Admiral, whilst his predecessor (Dudley Viscount Lisle) was created Earl of Warwick and Lord Chamberlain. The Lord Chancellor was also raised to the rank of Earl of Southampton, near which town his property is situated. The brother of the Queen (William Parr Earl of Essex) was created Marquis of Colchester,† although this last peerage seems to have been granted more for the purpose of degrading the other Marquis, who has hitherto been the only one (*i.e.*, Grey Marquis of Dorset) than of exalting this one. The Protector who before any of the other elevations, had been made Duke of Somerset, governs everything absolutely but acts entirely on the advice and counsel of Secretary Paget.

Neither Paget however nor any other member of the Council receives petitions, but they advise everyone for the best to submit them to the Protector who hands them to the Secretary as the late King used to do.

Since the triumph of the coronation these people have very busy arranging and setting in order the King's household and the future establishment of the Queen Dowager, who is very shortly going to reside in the suburb to which she belongs with

* An interesting description of the coronation ceremonies and the subsequent rejoicings will be found in Leland's *Brit. Ant.*, Vol. IV.

† This does not appear to have been correct, although it probably represents the intention at the time. He was then, or shortly afterwards, created Marquis of Northampton.

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Madam Elizabeth the daughter of the late King. Madam Mary's household has not been appointed yet, but it is said that she will be honourably treated, and some people are beginning to call her princess.

For the last three or four days the French Ambassadors have been much with the Council, as also have been the Commissioners from the (German) protestants; but I have been unable to discover anything of their business, except that on the day before yesterday the old Lord Admiral (Dudley) and the new (Seymour) together with the Lord Privy Seal (John Lord Russell) and Secretary Paget, went to dinner with the Ambassador of France, and it was noticed that Paget was carrying a great packet of papers. This may well signify, as I have been informed, that they have made some sort of secret treaty with the French for three years; but nevertheless I cannot believe that these people (the English) will ever bind themselves so firmly with the French or the Protestants as to alienate themselves from the friendship and treaties they have with the Emperor. It is quite possible, indeed, that this may be the very intrigue respecting which the late King gave notice to the Emperor by means of his ambassador, and through me to your Majesty. The object of this, as it seems to me, is simply to divert the attention of the King of France from Boulogne; and it was certainly not without some good reason that Paget lately reiterated to me those words I have already reported to your Majesty that I should find as true as gospel what he had always affirmed to me about their maintaining their friendship with the Emperor, no matter what appearance or rumour to the contrary might be made.

I have heard that the ambassadors of France have reported to this Council that the Turk had descended (upon Hungary) which is directly contrary to the intelligence which I conveyed to them. They (the French Ambassadors) have also brought forward the suggestion of the marriage of this young King with a daughter of the Dauphin, which the English counsellors are of opinion is merely a device to get them to writhdraw from Scotland. In any case, notwithstanding that the rumour is rife here that the King of France will commence war upon the Emperor, the English continue to make their warlike preparations both for Boulogne and against the Scots, they having already sent ten of their ships to Scotland, though, as I hear, the Scots have a still larger number of skiffs to meet and oppose them.

The Scottish Ambassadors in conversation with me at Windsor told me that their Governor (the Regent Arran) was sending envoys to your Majesty to treat for peace, and Paulin afterwards told me that this had actually been done. It seemed to me that the above conversation offered a good opportunity for me to repeat to the Scottish Ambassadors the complaints of the wrongs, outrages and injuries that their countrymen had inflicted upon the subjects of the Emperor, to such an extent, indeed, I said, that we had received greater damage from them (the Scots) than from the English, this being entirely at variance with the communications that had passed between us.

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The subject of the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty of peace between the English and the French having been touched upon, I told them that the point appeared to have been very lightly dealt with, and that the French who had passed the treaty had been far from good attorneys to them. The companion of the Bishop of Ross began thereupon to dispute this matter with me, and I answered him that he had better keep his arguments to use against the English; but if he was anxious to have my opinion on the matter I would tell him that when I was present as he knew on the occasion that the subject had been debated, it, certainly seemed to me that his arguments had been effectively rebutted by the English, and that the wording of the clause in the treaty upon which he depended might be interpreted by the English to their advantage. The Bishop of Ross himself very highly approved of what I said, and thereupon his colleague entered into a heated dispute with him in their own language. I took my leave of them politely in the midst of it. One of them, I understand it was the bishop, left here yesterday for France I will do my best to discover the reason for his journey.

With regard to the Protestants I have been unable up to the present to find out what is being negotiated here with them. I understand that they are desirous of obtaining assistance in credit from the King of England, in order to enable them to raise money; which in my firm opinion they will not get quite so easily, having in view the character of the Protector, which is not by any means such as to make him lavish, but rather leads him to parsimony in everything, so that he may amass coin, the amount laid up in the Tower of London not being so large as is commonly reported.

It is quite true that the Protector and those principally associated with him in the government are much attached to the sects, the result being that at present the common people, unrestrained by reason of the late King's death, publicly and undisguisedly confess their sentiments quite contrary to our religion, of which they make all sorts of farces and pastimes. above all of the good bishops. They blame more than any other the Bishop of Winchester, who is entirely out of credit, and some days ago retired to his house fifty miles away from London. They have also ordered some of the late King's old servitors formerly members of the Council, who are known to be opposed to any change in their ancient religion to withdraw to their homes. Amongst these is the Treasurer, Lord Warden, (*i.e.*, Sir Thomas Cheyne, Treasurer of the Household and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports) the Comptroller (Sir John Gage) and others, but I hear that yesterday instructions were given to them and certain other gentlemen to remain in London for fourteen or fifteen days longer. There is preaching every day before the King, and the preachers seem to vie with each other as to who can abuse most strongly the old religion, he who excels the others in this respect being most highly favoured. Truly, Madam, I can see no way of remedying this, but it may well happen that by means of some dissension God's hand may work His way, for I hear that

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differences of opinion often occur amongst them. Duke Philip of Bavaria will shortly leave here for Germany, but I understand that he will retain his pension from this country.

M. de Chantonnay arrived here yesterday. Bellingham had previously returned here from his mission to the Emperor, as also had Meutys, another gentleman of the King's chamber who had been sent on similar mission to the King of France. I had not heard anything of M. de Chantonnay before his arrival, and as I am confined to the house by gout I sent a message to Secretary Paget excusing the delay of two days before we presented ourselves at Court, where when I go I will arrange everything according to your Majesty's instructions. I am writing to the Emperor the substance of the present letter.

London, 7 March, 1547, before Easter.

*Postscript.*—Madam. This letter being ready for despatch I have heard that the Lord Chancellor surrendered the Great Seal yesterday evening, resigning his office, as also has done the Great Master of the Household, Lord Saint John, of whom I will make enquiries to know more of the circumstances.

March 7.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

I have fully informed the Queen of everything that has happened here, and have sent copies of my dispatches to M. d'Arras (Granvelle) not wishing to trouble your Majesty with the large number of details they contain.

Captain Paulin is still here, and envoys and despatches are passing daily between this country and France. It is quite possible that what I hear secretly may be true, to the effect, that they (*i.e.* the French and English) have arranged some new treaty together to last for three years. Nevertheless I cannot bring myself to believe that these people (the English councillors) will agree to anything prejudicial to the treaties that they have with your Majesty. This belief of mine is strengthened by the fact that the late King advised your Majesty through his own ambassador and through me of the French schemes; and Secretary Paget, who is the principal manager here now, has always assured me that they will never depart from the alliance and friendship with your Majesty, which he says I may believe as confidently as in the gospel itself, no matter what is said or done, *et quod cum cretensibus esset cretissandum.* It may be that for the sake of avoiding war and for diverting the King of France from Boulogne, they have entered into some ambiguous and feigned accord with him. So far as regards Boulogne the English are not slackening in sending every sort of provisions thither, and they are boasting that they mean to hold it tight.

They have also sent ten ships against the Scots, who are likewise said to be at sea with even a greater number of ships. One of the Scottish ambassadors left here the day before yesterday for France, for the purpose as they previously informed the Lords of the Council, of openly expostulating with the King of France for not having kept his promises to them, as these people (the English) maintain that they (the Scots) were not included

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in the treaty with France. But Paget referring to this, told me that the Council was not so simple as not to understand very well what they were aiming at, and that the going of this envoy could not be otherwise than suspicious to them. I will do my very best to learn how these people regard it.

Before the coronation of the King, which took place on the 20th of last month, the Earl of Hertford, who bears the title of Protector of the realm, was created Duke of Somerset, and the late Admiral Earl of Warwick and Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Chancellor Earl of Southampton, and Master Seymour, brother of the Protector, Lord Admiral, whilst Secretary Paget and other gentlemen were made Knights of the Garter. For the present, therefore, the Protector governs absolutely. but always on the advice of Secretary Paget. The worst of it is that the people are beginning to adhere strongly to the sects; and in addition to this they allow preachers infected by heretical opinions, who do nothing but attack the good bishops and all the worthy and ancient institutions, whilst those who are most violent and furious in their attacks are the most popular. The common people therefore are beginning to cry out against the Bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) who is so much out of favour that he has thought it prudent to retire to his diocese.

The Chancellor of the ex-Elector of Saxony and Dr. Brun still linger here, and, as I understand, are desirous of obtaining the aid of the King's credit to raise money. My own opinion is that they will get nothing here but fair words.

The household of the Queen (Dowager Katharine Parr) has been appointed, and she is retiring to the suburb* where she is to live with Madam Elizabeth, who will remain always in her company. Nothing has yet been ordered with regard to Madam Mary, although some people are already beginning to call her princess. I hope out of consideration for your Majesty that she will be treated more favourably.

M. de Chantonnay arrived here yesterday, but as I am ill with the gout we have thought better to defer our going to Court for a day or two as my accompanying him will give me a good opportunity of ascertaining from Paget how things are going on.

Baron de Saint Blancart has arrived here from France to condole with the new King on the death of his father.

London, 7 March, 1547.

*Postscript.*—When this letter was ready for despatch I learnt that yesterday the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley Earl of Southampton) had given up the Great Seal and resigned his office, and that the Great Master of the Household, Lord St. John, had also resigned. I will enquire further into the circumstances of these changes, but I am assured positively that whether the resignations be voluntary or not, these noblemen are not unduly attached to the "sects," as they have always belonged to the party of the Bishop of Winchester. I will do my best to discover whether this intrigue they are carrying on with France has anything to do with the changes.

* Chelsea.

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7 March. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to LOYS SCORS.

I have written fully to the Queen (Dowager of Hungary) all that is passing here, as you will see by my letters which the bearer Jehan Nieukirch, an honest merchant and my friend has promised to deliver to you, although he will have to go out of his way to reach the Queen. This he does in the hope that he may the more speedily obtain from her Majesty a letter of favour to certain officers of Geldres directing that he may have prompt despatch in his lawsuits against his debtors. The amount at issue is not so large that he can afford to suffer long delay, as he will explain to you if you are pleased to grant him the audience he desires. I recommend him humbly to your favour.

London, 7 March, 1547.

17 March. Simancas E. 644.

THE EMPEROR to DIEGO DE MENDOZA.

Since we wrote the very long letter to you, giving an account of our interviews with the Nuncio, the latter again sought audience, having received fresh letters from Rome. He began his discourse by saying that he had been unable to avoid informing his Holiness of what was being asserted here, to the effect that what had happened in Genoa* was with his connivance. His Holiness was astonished that such a thing should be said or even thought of him. One of two things, he said, must be true: either we believed these rumours or not. If we did believe them he prayed us to examine and enquire into the matter, and when we knew the truth we should acknowledge that what was said was untrue. We could not think in such case that he would be a party to such a scandalous proceeding, being, as he is, an honest man. If we did not believe the rumours we might judge from them of the malignity of the people who wished to raise discord between persons so sincerely united in friendship as his Holiness and ourselves, the results of which union had been such good works as the enterprise in Germany and the success of the Council (of Trent).

We replied that we neither believed the rumours nor disbelieved them, so that such a hard and fast line as he indicated could not be drawn. On the one hand the statements seemed so utterly at variance with the dignity and duty of his Holiness, whereas on the other so many suspicious circumstances existed, such as the cipher which the man let drop in Rome, at a time when it might be presumed some such plan as that referred to would be discussed. With difficulty an explanation might possibly be found, but God would in due time reveal the truth and we were content to wait. The Nuncio pressed us much to give the Pope the consolation of saying we did not believe such a thing of him, but we replied that he might judge by what we had already said, that if we made such a declaration it would not be true, since we had told him that we neither believed nor disbelieved it. He retorted that we should assuredly find that his Holiness had no share whatever in the business: the statements

* Fiesco's conspiracy.

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had been made by people who wished to impede the success of the good works already mentioned, as having resulted from the friendship. He would instance such good works as the enterprise in Germany and the progress of the Council, In the article, he said, on the reformation of the church now under discussion it is proposed that the bishops and cardinals who hold two sees should be obliged to surrender one, those in the gift of his Holiness to be surrendered within six months, and those in the gift of sovereigns within one year, whilst the cardinals not in residence in their churches should be in future near his Holiness at Rome. We did not think fit to say much about this, merely replying that the reform of abuses was always desirable.

The Nuncio then changed the subject, saying that the Pope, having learnt of the death of the King of England, it had appeared to his Holiness that the present time offered a favourable opportunity for the submission of that country once more to our holy Catholic faith. In order that so auspicious an opportunity should not be lost, he had decided to appeal to all Christian princes for aid, and was intending to appoint Legates for that purpose, one to go to us, another to the King of France, and another to the King of England, and he exhorted us warmly not to miss such an opportunity. We replied that we were not fully informed as to the present condition of English affairs since the King's death. All that we heard was that the bishops had been excluded from the Privy Council, even those who were strongly of the King's opinion. We had sent M. de Chantonnay to visit the new King, and when he returned perhaps we might have more information of what was happening there, in which case we should be able to take the most advantageous course.

The Nuncio's third and last point, was that the Pope had not been able to decide before with regard to the mission of Don Francisco de Toledo, as the matter was new to him, and he was not very well informed about it. He feared that it would be an ominous precedent for France, besides which the clergy in Spain were already so burdened, and if this proposal about the plate and the fabrics of the churches was accepted the amount would reach at least three millions in addition to the burden already imposed upon them in lieu of the sale of the monastic manors. To this and similar arguments we replied that we had no doubt that the Pope really believed that three millions could be raised by the means proposed, and we hoped to God that he was right, for the sum would come in very useful for the enterprise in which we were engaged, than which certainly no better way of spending it could be found.

We did not fail to deal also with the importance of the matter to France. In any case the same course had often been adopted in that country; the bishops themelves having power to act in that sense, for so necessary and saintly an object. With reference to his remark that the 400,000 crowns in addition was to be drawn from the same source, we could assure him that such

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was not our intention; but that those who had contributed to the latter amount should be allowed to deduct the sums paid towards the half of their possessions. Our own suspicion was, however, that there would be found so little over that we had often thought of abandoning the proposal altogether. The Nuncio replied that the Pope in fact had always done, and still would do, his utmost; to which we said that how much that was might easily be seen in the past and present. With regard to the future we saw no signs of improvement. The conversation then ended.

On the 11th the Nuncio again saw us, and said that he had received advice that his Holiness had chosen the two Legates, the choice of the Legate for England being reserved *in pectore*. He trusted in God that the submission of England might gain for us as much honour as the campaign in Germany to a similar saintly end, and hoped we should not neglect the opportunity offered. We interrupted the Nuncio by asking whether his Holiness thought that the English question was to be solved by force of arms. He replied that he did not know the Pope's mind on that point, but he thought that his Holiness would be glad if it could be done without armed force if possible. We assured him that we should not fail to do our duty as a Christian prince in the English matter; but as to taking up arms, not only would we not do so against the King of England for the Pope, but we would not do so at his instance against the worst man alive. We understood his manœuvres too well now, for he had drawn us into this enterprise in Germany and left us in the lurch at the most critical point. We hoped, nevertheless, that God, who had allowed us to begin so well, would carry us to the end successfully. The Nuncio in answer to this could only repeat that his Holiness would do his utmost, and we again said that what he did was very evident notwithstanding all our persuasions.

The Nuncio then reverted to Don Francisco de Toledo's mission, saying that his Holiness had been unable to go farther than he had done in that matter until he saw how the question of the 300,000 crowns that had been conceded in lieu of the 500,000 for the monastic manors was to be settled. We do not know whether the Nuncio said this in error, or whether it was intended as an indication that the Pope was anxious to retract his promise of 400,000. He continued his speech without interruption, making much of the fact that Don Francisco (de Toledo) and Juan de Vega had added that even if the Pope refused to concede the request about the church plate and buildings we were determined to take it. We replied that it was quite true that we had written to them to that effect. The Nuncio replied that as the example would be most injurious and we being so true a Catholic prince he felt sure we would never do such a thing without the apostolic authority; to which we replied that our demand was just, and yet it had been flatly refused regardless of the urgent need for granting it. The Pope might be perfectly certain that if the sum reached was half of his estimate of three millions we should levy it without waiting for any further authority from

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Rome, as we were well able to do. The Catholic Kings*, who were much better Catholics than the Pope, who was no saint, had done so after full discussion in Council. That was for a war against Portugal: how much more licit was it for a war against heretics. He remarked that we must not think at all events that we could do it with a clear conscience, to which we replied that we could, and with a much better conscience than that of the Pope, who was hoarding up his money to benefit his family. Pope Clement VII., we said, although we did not all of us think he was a good man, did some good things, as the Pope well knew, and we should not cease to be good Christians even if we did as we said. We had paid every possible respect to the Pope in this matter, but in future we intended to respect Saint Peter and not Pope Paul, if things were to be carried in this way. We were astonished, we said, at the pretty excuse now forthcoming for doing nothing in the matter of Don Francisco's mission, to the effect that we had no further need for the money now that the war was over. The Nuncio said that this was not the Pope's meaning, but that the rest of the trouble would be easily appeased. Thank God, we said, things had gone well with us, however distasteful the fact might be to the Pope. But disabled as we were, with one arm lame from gout and the other arm blooded we hoped to go and put the finishing touch to the work. If the Pope gave us no further aid, and he (the Nuncio) came to the campaign we would clap him and the Pope's Legate into the front rank of fighters, so that they might set an example to the others, and see what their blessings would do. The Nuncio made no reply to this.

As he was leaving he said the Pope was desirous of pacifying the Petillano affair, but the son stood out obstinately in the hope of our favour, and he begged us not to irritate matters further. We replied that all we had done had been to promise the Count's son, who had served with the Pope's contingent, that we should not forget his services.

Throughout this interview we were purposely rough, in order to give the lie to the rumour in Rome that we were softening. Our remark that if the amount from the plate and buildings came to a half of the Pope's estimate, which would be a million and a half, we should take it without the Pope's consent, was necessary, because if we do not do it they may not think it is because they have withheld the consent, but because the sum mentioned has not been reached. We write you thus fully that you may proceed accordingly with his Holiness.

17 March, 1547.

March 18. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

M. de Chantonnay, who has accomplished his mission here with great satisfaction to everyone, being now about to return to your Majesty after having made himself well acquainted with the progress of affairs here, he will give a full report thereupon to your

* *i.e.* Ferdinand and Isabella. This was in the *Cortes* of Medina del Campo in 1475 to repel the invasion of Spain by the Portuguese in favour of the *Beltraneja*, the princess who claimed the crown in opposition to Isabella.

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Majesty, although matters are still too unsettled for a trustworthy judgment to be formed upon them. I will therefore only add to his intelligence that although these people (the English) protest that they have made no other arrangement with France except with the object of further ensuring the peace between them, I do not know how far they have been influenced by the conviction that they have always entertained, namely, that the Emperor had an understanding with the Pope. I have never, in spite of all my efforts, been able to banish this idea from the minds, either of the late King or of the present rulers, on account partly of their enmity towards his Holiness and partly of their attachment to the Protestants. I am therefore uncertain whether they may not under the influence of this idea have advanced further than they say in their negotiations with the French.

But we have ascertained, at all events, that they have not in any way contravened the treaties existing between them and his Majesty (the Emperor); and, according to what Paget expressly declared to us, if the French think of making war upon the Emperor it will not be in amity with them (the English). Paget affirmed that nothing had ever been done so much to his Majesty's advantage as this; and the Protector and Paget endeavoured to make me believe it with the most solemn assurances on their honour, saying that if it were not true they consented to be held as the most miserable men in the world, and that no fault would be found with them in this respect. The Protector had spoken to me in similar terms in private two days previously, in order, as he said, not to conceal from me the fact that they were about to negotiate with the French. But, to judge from the discourse that Paget has held with M. de Chantonnay and myself, it may be presumed that they have bound themselves closely and completely to the King of France so long as he does not attack any of the Emperor's dominions; whereas if his Majesty himself commences war against the King of France, these people (the English) will appeal to their treaties on one side or the other, befriending most the party that seems to prosper best. This point your Majesty will hear better set forth by M. de Chantonnay.

The English have captured three of the best of the Scottish ships of war and remain still well armed and provided at sea. It is reported also that the French still have their galleys near the English coasts so that they are at present masters of the Channel. The inconvenience which this will cause to the subjects and dominions of the Emperor, will be evident to your Majesties without any words of mine, but I may say that the complaints of the said subjects in this respect are increasing daily, whilst very scant justice is being done to them here, all their causes being suspended until the property of English subjects embargoed in Spain shall be released against security. Madam, after M. de Chantonnay had taken his leave of the King I thought better that he should remain here a few days longer, for the reasons which he himself will explain to your Majesty. You will consider

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whether for these same reasons it will be advisable to send someone here for a longer stay as I am suggesting in my letter to the Emperor.

London, 18 March, 1547.

March 18. Vienna. Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

M. de Chantonnay has accomplished his mission here to the great contentment of everyone, and is now returning to your Majesty, after having seen and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of affairs here, which are not yet sufficiently settled in appearance for a trustworthy judgment to be formed upon them. M. de Chantonnay will report fully to your Majesty, and I have only to add that, although these people here (the English councillors) assert that they have had no other object in entering into fresh negotiations with France except to ensure peace, I am uncertain whether the impression which, they have always had that your Majesty had some agreement with the Pope (which impression I have never been able to overcome, either now or in the time of the late King, thanks to their enmity towards his Holiness and their leaning towards the Protestants) may not have moved them to carry further the negotiations with France. All we have been able to ascertain is that in no case will they have contravened the treaties they have with your Majesty. According to what Paget told us, they had emphatically declared that if the French had any intention of making war upon your Majesty the English would not be friendly with them, in which Paget affirmed they had done more for your Majesty's advantage than ever had been done before. Both Paget and the Protector endeavoured to impress this upon my belief by assurances upon their honour, saying that they were willing to be considered the vilest of men in the world if they were found lacking in this respect.

The Protector himself had separately discoursed with me to a similar effect two days previously, in order, as he said, not to make any secret that they were about to conclude an agreement with the French. But to judge from the expressions used by Paget to M. de Chantonnay and myself, it may be surmised that they have entered into a full binding agreement with the King of France, except in the case of his invading your Majesty's dominions. In the event of your Majesty's beginning war against the French, these people (the English) would appeal to their treaties either on the one side or the other, and would incline to that which seemed most prosperous, as your Majesty will be better informed by M. de Chantonnay.

The English have captured three of the best Scottish war ships, and are still well armed at sea, whilst it is said that the French retain their galleys as before on this coast (*i.e.*, the Channel), so that they command the Straits. The inconvenience that your Majesty's dominions and subjects will suffer from this state of affairs will be quite evident to you. Complaints on the subject from them are increasing daily here, but no great satisfaction is given to them, the whole of the claims made by them being held

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in suspense until all the English property embargoed in Spain has been released on security. They say that I had better do all I can to get the embargoes raised, as I had informed them by your Majesty's orders that you were willing should be done, out of consideration for the late King, although Renegat had not restored that which he had unjustly seized,* and when it was effected they (the English) would do their duty on their part.

Since M. de Chantonnay took leave of the King I thought advisable that he should stay here a few days longer, for the reasons which he will state to your Majesty, and in view of these reasons your Majesty may consider whether it will not be advisable to send some envoy here for a longer stay.

London, 18 March, 1547, before Easter.†

March 20. THE EMPEROR to PRINCE PHILIP.

Simancas E. 644.

Your letters have all been received, the latest dated 25 January. It has been impossible for us to reply to them earlier in full, as we have, as you know, been travelling about, and much occupied. Even after we arrived at Ulm we found an immense amount of work to do, settling matters with these principal cities which have sent in their submission, and in other pressing business; so that, anxious as we were to send off this post earlier we could not do so. Nevertheless Eraso sent from Heilbronn by a Portuguese the substance of the capitulation of the Duke of Wurtemburg, and an account of the condition of affairs with regard to Augsburg which subsequently came to terms. Argentina (Strassburg) also gave signs of a desire to submit, and has sent representatives to negotiate, but nothing definite has yet been arranged, as the deputies wished to refer to the city again. There are hopes, however, that the city will submit, which will be of great importance, as in that case all the territory on this side of the Danube will be tranquillised, and the negotiations of France and the Swiss will therefore be unnecessary.

This letter will accordingly deal with the points in your letters still remaining open. First I may express my joy that you and my daughters and the Infanta are well. Thank God my own health is good, though of course the past and present anxiety and trouble make themselves felt. But as all that has been done has been in the service of God and His holy faith, we not only consider our travail well bestowed, but will continue to devote ourselves to the furtherance of the cause. We wish we could go with the troops we have retained under arms to aid our brother the King of the Romans and Duke Maurice, to settle affairs in Saxony, which are so important to all Germany, because, although they (*i.e.*, King Ferdinand and Duke Maurice) have a larger number of infantry and cavalry than the enemy, a part of their men cannot be trusted to fight; but we have decided nevertheless to defer going thither for the present; though we are sending

* The details of Renegat's (or Reniger's) piracies will be found in Vol. 8 of the present Calendar.

† A similar letter to the above with merely verbal variations was written on the same date to the Queen Dowager.

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1,000 cavalry of the Marquis Albert, eight standards of infantry, and also the Marquis John of Brandenburg with his cavalry, the Spanish infantry regiment of D. Alvaro de Sande and the brigade of the Marquis of Marignano. With these reinforcements and the troops they already have, together with the councillors sent to them, we are sure that they (*i.e.*, King Ferdinand and Duke Maurice) will be able to finish matters there, so that they may not interfere with the other objects we have in view.

One of the principal of these things is to effect a league of some of the free towns and the principal cities of the empire, because without that, however much we might desire to obtain the aid of our States we could not keep on foot the army which in any case will be necessary until the whole question of Germany is finally settled. We have therefore determined to go to the city of Frankfort, where a sort of conference has been arranged to meet on the 20th of this month. I am leaving in Ulm and Augsburg two brigades of Germans two thousand strong each, which I think will be sufficient. When we arrive at Frankfort we shall get to business briskly; and in the meanwhile we shall give orders for the territories of the Landgrave in that neighbourhood to be entered and seized. We think that this can be done easily if we send the two Spanish regiments as well as the foot and mounted Germans who are to accompany us. We may also be able from there to help and encourage the struggle in Saxony, and with this object we have taken rather a roundabout way, leaving the straight road for a few days. We shall do the best we can in the circumstances as they arise, endeavouring in any case to effect the league of cities and undo the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave, upon which the final conclusion of the business depends.

With regard to other subjects, you will see by the copies of letters enclosed what has passed between us and the Nuncio and the French Ambassador, with the reply given by the King of France, which is gentler in tone than at first seemed probable. Although we do not believe that any move will be made in that quarter at present, it will be wise to keep secretly a close watch upon the frontiers.

In the matter of finance we have considered very carefully all you have written to us, as well as the statement of the amounts due on account of bills of exchange and other things up to the end of 1546. We note also the estimate of the sum needed for ordinary expenditure, and the revenues already apportioned. The amount thus apportioned reaches nearly a million one hundred thousand ducats, without including the money needed for the Queen's* household, your own and my daughter's maintenance, and the salaries of the Councils and Court officials, as they are all included in the demands upon the general revenue, as also are the 300,000 ducats drawn in bills by Queen Marie (*i.e.*, Queen Dowager of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands), the cost of Don Bernardino de Mendoza's galleys and the defence of the African frontiers. We have also noted the state of the rest of the

* *i.e.*, His mother Queen Juana, who was confined as a lunatic.

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revenues and the suggestions made with regard to the raising of the funds needed. We are loth to resort to these measures, but seeing the urgency both in Spain and here, we have decided that the following course shall be adopted.

First: With regard to the half of the treasures of the churches and monasteries in Spain and the half of the value of the fabrics of the cathedrals, we note the persons you summoned to hear our letter read, and that the opinion was that the matter should be communicated to the Royal Council, since in any case they must have known of it before it could be carried into effect. We note also the result of the joint discussion of the matter; and though we readily believe that they are sorry, considering the love and loyalty they profess, to have to raise so many obstacles and difficulties to providing thus the funds we so urgently need, yet we cannot avoid saying that the mere raising of difficulties is always easy, and especially in matters of great importance such as this; and the Councillors should not have contented themselves with this, but should have advised us as to the means of carrying the plan into effect if necessary. Because, with affairs in their present condition, and the issues for good or evil being so important, it is of the utmost urgency that we should be helped from all quarters, especially by such expedients as that proposed. Our patrimony, as is known, is exhausted, and other sources of revenue failing to provide for the armies and fleets we have raised for the defence of Christianity and our own dominions, it has seemed to us that the means proposed would be the least oppressive to our subjects, whose burdens would not be increased, only that treasure being drawn upon which is at present deposited and perhaps unnecessary for divine service. To employ such resources for an end so saintly as ours and for the conversion of those who have gone astray seemed fitting. We ourselves have risked our person and dominions in the struggle with no other object than that we have set forth; and we recall that whilst we were in Spain there was no subject upon which we were so frequently pressed, as this question of the vindication of the faith; and yet now that we have undertaken it and, by God's blessing brought the issue to a point more favourable than was ever anticipated, it might have been expected that the first care would have been to devise means to carry out what was necessary instead of raising difficulties in this way. The King of France without any authority from the Pope is accustomed to avail himself of this source of supply for his own purposes, which everybody knows have no good object from beginning to end, whereas, as we have already pointed out, the purpose for which we intend to apply the money is saintly and just, and one which ecclesiastics, churches and monasteries with all their belongings are bound in duty to contribute. We are therefore of opinion that the means for carrying the plan into execution should be discussed and settled pending the granting of the bull for the purpose by the Pope. If the bull be not granted we have no intention of carrying the matter further; but in the contrary case it must be put into execution without delay, in order that

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our present great need may be relieved. We have not neglected to consider the matter here, and we think that the prelates and provincials of conventual orders should be spoken to confidentially, so that each one may enquire what silver, gold and jewels there may be under his authority and what portion thereof can be dispensed with, after leaving what is necessary for divine worship. By this means the amount will be ascertained without the risk of the clergy's hiding or transporting the treasure. The matter, indeed, might be approached gradually under any pretext that may be considered best, and the minds of the persons interested prepared for it, so that the plan might be executed without trouble or resistance when the time came. You see how important this is, and we bid you to have the matter considered and arranged as I desire.

Nordlingen, 20 March, 1547.

There is adjoined to the above letter another of the same date from the Emperor to Cobos to a similar effect. The Emperor congratulates Cobos upon his convalescence, and hopes that he will scon be able to return to work, his presence by the side of the Prince being so needful in financial affairs. The Emperor's need has been so pressing that he has been obliged to borrow 5,000 florins of the Betzares on a bill of exchangè on the Spanish exchequer to be met from the first payments collected. He begs Cobos to meet this and other bills previously drawn in favour of the same bankers.

March 21. ST. MAURIS to GRANVELLE.

Paris
K. 1487.

Five or six days ago I sent you a letter by a student, informing you of the state of affairs here up to that time. The King of France was, as you will have learnt, very ill, and still continues so, greatly distressed by an intermittent fever, which like the rest of his malady originates from the apostheme that troubles him, and which is to a certain extent open. He is in grave peril in the opinion of the doctors. The Admiral of France and Madame d'Etampes are doing their utmost to cure him, whilst he is in great fear of death, since the coming of an Englishman to deliver letters from the King of England now dead. This gentleman gave the King of France a message from the late King on his death bed, to the effect that he (King Francis) ought to bear in mind that he, too, was mortal. This admonition amazed and distressed the King to such an extent that he fell ill from that moment.

You are aware of the answer given to me by the King respecting the stoppage of warlike preparations. Great show of doing this was made, orders being sent to Provence and Dauphiné, as they had promised, for all preparations to be suspended. But since then they have returned to their vomit, and are making every possible effort to strengthen themselves. They announce that this is being done simply for the defence of the realm, and to prevent being surprised by the Emperor. They say that they have no intention of invading the territories of others, but as they are in the habit of doing the very contrary of what they say, it will be wise not to trust them overmuch. Their preparations are

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as follows. The King is busily collecting money both in Lyons and Paris, having imposed a tax of four tenths, which is to be levied on the produce of 1546. They say that the "*billet*" of the tax which was brought to him amounted to a very great sum, that of last year not having been employed, owing to the short duration of the war. They have these amounts therefore now in cash, and in addition they are levying a new tax of four tenths for the present year at the end of June. Besides this, the King had in hand the amount necessary for the 50,000 (?) infantry which the fortified towns are bound to provide in time of war. This will probably reach 600,000 crowns, and he wishes to raise 500,000 more from the rest of the country, outside Paris; which city provides him with 100,000 crowns. Cardinal de Meudon is in Paris to receive the money that is coming in, which they say here reaches a vast sum. ' As much effort to raise funds is being made as if the country was already at war. Captains have been commissioned to recruit light horse, and the old standards of light horse are being filled up, which is an innovation. They say that these light horse consist of 1,200, part of whom are to be sent to Piedmont.

Most of the Governors and commanders of the realm have recently been at Court for some days with them, secretly negotiating at Rambouillet, at the time that the King was very ill. It is said that orders were given for the frontiers to be well armed, and that troops should be got ready with all speed. The two overdue payments to the men have been paid, and troops are to be quickly enlisted, etc., etc. . . . All the galleys are being put into commission, money for the purpose having recently been handed to the captains, so that they may be ready to put to sea by the end of April. Ten or twelve of their ships of war are also being fitted out at Dieppe and Havre de Grace, and they are talking about sending great garrisons to Burgundy and 400 men at arms to Bresse. I hear also that they are to send, or have sent 100,000 crowns to Switzerland, probably to pay the ordinary subsidies there. It is certain that they have a close understanding with those confederations, to which they will look for help if they need it, since it is clear that they can get Germans from them . . . .

The King of France has just sent 60,000 crowns to Lubeck from Dieppe to aid the rebels and to arouse them against the Emperor . . . . . All these preparations show the ill will these people bear to the Emperor. It is true that they say their only object is to defend their own country and to guard against surprise, since the Emperor's success in Germany makes them fear that he may turn his arms against them. The people are much rejoiced at this, and say that the King is wiser this time than before. In effect, the King and country are full of fear and distrust of the Emperor, in whose pacific assurances they disbelieve. They try to explain their preparations by saying that the Duke of Savoy and the Prince of Piedmont are raising forces, and that the Prince will enter the territory of Bar to recover the territories that the Swiss are holding, and will then

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enter Bresse and Piedmont. All this is very unlikely, and is only invented as an excuse for sending more troops to Piedmont. The King of France has warned the Swiss Protestants of the Prince of Piedmont's designs, and of the Emperor's plans to obtain universal dominion. . . . .

I expect all these preparations will cool somewhat now, in consequence of the King's illness; for I know how evil his tendency was. But since he fell so seriously ill he has frequently said that his wish is in future to live in peace and quiet for the rest of his days. But if ever he be better again he will be more furious than before. He gave a very good reception to the English gentleman who visited him to express the King of England's desire to remain friendly. But since the gentleman returned home, the King has learnt that the English have been sending troops across the channel in large numbers to reinforce their garrisons on this side, and great quantities of materials also are being sent into Boulogne.

The King was extremely put out at this, and sent word to the English Ambassador that that was a strange way of keeping friendly. The ambassador replied that what was done was only with the object of preserving their own territories, and had no hostile meaning. The King remains dissatisfied at this, as it is evident that they (the English) have no intention to restore Boulogne to him, since they are strengthening it so much. There is therefore not much cordiality between them just now. Paulin is still in England, but the result of his negotiations is not known. The King of France summoned him to return once but soon sent him back again. So far as I can hear Paulin's long delay is making the King suspicious of the English, who would be very glad to see the last of him (Paulin); whilst people here say that he is not staying without good reason.

The Pope has informed the King of France of the reply given by the Emperor to the envoy sent by his Holiness to propose the establishment of a close alliance (between the Emperor and Francis). When the King of France heard it he said that it was evident that the Emperor had no desire to treat with him, as he always stood out for the restitution of Piedmont, which he (Francis) would never give up to his dying day, even if a hundred thousand men had to be sacrificed. The Dauphin is very vigilant of the principal French officers kept in Piedmont, and offers to go thither in person if necessary to defend it. There is, indeed, an idea of sending M. d'Aumale thither to assist the Prince of Melfi, the Dauphin saying that if d'Aumale goes he will be as sure as if he were there in person.

21 March, 1547.

April 1.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

THE QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received by the hand of M. de Chantonnay your letters of the 18th ultimo, and are now well informed of the position of affairs in England, which, indeed, does not appear to be so stable as we should like to see it in the interests of the welfare and tranquillity of the peoples, and of our own ability to

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live in good neighbourship with the ruling personages. It is, indeed, to be feared, so fickle and inconstant are English people by nature, and judging from the way in which they have commenced with the Lord Chancellor, that they may possibly treat others in a similar way. For that reason it will be advisable for you to exercise the most scrupulous vigilance to make yourself acquainted with the humours of the men at the head of the government, and also the trend of popular opinion, and what the people at large think of the government. From time to time you will advise us of all the changes of feeling you can discover. Let us know in what esteem they hold our cousin the Princess (Mary), and if there is any talk of marrying her, and also how they treat and in what reputation stands the widow of the late King, and the daughter of Cleves (*i.e.*, Anne of Cleves).

Since the Protector and Secretary Paget have confessed to you that they have again entered into negotiations with France, with the idea, as they say, that the interests of the Emperor will be greatly benefited thereby, whilst they assure you that they have agreed to nothing to the prejudice of the treaty that is at present in force between his Majesty and them, you will do well if you seize the first opportunity that offers of speaking to Paget, and telling him, unofficially, as if on your own account, that you have been thinking of the kind and courteous words they used with reference to the advantage they thought would accrue to the Emperor's interests, and it has occurred to you that it would be convenient if they would be kind enough to give you a copy of, or at least let you read again, the aforesaid new treaty they have made with France; so that by this means a perfect understanding may be established between his imperial Majesty and the English government, if only for the purpose of banishing the effect of these French boasts that they (the French) have gained an advantage over his Majesty, and that Boulogne is to be restored to them at the same time.

If Paget raises any difficulty to this and endeavours to excuse himself, you will, again as if of your own accord and assuring him that you have received no instructions on the subject, tell him that, in your opinion at least, if his imperial Majesty chose to press the point, they (the English Government) would be bound by the terms of the treaty of alliance to communicate to him the contents of such a treaty. You will point out to him (Paget) that by the third clause of our treaty it is laid down that neither of the two contracting princes nor their successors may make any agreement to the prejudice of the other. In addition to this it is laid down in the fourteenth clause, that in the interests of the consolidation of the closest possible alliance between the two sovereigns the latter should maintain a mutual intelligence in their affairs and mutual acquiescence in their proceedings, whereby neither of them can negotiate with any other party whatever to the prejudice of the aforesaid alliance, directly or indirectly. As his Majesty's dominions are contiguous with those of France, the Emperor, with perfect reason, could demand to know what they (the English government) have

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agreed upon with the King of France. You may say that you think that if King Henry were still alive he would have acquainted the Emperor with the treaty in question, at least so far as concerned his Majesty's interests, in order that he might be made aware in that way, and by what form of words, they have reserved the treaty of alliance now in force with him, as the Emperor did when he made his treaty of peace with France at Crépy. He then communicated to King Henry the words by which it was formally stipulated in the treaty that his Majesty expressly reserved the friendship and alliances that existed between him and the King of England.

You may also say that they (the English government) ought to consider very carefully which friendship is most likely to be serviceable to them, that of France where they have never found any good reciprocity, or that of the Emperor and his people here, who from ancient times have maintained a close and cordial alliance with them. If they (the English) take a contrary course it certainly would seem to be a reversal of the last wishes of the late King, as they had caused it to be conveyed to the Emperor by the gentleman they sent to his Majesty. His Majesty could ill undertake the protection of the young King's interests if they concealed from him the terms of the treaties with which his Majesty by right ought to be made acquainted. Your object will be always to persuade Paget to get them to communicate to you the terms of their treaty with the French, and if you can manage to obtain a copy of it, it will be of the greatest possible satisfaction to us. You will report to us what answer they give you on this matter.

We have had Councillor Van der Burch's account of his conferences with the English Commissioners considered. Owing to the recess that has been granted nothing has been settled, and affairs remain in the same state as they were before. It is true that certain points have been agreed upon, as indeed was the case with the conference at Bourbourg, but nevertheless this has had no effect in preventing the English from making the Emperor's subjects pay as before. It is, therefore, necessary that you should be furnished with some authentic information as to the points to which the commissioners have agreed, so that the English officers may be confronted with this, and be ordered to conduct themselves in accordance with it. By these means their undue exactions may be prevented, and with this object you will urge the matter diligently, in accordance with the memorandum which will be sent to you shortly.

We have frequently written to you about your obtaining a reply to the claims of his Majesty's subjects, for the restitution of the estates they held in the Boulognais, now in the occupation of the English. At the commencement of the affair you will recollect that it was submitted to the late King, who died before any definite resolution was adopted. It is of great interest to the affairs of the Emperor, and indeed also to the English themselves if they could only understand it, that these subjects of ours should be restored to the enjoyment of their own

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properties, and we therefore order you to press industriously for a solution of this question, without any further delay. You will give them (the English government) to understand that neither the letter of the law nor common reason can justify the deprivation of their property and permanent spoliation of these subjects of the Emperor, who were at the time of the conquest of Boulogne, and are still, the allies and confederates of the English; and moreover many of them in the actual service of England aiding in the capture of Boulogne. It is surely unjust that they should be plundered by their friends. They are more courteously treated by the French, who, although they occupied their estates during the course of the war, restored them when peace was made, and the Emperor's subjects are in the peaceable enjoyment of the properties they have in the part of the Boulognais occupied by the French. The English are the only people who act otherwise; their contention being that the lands in question, being held from the King of France, were acquired by conquest as the property of the enemy by the King of England, who has a right to use them for his own profit. This allegation is contrary to justice, according to which the conquest of a country by a prince does not give to the latter the right of acquiring the properties held in it by his own subjects. Even in the case where a prince loses a territory and afterwards regains it, his subjects return to their possessions taking the oath *post liminii*, and what is true of subjects must surely also be true of friends and allies, who ought to be treated exactly as subjects, so far as refers to war. This rule of conduct is observed by all Christian princes, and it would be too unreasonable and contrary to the laws of God and the equity of men, if in consequence of a war between two princes, the subjects of a third prince were to lose their landed estates. It is especially hard that their own allies and friends should thus seek to deprive them of their properties: and indeed it would be in direct violation of the second clause in the treaty of close alliance, which lays down that the vassals and subjects of the two contracting princes are bound to forward and favour the interests of each other, and are to be treated in either of the prince's territories exactly as the native subjects of the prince are. For these reasons and others that will occur to you, you will endeavour to get the said subjects, of the Emperor restored to the enjoyment of their estates in the Boulognais, and you will keep us informed of the answers you receive to your representations.

If you learn that there is any idea of their giving up Boulogne you will press the matter even more warmly, showing the English governors that they would in such case be doubly bound to restore the lands to the owners, in order that the King of France might not have the opportunity of continuing to occupy them.

The "escort" of this city of Bruges has submitted to us a statement, showing the serious wrong done to him and the burgesses of the city by Lord Grey, the English Governor of Boulogne. Some time ago, in compliance with a request

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made to us by the English ambassador, we consented to Lord Grey ordering to be made here a certain quantity of table plate, and exporting it out of the country when he pleased. He availed himself of the permission, and the plate was made to his order, but he sent hither a quantity of new English dollars (stolers), which as you know is a coin prohibited in this country by our government. These dollars were destined to pay the silversmith, who had already delivered the plate, and he naturally refused to receive the coins in payment, having regard to the loss that he would incur by doing so, which would have amounted to more than half the value of the plate supplied. The authorities, having been apprised of this, caused the said money to be embargoed, claiming that, in accordance with the edicts and proclamations in force, the whole amount should be confiscated.

Lord Grey having been informed of this, he caused the ambassador here to request us to pardon the error committed by his factors, and raise the embargo and the claim for confiscation of the aforesaid money. We set forth in reply, that although we had prohibited the circulation of the new dollars (stolers), in consequence of their intrinsic value being less than a Brabant *paltart*, many merchants and others coming over to England made their profit by filling this country with these dollars, passing them as the old dollars which were worth more than double. We had therefore been constrained to order the officers to insist upon the strict observance of the ordinances in respect to the currency; and consequently we ought not in reason to accede to Lord Grey's request. But, nevertheless, having regard to the fact that Lord Grey was a member of the King of England's senate, we were willing to grant him the Emperor's share of the confiscated money, his Majesty, according to the regulations, being entitled in such cases to claim one-third of the value; the other two-thirds belonging to the informant and to the official, and this we could not touch. We would, nevertheless, write to the authority (*escort*) in queston, telling him to deal graciously with Lord Grey's factors, as we had done on our part. The said official (*escort*), however, would not surrender the whole of the money to the factors; and thereupon Lord Grey, having discovered certain burgesses of Bruges and their ships and merchandise at Boulogne, had had them all seized, in order to compel the release of the dollars at Bruges.

This is not only against the commercial treaties in force, by which all reprisals and counter-arrests are forbidden, and more especially by the ninth clause of the last treaty, but is it also a flagrant abuse of the civility we extended to Lord Grey, causing us, naturally, much displeasure. We have had the English ambassador spoken to about it; and have requested him, in the name of his imperial Majesty, to remonstrate with the English Council, and request them to have the matter remedied, in accordance with the treaties in force: otherwise we shall be obliged to take into our own hands the indemnification

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of the Flemish subjects thus injured, as we are unable to tolerate so notorious a contravention of the treaties. Nevertheless, if Lord Grey is of opinion that the officer in question has done him an injustice we will willingly administer equitable and prompt justice in the matter, either through the Flemish Council or the Grand Council of Malines, or otherwise as may be found expedient.

Bruges, 1 April, 1547, before Easter.

2 April. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since the departure of M. de Chantonnay, no change has taken place in the position of affairs here. The Lord Chancellor remains confined to his house and deprived of his office, the Great Seal having been given into the custody of the Great Master of the Household, Lord St. John, who will hold it until Whitsuntide, when they will be handed to the new Lord Chancellor, who it is said will be Secretary Paget, although he has already refused the office. He has gone to see the estates and possessions given to him by the late King about a hundred miles from here, and some people wanted to make out that this was only a pretext for him to get away and quietly cross the sea. Being anxious to learn the truth about it, and having a good reason for wishing to see these gentlemen of the Council to complain of the injuries and depredations committed almost daily on your Majesty's subjects and of the scant justice that was meted out to them, I sent to him (Paget) to ask for audience; saying that, as I had heard that he was shortly leaving London on a voyage, and some people were saying that he was going abroad I should be glad if the audience could be arranged before his departure, so that he himself might be present at it. He replied that he was only going to see his estates and could not defer his departure, which was fixed for the following day. He then went to consult the other members of the Council and fixed the audience for the second day after.

The following day I received formal notice from the Protector and the Council that I could come to Court on the day that had been mentioned by Paget. Just as I was ready to start a messenger from the Protector and Council came to me to say that although they had appointed a day and hour for receiving me, they desired to know, nevertheless, whether the matters I had to discuss concerned your Majesty entirely, in which case I might come. But if I wished to see them on the subject of merchants' claims they asked me to have patience, as they were extremely busy with other affairs. As I was much surprised at receiving such a message and rebuff as this, considering that they had twice over made the appointment with me fixing the day and hour, I replied that what I had to communicate to them was by command of your Majesty and of the Queen (Dowager of Hungary) and if they refused to hear me, I must, of course, have patience until it pleased them to do so.

When the messenger had taken this reply to them, he returned to me at once to say that I might go to the Council immediately.

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When I saw them I pressed urgently to obtain restitution of the property of your Majesty's subjects in the Boulognais,* upon which point their final decision and reply had been so often delayed. I then went on to demand also a settlement of the Renegat affair. On the first point I could obtain no other reply than had been given to me before, namely, that when they had agreed with the French they would do what was reasonable to the satisfaction of the Queen (Dowager of Hungary), whereupon I remonstrated strongly with them, saying that this reply was insufficient, as they had agreed with the French not only once but twice, and all sorts of things were being said about it.

They all cried out at once at this, saying, "We have done more for you with the French than for ourselves"; and then the Protector added, "And we have sent an account to the Emperor by our ambassador of our negotiations with the French, but as far as regards the question of the limits in the Boulognais, it is not quite settled yet." I replied to this that perhaps it never would be settled and appearances certainly tended that way, by which I let them see that I quite understood their response. I then repeated the reasons why they should agree to the restitution demanded, and they answered that the delay that had occurred was with perfectly good reason and was not such as I thought. They had, they said, arranged with the French to hold another conference to which they would shortly send their commissioners. With regard to Renegat's affair, they said they had appointed a commissioner to hear the evidence of both sides, and to report to them fully thereon. They all then begun to complain that the property of English subjects had been seized in Spain on account of a private grievance, which was in direct violation of the treaties; and in this, and other directions their subjects were being maltreated and injured in Spain.

I was therefore drawn into a great dispute with them, both with regard to Renegat's affair and with regard to the treatment of English subjects in Spain, and at last I told them plainly that they had no right to complain, as they had always obtained for their subjects everything they had asked for. I said they would find that their subjects had been more highly favoured by my intercession than the subjects of your Majesty. I had employed every sort of solicitation, justification and pressure that I was capable of in their favour, and I was greatly astonished that they were dragging forward old matters respecting which they themselves and their subjects had expressed their thanks to me for having written in their favour and obtained the concession they had requested.

They did not know what to answer to this, and I continued that, although they had warned me not to enter upon the question of merchants' grievances, since they had themselves broached the subject they must allow me also to declare to them how the subjects of your Majesty were suffering, against all right and reason. I then set forth many of the grievances and

* *See* Calendar Vol. 8, p. 464, etc.

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injuries that your Majesty's subjects, endured in consequence of restitution being denied to them here of their property, and of the long delays which took place in doing justice to their claims. I said that after these subjects had been detained here a year or two in solicitation the Council referred them to the Admiralty, where it was quite impossible to get anything decided or for the claimants to bear the expenses of the procedure. I said that, although I never referred to them (the Councillors) any case that was not absolutely clear, there was, nevertheless, not one case that had been looked into, but they had all been remitted together to the Admiralty; they insisting that according to the laws and constitution of this realm the goods of your Majesty's subjects captured in hostile bottoms had formerly been held as fair prize by the admiralty court, and at the present time the Council had confirmed this, notwithstanding that they had sent to tell me, after I had, with the parties interested, appealed against the first judgment, that I need not trouble any more about the matter as they themselves (the Council) would arrange with the parties interested in a manner that would be satisfactory to me. I continued that, I had not failed to demonstrate to them that the statutes upon which they depended were against the treaties, and injurious to international comity and intercourse, and that they could not be thus stretched to our injury. Such a thing, indeed, I said, had never been done here before. They had, moreover, not kept their promise to me, a promise upon which I had absolutely depended.

To all this I could get no other reply than they would not decide anything except in accordance with their laws and statutes; the particular statute in question having been made before the trade agreements, as I might see for myself by the copy they would send me. As I could get no better reply than this to all my other complaints, I have thought desirable to give your Majesty a detailed account of the matter in order that you may be able to consider the difficulty in which your subjects will find themselves here in future in trying to obtain justice from these gentlemen, who, to tell the truth, have very scant respect for those dependent upon your Majesty. It looks as if any of them, when he hears that an affair touches a subject of your Majesty, thinks that he shall attract attention to himself as a good and zealous servant of his King and as an able minister, if he insists upon admitting nothing and recognising nothing which might tend to prove our case. It may, therefore, be justifiably feared that navigaton will become less free than ever, since anyone (at sea) may capture what he can, knowing perfectly well that he can drag out the case in the Admiralty Court so long that he will tire out the claimant, or the latter may be forced to abandon his suit and his property both on account of the heavy expenses of such protracted proceedings, and on account of the daily increasing disfavour with which foreigners are regarded since the death of the late King.

For the last two days these people seem rather more alert in consequence of the rumour that exists to the effect that the

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King of France is mustering his sea forces. I do not know what truth there is in it, but in any case the English think that such a force is more likely to be directed against them than against your Majesty, in spite of all the offensive and defensive treaties which I am informed they have made with the French, although the Protector only spoke to me of a defensive alliance. I have done my best to discover the details of their agreement, but I have been unable to learn any of the particulars, nor do I know whether they have sent notice of it to your Majesty, as they say they have.

From a trustworthy source I hear that there has been some talk of marrying the King to the daughter of the Dauphin, and Madam Mary with M. de Vendome, which for many reasons does not look to me very probable. It is true that these people (the Councillors) on one occasion during the negotiations (with the French) were for breaking off altogether, Paget having rejected certain proposals made by the French and the whole matter remained in suspense for some days, during which no communications took place. At last Paulin got angry at the obstinacy of these people, and I am given to understand now that some gentleman is expected here from France, and it is quite probable that Paget may go over the water, which I am told he could very easily do from the place where he now is. I pray your Majesty will pardon me my suppositions, which may turn out vain.

The Scots, after losing their three principal ships, have captured some English merchant ships, and preparations are being made here to reinforce the (English) fleet at sea, the King's galley being one of the vessels which are to be sent on that service. The Scots are no less vigilant, and think of nothing but war against the English, as I understand from one who is very intimate with one of the Scottish ambassadors here. The other Scottish ambassador has not yet returned from France.

Duke Philip* has left here for Germany and will travel through France on his way thither.

London, 2 April, 1547.

April 2.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

By the accompanying copy of the letter I am sending to the Emperor, your Majesty will see what has passed between the members of the Council and myself since the departure of M. de Chantonnay. I have thought best to relate thus minutely the conversations between us, in order that his imperial Majesty may be informed of the treatment meted out to his subjects here, and the small hope that exists of any amendment in this respect; since all that was promised to me on behalf of the Council at the time when the Lord Chancellor was employed in it I find now frustrated.

* Duke Philip of Bavaria, Count Palatine, who had come to England before the death of Henry VIII, ostensibly as a suitor for the hand of the Princess Mary. Details of his visit will be found in Vol. 8 of the present Calendar.

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This is a good sign of the sort of justice we are likely to meet with here in future. Your Majesty will doubtless be able to penetrate the reason for the long delay in giving us a final decision with regard to the claims made by the subjects of his Majesty for the restitution of their properties in the Boulognais. For my part I am less hopeful now of this matter than I was during the lifetime of the late King, for with him there appears to have expired all favour, benignity and magnanimity; so that the ancient reputation of this realm will soon be utterly cast down.

London, 2 April, 1547, before Easter.

April. Paris K. 1487.

ST. MAURIS(?) to GRANVELLE(?).

The 30th of March the King died at Rambouillet of a fever which had afflicted him for thirty days. He was opened after his death, and an apostheme was found in his stomach; the kidneys were wasted and all the entrails decayed. The armpit was partially cankered and the lung affected. Two days before he died, Aquila (*i.e.*, Madam d'Etampes) left Rambouillet and went to her house at Limours. The day after the death, Dux (*i.e.*, the Dauphin Henry) with his wife, retired to a monastery near Rambouillet, and the following days Dux was at Saint Germain. Before he left Rambouillet he authorised *Tris*,* the Admiral and the Bishop of Macon to remain there for forty days to fulfil the usual solemnities and to maintain the daily service of food customary in such cases.†

The 2nd instant, the Dauphiness‡ and Madame Marguerite visited the Queen at Poissy by order of Dux, who also wrote autograph letters to her Majesty, conveying the news of the King's death, and excusing himself for not having informed her before of the King's illness. This omission, he said, had been in consequence of his hope from day to day that the King would recover; and he now offered to her Majesty all the duty that a son could pay to a mother. He would, he announced, always remain a humble and obedient son to her. The Dauphiness and Madame Marguerite also presented to the Queen their promises to serve her to the utmost, accompanying their offers by many kind expressions. When Madame Marguerite entered the Queen's chamber and saw the black hangings, her heart failed her, and when she left she fell into another faint. The princesses were accompanied by several ladies (named) and amongst them the Admiral's wife, by order of Dux (*i.e.*, the Dauphin Henry). These ladies were ordered by Dux not to return to Court, and they consequently endeavoured to remain attached to the

* "Tris" apparently stands for Cardinal Tournon.

† This curious ceremony is thus described in a letter from Casale to the Pope Paul III, 25 May, 1547 (Ruscelli Lettere di Principi, Venice, 1562). "And during all the time between the death and the sepulture of the King they made of him an effigy and clothed it splendidly, with the crown and sceptre and other royal ornaments; and having placed the effigy upon a bed of state, at the usual hours every morning and evening, they served dinner and supper with the same ceremonies as if the King were verily alive. And after some days they divested the figure of the royal trappings, and dressed it in mourning."

‡ Catharine de Medici.

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Queen's service. She, however, only retained Madame Massi and the Admiral's wife, the latter out of favour for her sister the Duchess de Montpensier,* who begged the Queen very hard for her. The said Duchess is with Madame Marguerite, although Dux would have liked to dismiss her. Madame Marguerite, however, declared that she would not go at all unless the Duchess went with her. It is thought that the arrangement will not last long as *Silvius* (probably the Dauphiness Catherine de Medici) hates her and her sister. Mme. Massi will have to give up the state she has hitherto kept. The Queen is sending away Madame Canaples, although the latter begged to be allowed to stay. She had, however, done all she could against the Queen, and if it had not been for Silvius, M. Canaples would have repudiated her and placed her in a convent. He says now that she has been a concubine of the King's. It is as yet uncertain what the other husbands will say.

On the day that Dux went to St. Germain the Constable arrived there. Dux received him kindly and they conversed apart for over two hours. It is said that the same night Longueville was removed from his estates. On the following day Bayard, who was at Court, was turned out thereof and deprived of his estates, and he has retired to his house in great tribulation. It is said, indeed, that an indictment is being drawn up against him. Whilst the Admiral was at Rambouillet, his office of marshall was disposed of, though in whose favour is not yet known. It is said to be the intention to allow him to retain his post of admiral, though without emoluments, but he will be deprived of the government of Normandy, which will go to M. d'Aumale. It is believed that M. de Hesdin will be Marshal of France and his daughter has already been appointed lady of honour to the new Queen. *Tris* is entirely in the shade, and the Count de Montreuel and M. de Grignan, his nephews, are deprived of their governments of Provence and Bresse.

It is rumoured that Paulin will no longer have charge of the galleys, which, it is said, will be entrusted to Peter Strozzi. Saint Siergues and all the other knights of the order who were members of the Privy Council, have been deported, and the chief of the Council, so far as regards judicial affairs, is M. de Rheims under the supervision of the constable, the latter having chosen M. de Rheims† for his colleague, because he is of princely rank, and he (the constable) was formerly accused of wishing to do everything himself; and also in order to please *Silvius* who was the means of bringing him back to Court. The Receiver of Sens and Marchaumont have been appointed Secretaries of the Council, and it is believed that Aubespine will return no more. Bochetel is at Court. The Chancellor still refrains from business, but he fears he will have to attend. There is, however, more likelihood of his staying than not.

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* Catherine of Lorraine.

† Charles of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, who was raised to the Cardinalate a few months after this.

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On the third of this month *Aquila* (*i.e.*, the Duchess d'Étampes) sent one of her people to request her usual lodging at St. Germain to enable her to come and take leave of Dux (*i.e.*, the Dauphin). The latter told *Aquila's* servant that he had better go to the Queen and ask for the lodging, and that he (the Dauphin) would act in accordance with her Majesty's decision in the matter. This was intended as a hint to *Aquila* that she had acted very badly in causing, as she had done, the Queen to be so ill-treated. There are a good many people already at Court complaining of *Aquila*, setting forth the places she had deprived them of, etc. They will get a very good hearing and prompt redress, even if no worse trick is played upon Aquila and the others who are in the black books, than banishing them, as they (*i.e.*, the new King and his party) are doing.

*Dux* (the Dauphin) will not have Aquila nor those of her set mentioned to him. He excused himself to the Queen on the 4th instant for not having visited her before, saying that he had caused enquiries to be made as to whether he should be dressed in mourning for the visit, in which case he would come so attired; but some authorities assured him that Kings of France should not wear mourning, and as soon as he was able to have the question cleared up he would pay his dutiful visit to her Majesty. In his communication, he repeated his earnest desire to serve and please her in all things, and he hoped that she would put him to the test. The Constable is now occupying the lodgings which belonged to *Aquila* (Madame d'Étampes) and he has for a neighbour Cardinal Chastillon. Messieurs de Rheims and Guise are also lodged in the King's house. *Mons.* is always welcome and Cardinal Ferrara is smiled upon; but Cardinal Chastillon is already beginning to compete with him for precedence. In short, this Court is a new world, and nothing that has been done by *Tris* and the Admiral either with the English, the protestants or others is now approved of.

Since the 4th April M. d'Aumale has been made Grand Master of France, by the consent of the Constable, and Governor of Dauphiné in place of Montgiron; the latter having been dismissed from the Privy Council and deprived of all his estates and commands; and his son has also been deprived. Young Saint André is made a member of the Council, with M. de Hesdin, and both are created Marshals of France, in the place of the Admiral and M. de Biez, who have been turned out. M. de Tais has also been sent home, and the command of the French artillery he held given to M. de Brissac. It is confirmed that Paulin has fallen quite into disgrace and the charge of the galleys has been given to the Prior of Capua (*i.e.*, Leone Strozzi).

It is now asserted that orders have been given to arrest Longueville and that he will be taken to the Bastille. By this means *Aquila's* affairs will be opened up and examined and she will soon be ruined. An abbey belonging to Longueville which he had transferred to Cardinal Lenoncourt has been confiscated and conferred upon M. de Rheims. It is also believed that

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M. Grignan is to be arrested, he having been accused of several malversations by the Count de Tandes, etc. . . . . *Tris*, who is at Rambouillet, has been ordered not to come to Court, and an indictment is being drawn up against him. It is said that he will retire, giving up all his places and offices. M. d'Aubigny has been let out of the Bastille, and it is feared that M. de L'Orge (*i.e.*, Montgomerie), who accused him, may be put there in his place. He has already been deprived of his estates and is in disgrace.

Old St. André is to be governor of Bresse in place of Count Montreuel. Boissi has presented himself at Court, but he runs the risk of being wrecked by the relationship he had contracted with M. d'Étampes, he having been turned out of the Court shortly before the old King's death. Sordi is still in favour with the young King. The heirs of the late treasurer Pouchier claim Limours from Aquila, whom they charged with having caused the lawsuit against their deceased father to be given in her favour by people of her own choice, in order that she might obtain possession of the estate. They have received permission to substantiate their accusations, and this will be a means of bringing forward other complaints. Fresh guardians of the money in the Louvre have been appointed in place of Cardinal de Meudon, and when he left they seized all his papers and correspondence without ceremony. He said that he had expected no other treatment. Madame d'Albret is to arrive at Court shortly and Cardinal Armaignac has gone post to meet her.

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NOTE.—The above despatch, although it bears no indication of the name of the writer nor of the person to whom it is addressed, is written throughout in the cipher employed by the Emperor's ambassador, St. Mauris, in his communications with his master and de Granvelle. As none of the usual ceremonial forms contained in letters to the Emperor are present, it is probable that this was addressed to Granvelle rather than to the Emperor personally.

In another bundle, K. 1483 (Paris Archives) there is a shorter despatch in Spanish, headed "Memorandum of the end of Balthasar" (*i.e.*, Francis I) giving similar information to that contained in the communication here transcribed, with a few unimportant additional details, such as the amounts of the small legacies left by the King to his servants and his daughter Marguérite. The Government of Normandy in this Memorandum is said to have been given to the new Dauphin Francis (a child at the time) with M. d'Aumale as his Lieutenant. In obscure and ciphered words it is also asserted that the Emperor had sent to the new King of France to say that he wished to settle English affairs and to favour Princess Mary, and asked Henry to help him. In the same bundle (K. 1483, Paris) there is another letter of advice, written apparently by a spy in France in purposely obscure Spanish, and addressed to his master "the Comendador" in Bilbao. From the tone of this paper it would appear to have been written by one in favour of the D'Albrets (titular sovereigns of Navarre). It gives an account of the diplomatic reproaches addressed by the Emperor to the King of France for his countenance given to the Protestants. The Emperor also complains of England not having fulfilled the peace capitulations with France, and the King of France also complains of England. The Protestants have sent envoys to the King of France, who has received them badly, and has assured the Emperor that he has been misinformed in the assertion that he has aided them. The King of England denies to the Emperor that any infraction of the conditions of peace with France has been committed by him. There is also in the document much concerning the hopes and fears of the D'Albrets, of no present interest. There are other similar reports, and to like effect, of various dates, in the same packet, but as all the advices in them are contained in more authoritative form in other documents transcribed in this Calendar, they are not summarised, except in a few cases where information is given about English affairs or on points directly touching the religious Reformation not to be found elsewhere in this volume.

1547.
April 9.
Paris
K. 1487.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

By enclosed copies of letters your Highness will see the condition of affairs here up to a recent date. Since the death of the King (of France) many changes have been made, and it appears that we shall remain at peace, there being no prospect of trouble on this side for the present year.

During his last illness the King admonished the Dauphin several times, and amongst other things urged him to take care of his sister and have her married fittingly to her rank.* He also enjoined him to persevere in the Christian religion, and to uphold it to the best of his ability; to regard the welfare of his people and not to burden them without urgent necessity; though he confessed that in the course of his reign he himself had done so sometimes on very slight and inadequate occasion, but on others because affairs rendered it inevitable. Above all he spoke long and impressively to him in favour of the Queen†; saying that he should regard and protect her well, knowing how ill he (Francis) had treated her, though she had not deserved such treatment, having always been to him a good and obedient wife. At the end he made a will providing for some of his servants, and prayed the Dauphin to employ his old domestics. After the King's death the Dauphin brought hither the Dauphiness‡ and Madame Marguerite to visit the Queen. When Madame Marguerite entered her Majesty's chamber, and saw the black hangings, and the Queen's black dress, she had two fainting fits, the last as she was leaving the room. The ladies were conducted by Cardinal Ferrara. The Queen has decided not to move for six weeks from the convent where she now is, and where the Dauphin is going to visit her in two days. He has already caused several cordial and dutiful messages to be communicated to her, expressing his great desire to treat her well, whether she decide to remain in France or to reside elsewhere. The Queen trusts that as he has always been a good son, he will so continue. The Constable§ is at present at this Court, having been recalled for participation in affairs.

Poissy, 9 April, 1547.

April 11.
Simancas.
E. 643.

The EMPEROR to DON FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO.

We are informed by your last letters of your conversation with the Pope and Cardinal Farnese about the treasures in the Spanish Churches. His Holiness' reply being so decided, notwithstanding the urgent need we have for money for the enterprise

* Margaret of France, who eventually married as a pledge of the peace of Cateau Cambresis, Emanual Philibert of Savoy. Brantome says that her brother wished her to marry Anthony de Bourbon, Duke of Vendome, the first prince of the blood, who afterwards married Jeanne d'Albret, and that she replied that she would never marry a subject. She had indeed seen young Emanual Philibert at the Conference at Nice many years before, and fallen in love with him, as he had with her, and although the marriage was long delayed, both parties rejected in the interim many other offers.

† Eleanor of Austria, sister of the Emperor, whom Francis had entirely neglected in his lifetime.

‡ Catharine de Medici.

§ Anne de Montmorenci.

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now in hand, there is nothing more to be said about it, except to thank you for your diligence, and to await the result of the remark that Cardinal Farnese afterwards made to you and the letters we are now sending to the ambassador Don Diego de Mendoza; and to see whether they (*i.e.*, the Papal ministers) will agree to reason. If we thought that the amount to be obtained would be a half of what they persuade themselves it will be we should not wait for the Pope's permission to levy it. But from all indications we receive it is thought that it will be much less than was anticipated; and we are accordingly writing to Don Diego (de Mendoza) that if a million crowns can be got instead of the 400,000 already conceded in compensation for the surrender of the monastic manors and this other demand upon the ecclesiastical treasures, he is to accept it and get the bulls despatched at once. Until this matter is finally settled no money can be obtained, or loan raised, and we are unable to advise you as to what arrangements may be made with the Florentine bankers respecting finance. You must keep the matter pending as well as you can, getting their undertaking that on our handing them assignments as security they will provide us with as much money as possible in bills of exchange at a moderate rate. Let us know what is done in the matter. The 50,000 crowns of the Duke of Florence had better remain there for the present, as they may be necessary for expenses in Italy, and we are so far off that the money could only be sent hither with much trouble and risk.

You will have learnt of the Pope's reply to the representations made to him on our behalf touching the transfer of the Council. Notwithstanding the same, and in the face of the evidence placed before him, his Holiness persists in his statement that the Council was transferred without his knowledge; and yet notwithstanding this, he takes no action to remedy what has been done. On the contrary, he has shown approbation of it in the consistory, and has prevented the final vote of the Cardinals being taken on the point, on the ground that the Council being free no pressure should be put upon it to return to Trent. We write by this post to Don Diego de Mendoza our ambassador, instructing him to request immediate audience of the Pope, and to represent to him that, having regard to the small reason, or lack of reason, that the prelates had to remove the place of the sittings, as events have since proved, and that even if it had been urgent to do so, the place selected should not have been in Italy, especially as the prelates had announced in the recess and had informed the Papal Nuncio here, that when the epidemic ceased they would return to Trent; and using such other arguments as have been written to him (Mendoza) after having protested against the Council so far as Germany is concerned, he is to press urgently that the legates should return to Trent where the future sittings shall be held. He is to make his Holiness clearly understand that we shall never consent to the transfer of the Council, as being contrary to the best interests of Christianity, and opposed to the objects for which the Council was instituted,

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He (Mendoza) is also to urge the Pope not to allow that any sitting or other act of the Council shall take place in Bologna, because, apart from the fact that this would be disadvantageous and impossible for us to agree to, it would be a very grave cause of complaint to us, bearing in mind the position in which we now are for the sake of religion. If all these representations prove ineffectual, and the Pope still persists in refusing our just requests Don Diego (Mendoza) is to announce to him formally that it will be impossible for us to avoid making a public protest. This, however, should only be done on very serious grounds, after due consideration, and in the most moderate manner.

As more light can be gained there (Trent) than elsewhere as to the best form and method that can be adopted in making such protest, it will be advisable for you to summon a conference of the prelates and jurists there, in order that they may together draft a formal act of protest in our name. The basis of such protest would be those already set forth above which may be resumed thus. The Council was convoked in the first place mainly respecting German affairs, and at the instance of the German States. That the sudden change in the place of the sittings was made without any good reason, and by the Pope's own confession without his knowledge, and without communication or consultation with anyone. That when the change was made the prelates chose for their sittings a place in Italy, the least conducive to the liberty which should be enjoyed by the whole of the members.

Don Diego is to add to this what argument he may consider necessary, but is not to depart from the main lines here indicated, with the object of justifying the protest on juridical grounds alone, taking care not to enter into any point which may savour of schism. Nor is he to suggest that the Council and its authority shall depend upon the prelates and other members who have remained there (Trent) as this point had better be avoided for the present, notwithstanding the desire of some people to bring it forward.

When this act of protest is drawn up in the way that seems most advisable you will send a copy of it to Don Diego de Mendoza as quickly as possible, in order that he may deal with it according to his instructions, and you will also send a copy to us here with equal promptness. Until by the means referred to we can discover the final intentions of the Pope, it will be undesirable that any change should be made by the prelates and others who have remained there (at Trent) you will speak to all of these in our name, thanking them for their goodwill general and particular, towards the interests of God and ourselves. You will urge them most especially not to move from Trent for the present, but to remain until they receive orders, and if they should be summoned to Bologna, they are to excuse themselves from going thither on the grounds set forth above. If censures be addressed to them they may take the course laid down in the last letter to the commissaries.

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This matter being so extremely important, we wish to have as much light upon it as possible, especially as you on the spot will be so well informed about it, we shall be glad if you will send us your opinion. You will have the question discussed by the people there in all its aspects, and an opinion formed as to what can, or had best, be done, both by us and by them (*i.e.*, the members of the Council remaining at Trent) in case his Holiness notwithstanding all our efforts, allows the Council to continue its acts at Bologna; our object being to prevent this and to secure the return of the Council to Trent. Give us full information in your next letter.

The Bishop of Fresuli has written to us asking us for a preferment when occasion offers. We have written to our ambassador in Rome telling him to favour him, and prevent any evil befalling him for having done his duty.

11 April, 1547.

April 25. Simancas E. 644.

The EMPEROR to DIEGO DE MENDOZA.

. . . . Juan de Vega wrote that the Pope had replied to our representations about the transfer of the Council of Trent (to Bologna), as you will have heard. Since then the Nuncio received letters from the Pope, dated 5th instant, and requested audience of me on the 14th. When we saw him he began by complaining of Juan de Vega for having been in so great a hurry to despatch his courier bearing his Holiness' reply, without waiting for Cardinal Farnese's letters, or even for the matter to be finally decided. He said that either in order to fulfil this negotiation before you arrived in Rome, or for some other reason, Juan de Vega used more expedition than he would otherwise have done.

The Nuncio did his best to excuse his Holiness, by saying that the latter would be very glad for the Council to return to Trent, or any other place that might be considered desirable; but for the sake of preserving the prestige of the Council some delay must take place in its return. In the meanwhile he wished the prelates who still remained at Trent to proceed to Bologna, and there to arrange for the return of all of them to Trent. He on his own account could not compel them to return. The Nuncio begged us very earnestly to allow him to read the letter he had received from Rome. But it was very long and we said that, as it contained nothing beyond what he had already told us verbally it was not necessary.

With regard to Juan de Vega, we said that his (the Nuncio's) discourse had, so far as we could discover, added nothing to what Vega had already written to us. The talk of the Pope and his ministers was, as usual, nothing but words. It all ended in the announcement that he could not compel the Council to return to Trent. We added that we were unable to understand his Holfness' position: sometimes he claimed to be superior to the Council, and sometimes inferior, as in the present instance.

The Nuncio, in replying to this, endeavoured to dwell upon the authority of the Pope, but we told him that the present was

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not the time to discuss that point, nor would we enter into any such discussion, since it would in no way forward the redress which we now sought. What was most urgently needed at present was that the Council should return to Trent in any case, in accordance with the representations we had made so earnestly and so justly. The Nuncio continued his remarks and touched upon the security of the Council, saying that that point did not concern us, and should not be dealt with by us except at the request of the prelates. Bologna, he said, was a perfectly safe place, where the prelates could speak freely, to which we replied that we knew very well how far our authority extended, and what our duty was as Emperor with regard to the security of the Council, with or without the request of the prelates. The point, was therefore, not to be discussed.

The Nuncio once more repeated that, in any case, it would be advisable for us to direct the prelates still at Trent to go to Bologna, in order to preserve the prestige of the Council and avoid the inconvenience that might be caused by schism. We thought that his manner of saying this was objectionable, and we replied that we would direct them to go, not to Bologna alone, but to Rome itself, if necessary, and we would go personally thither with them to protect them, but we dwelt at length on the evil intentions and acts of the Pope, evident now to all the world.

The Nuncio then endeavoured to draw from us a statement as to what evil actions we referred to on the part of the Pope, but we only replied by asking him what good thing he ever did. He replied quickly that at least he (the Pope) did his best to live; which we said was quite true, as it was well known how careful he was about that, and how he strove to aggrandise his family and hoard up money. To effect this, we continued, he put aside all that which appertained to his office and dignity; but we still hoped that God would help us, though the Pope should fail us, and that He would direct all things to His service, perhaps more effectually than the Pope would like.

The Nuncio then endeavoured to excuse the Pope and justify him, by saying that, after all, his Holiness would not fail to do everything that he could to promote our interests, in the confidence that we should reciprocate his goodwill. He would go even to the extent of giving us the rochets of all the bishops in Christendom. We replied that we had no doubt that he would do that: give us the torn old rochets whilst he kept the money; in fact, we said, all we knew about him was that he was an obstinate old man. The Nuncio in reply to this said that if this was our opinion of his Holiness, it would be better to humour and satisfy him more than we did with regard to the German enterprise. In all the treaties that had been made the Pope was not even mentioned, and it would be well that the harshness with which his Holiness had been treated lately should be modified. We replied that we had always acted properly, as all the world could testify. Everybody knew how completely the Pope had failed to fulfil what was demanded by his office and dignity.

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To some remark of the Nuncio about the Legates in reference to this, we could not help retorting, saying how much annoyed we were with Cardinal Santa Cruz and the bad offices he was constantly exercising against the interests of Christianity in general and our own in particular. We called the Cardinal a poltroon, and said that in due time he would see what we could do to him.

Leaving aside this matter of the Council, etc., the Nuncio passed to the subject of the coming of the legate Sfondrato. The Pope had decided to send him with the decision on several matters; amongst which was that of the church treasures and the mission of Don Juan de Mendoza, and that the decision would be such as to satisfy us. The Nuncio, in the course of his remarks, said that his Holiness had heard with sorrow what we had said about our not taking up arms against the King of England on his behalf. In reply to this we repeated our former declaration on the subject, in terms even clearer than before.

The Nuncio then spoke about the affairs of the Levant, exaggerating the news received of the fleet that the Turk was preparing for this year. We told him that we had information which was true, and we had no doubt that the Pope's news on the subject was inspired by his own wishes. The Nuncio began to reply to this and other points, but we cut him short by saying that we declined to dispute with him any longer. His manner of negotiating was such, we said, that it forced us to say things, which although they were true, we might avoid saying if we were not irritated. He had utterly wearied us, we continued, with his hollow words and inconclusive hairsplitting, and if we had thought that he had nothing better than this to say to us we should have refused him audience. He might understand clearly for the future, we told him, that we should decline to negotiate with him. If he wished to say anything further on the points referred to above he could speak with our ministers, who would reply to him. We then dismissed him.

The Nuncio afterwards spoke to the Bishop of Arras, to whom he repeated the conversation related above, with the exception of some details. After some discussion between them, which need not be reproduced here, the Bishop of Arras finally said that he was sorry that affairs between the Pope and ourselves had come to their present pass, especially at such times as these. But, he continued, our action in the matter was so completely justifiable that it might be repeated before the whole world. With regard to the question of the Council, the answer that he (the Bishop of Arras) had to give him on our behalf was that we had written you (*i.e.*, Mendoza, the Imperial envoy in Rome) instructions as to what course you were to take with the Pope on the matter. Since in this last audience the Nuncio had advanced nothing that had not been heard before, the bishop told him that we did not see any reason for altering our instructions in any way, trusting still that his Holiness, in view of the good reasons advanced and constantly being added to as affairs progress, will act in accordance with our requests and order the Council to return

to Trent. We have thought well to inform you thus in detail of what has passed, for your guidance. The Pope's people seem to make a great point of the assertion that the transfer of the Council (to Bologna) was adopted in due legal form. You will give them to understand that this is no longer a matter of importance, and need not be discussed, because the reason alleged for the change in any case, which was the epidemic, has ceased, and the thing to be done now is that the Council should return to Trent without more ado.

It was not considered desirable to give any answer, nor did the Nuncio ask for one, respecting the coming of the Legate, so that we expressed neither approval nor disapproval of it. By the summary which accompanies this you will learn of the victory which God has vouchsafed us against Duke John Frederick of Saxony. This victory* was so rapid, and was effected with so little injury to our side—not more than ten dead and wounded in all—that the divine hand is clearly discernable in it. You will spread the good news wherever necessary. In the presentation to churches sent to you by last post, the priory of Roncesvalles was entered for Don Francisco de Toledo. We have, however, no information here as to whether this preferment is usually submitted to the consistory as the others are, and we shall be glad if you will ascertain what is the customary course adopted, so as not to introduce any innovation which may increase the Pope's powers or consequence.

The camp near the river Albis in Saxony, 25 April, 1547.

April 27. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since my last of 2 of this month Paulin has been here, but as Secretary Paget had not returned from visiting his estates Paulin's audience was deferred, although his commission was amply sufficient, having been granted by the late Christian King (Francis I), who died whilst Paulin was on the road. Nevertheless Paget was summoned back in all haste, and in the meanwhile the Protector sent Secretary Mason to me with the copy of a clause from their new treaty with the French; Mason assuring me that it was his fault that I had not received the said extract earlier, as it was at least eight days since he had been instructed to bring it to me. I felt quite sure that this was only to excuse the fault of the Council, which had never even mentioned giving me a copy or letting me see what they had done to the advantage of your Majesty, although they boasted so much about it. The Protector had informed me that they had caused your Majesty to be advised of the same by their ambassador, and therefore it appeared to me that this compliment to me was only devised after they had heard of the death of the King of France.

After I had read the extract referred to, I asked him (Secretary Mason) whether he had nothing else to communicate to me touching your Majesty, since the Protector and Paget had told

* *i.e.*, the battle of Mühlburg.

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me that nothing had ever been done in England so much to your Majesty's advantage as had been done in this treaty, whereas, so far as regarded this article of which he had brought me a copy, I saw nothing whatever fresh in it. We had, I said, never suspected for a moment that they intended to contravene the treaty in force between your Majesty and them. Their treaty with your Majesty, moreover, I said, was so binding that it absolutely nullified and invalidated every other agreement in contravention of it, either present or future.

In order to draw from them some other particulars of their negotiations with the French, I told him (Secretary Mason) as my own opinion in confidence, that I thought very little indeed of their article, which seemed to me simply a piece of affectation, as there was not the slightest indication that the French, being sufficiently burdened as they were by the first treaty, were so hardly driven as to be obliged to accept this new treaty, in which your Majesty's interests were so expressly reserved, unless, indeed, Boulogne was to be surrendered to them in return or some other concession made to them. He (Mason) made no reply to this, but passed it over without appearing to notice it. In conclusion, I told him that my own impression was that all they had done was in order to bring about peace for themselves with the intention finally of siding with the stronger party.

After a long conversation on this point and other matters touching the new government, Mason told me that I should do well to talk very strongly on these subjects to Secretary Paget, as he was the most capable of the ministers and the best affected to the public welfare. He said that in doing this I should be performing a beneficial work, and he advised me to delay my going to Court until after Paget's return hither, as he had heard the cool reply which had recently been given to me in the Council, of which I duly advised your Majesty at the time. This Secretary Mason is considered here to be a very honest and influential man, and, indeed, I have always found him straightforward and reasonable. There was a rumour that he would be sent as an envoy to your Majesty in the place of the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby), but he (Mason) assured me that he had heard nothing whatever about it.

Since then Paulin has been with the Council to say that he had been recalled to France, but that he would return hither very shortly, whereupon he took his leave of them and departed on the following day. I have been informed that he (Paulin) brought with him credentials and powers not only from the late Christian King (Francis I), but from the present King of France (Henry II); and also private letters from M. de Vendome (Anthony de Bourbon), which probably were directed towards the proposed alliance with Madam Mary. Paulin, however, produced none of these credentials, having been instructed expressly by the present King and by Vendome himself to bring back all his records and documents. His extremely sudden departure gives rise to considerable fear in the minds of many of a war with France, especially as no envoy has come hither for the purpose

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of announcing the death of the late King, as it is believed has been done to your Majesty. It seems that these people (the English) whilst dissembling everything are continually busy making preparations and provisions for war.

Some days ago the Lord Admiral of England put out to sea with a certain number of vessels to encounter some English pirates, of whom the principal is one Thompson of Calais, who are accompanied by a good number of Scots and Frenchmen, and are holding by force a little island called Sorlinghe (Scilly), which was formerly uninhabited and desert, but now is well fortified by these said pirates, and fit for the safe accommodation of their ships, of which they have seven or eight by means of which they plunder all the vessels that go backwards and forwards from Spanish waters. No intelligence has yet been received of the exploit that may have been performed by the Lord Admiral, who is instructed, however, to pardon the pirates if they are willing to surrender voluntarily.

Five or six days before Paget's return the Chancellor of the ex-Duke of Saxony (Sturmius) and Dr. Brun came hither, which makes goodly people hope that Argentina (Strassburg) will have submitted to your Majesty, as Dr. Brun declared when he was leaving here that he would return hither if the town surrendered, although he still insists that this has not yet taken place.* They are asking for help in money, but I believe that their demand will not be so favourably received as their doctrine has been. In this latter respect things here are going daily from bad to worse, and really I see no hope whatever that this realm will submit of its own accord, since the evil inclinations of the people at large are highly approved of and defended by their rulers. In addition to this the King is being brought up in the same opinion, which many worthy people greatly deplore, Madam Mary, who always remains steadfast in the good and ancient faith, bearing her full part of the sorrow in this respect. Madam Mary is now separated from the Queen (Dowager Katherine Parr) and will shortly go to stay twelve miles from London for a time,† after which she will go into Norfolkshire, to the possessions formerly held by the Duke of Norfolk, who is still living in the Tower of London, as I am informed by a person who is certain of the truth of what he says. He tells me also that the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) at the request of the Duke visited the latter in the Tower and remained in discourse with him for more than two hours: and although the said Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke have always been opposed to each other, tears were shed on both sides in this interview. It may be feared, however, that the Duke will profit little by it, because although the archbishop is a corypheus of these sects, everything is absolutely governed at the good pleasure of the Protector, the Earl of Warwick and Paget, and

* Notwithstanding the efforts of the French to prevent it, Strassburg had submitted to the Emperor some weeks before this date.

† To Havering atte Bower, Essex.

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those who have business with them are very much dissatisfied with the way in which affairs are despatched, since right is so restricted and out of favour at present.

They have increased the number of Councillors by five, namely, the Earl of Arundel, the new marquis the brother of the Queen (*i.e.*, William Parr, Marquis of Northampton), the Lord Warden of the Cinq Ports (Sir Thomas Cheyne), Dr. Petre and the Controller. A gentleman has been sent post from here to France named Master Brian (Sir Francis Brian), who was formerly English ambassador there. Some say that he is going there now in the same capacity, but I do not believe it.

London, 27 April, 1547.

May 4. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

My last letters to your Majesty dated the 27 April have been delayed more than was desirable, and in the meanwhile a favourable opportunity has offered for me to pass some time with the Protector, who had a long conversation with me. The substance of it was that he was in great hope that he should not have war with France, but if the King (of France) wanted to begin it he would find them so well ready for him that he would gain nothing by his action. But he (Somerset) hoped that the King would not violate the treaties and make war upon a child, by which no honour or profit could be gained.

With regard to the Scots, the Protector said, they did not fear them at all. When he had gone to meet them lately, he said, he had found that they could soon be put in their place (*l'on les pourrait bien ranger*) and their army was not large. When I said that it was not likely that the French would abandon them, he rather made light of it so far as the Scottish side was concerned, because they (the English) intend to raise such a naval force as to make it difficult for the French and Scots to help each other. He (the Protector) made a long harangue about the great power of your Majesty, but said that your dominions were widely separated, and the King of France always had his eye on Milan. He, therefore, inclined to the belief that it was more probable that some (French) enterprise was intended against your Majesty's dominions than against them (the English), although he (the Protector) admitted that after Milan, Boulogne pricked the King of France most, for they (the English) supposed that the King (of France) expected to win as much here as in Italy and in your Majesty's Netherlands.

I replied to this that there was no need for any fear of the King of France on any side of your Majesty's countries, in consequence of the ample preparations and good order which had been established everywhere and against any attempt. Nevertheless, I said, we thought to be as assured of good friendship, as they (the English) were, although they had, it is true, been in close negotiations with the French recently. In order to get something from him about the treaty they have in hand, I then continued that it appeared from a clause, the copy of which they had brought me by Secretary Mason, that the reservation they had

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made respecting your Majesty had hardly been agreed to and accepted by the French without something being conceded greatly to their advantage; at least I said, the surrender of Boulogne, to them. In reply to this the Protector said that by the terms of the treaty they (the English) retained Boulogne for the time agreed upon, namely, eight years, and that at the end of that period the place would be restored to the French on their paying the sum specified in the former treaty, which he took very good care not to mention, whereby I perceived clearly that the sum stipulated in the old treaty had been modified in the new one.

When I mentioned to the Protector the recall of Paulin, who it is now said has been dismissed from his office in the guard, and I mentioned that I had heard that no envoy had been sent from France to notify the demise of the King (Francis I) as had been done to your Majesty, he only replied that your Majesty's dominions and this realm were united and stood together.

He asked me if I had any recent news of your Majesty, and when I told him that I had heard nothing since the departure of M. de Chantonnay, and begged him if he had received any news to be good enough to impart them to me, he replied that he had heard that your Majesty was going towards Saxony, but that notwithstanding this there was talk of some honourable understanding being arrived at, because there was information that the Turk was coming. If he did come, he continued, we might be quite sure that the late King of France was at the bottom of it. With regard to the Protestants who had returned hither, said the Protector, in order to banish all suspicion from the mind to your Majesty, he had ordered the Saxon Chancellor to return home.

From all the conversations I hear I see plainly that they only desire to maintain their friendship with your Majesty, but so far as my small understanding goes it certainly seems to me that they ought to behave better towards us and arrange better than they do; and I will make this known to them more plainly as soon as your Majesty deigns to order me to do so.

D'Oisy has come hither from France on his way to Scotland. He has not got his passport yet, and I suppose they are doubtful whether his going will be to their advantage.

A gentleman has also arrived from the Duke of Ferrara to bring his condolence for the death of the late King (Henry VIII), as he tells me.

During the last two days the Council has again been increased by the addition of two new members, namely, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasurer of the Augmentation.* It is believed that my Lord Marquis (of Dorset), who is married to the niece of the late King, daughter of the late Duke of Suffolk,† and some others will also be admitted to the Council. All this

* Sir Edward North.

† Charles Brandon, who had married Henry's younger sister Mary, Queen Dowager of France. The daughter Frances was married to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset.

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seems to me to be with the intention of consolidating the power of the Protector, who by this increase of rank places each of the recipients under obligation to him, and I see that they all worship him.

London, 4 May, 1547.

May 4. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

I have delayed answering the despatches of your Majesty dated the 1st of April last, both on account of my having written on a similar date to your Majesty informing you of the reply given to me by the Council respecting the claims of the Emperor's subjects in the Boulognais, as your Majesty had instructed me to do, and also in consequence of the absence of Secretary Paget having made it impossible for me to obtain access to the Council.

Your Majesty will see by the copies of my letters to the Emperor what has been happening here in the interim. Since Paget returned to London I have not had an opportunity of conversing with him, as they (the Councillors) are so busily occupied with the matter of the supplies granted for the life of the late King. But, as during the last few days God has blessed me with a new born son, I thought it would afford me a good opportunity to render my relations with Paget more intimate and to get a long conversation with him if I asked him to favour me by standing godfather to my child. He took the invitation in very kindly fashion, but he advised me, since it was my intention to ask Lady Mary to stand godmother, to invite the King and the Protector to be the other sponsors. I followed his friendly advice in this, and when I went to invite the Protector we had several chats as your Majesty will see by my second letter to the Emperor of which I enclose a copy.

When I went to Madam Mary and had saluted her on behalf of your Majesties, she asked me to send her regards to you in my next letter. As she was in mourning she sent to represent her at the baptism the wife of the Lord Privy Seal (Lady Russell) her gift to her godson being two reasonable silver gilt pots. To represent the King the Protector himself came, and as his own proxy he appointed the former Lord Admiral, now earl of Warwick. The gift of the King was a high standing cup of silver gilt and that of the Protector a smaller one. I write these trivial details to you, Madam, only that your Majesty may understand how determined the Protector is to take the first place on every occasion.

In the matter of a certain vessel belonging to some citizens of Bruges arrested by Lord Grey at Boulogne, I have given notice to the Council, and have received a reply that they will immediately take measures to have the embargo raised and will see that nothing of the sort shall happen again. There is a rumour here that the Lord Admiral is going to marry the

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Duchess of Suffolk,* but I do not know yet how true this may be. The Queen has again taken to wearing a hood and her mourning garb is now of silk. Not a word is said about Madam Cleves.

London, 4 May, 1547.

May 21. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.†

We wish to remind you of the negotiation that formerly took place on the proposed conditions of a marriage between the Infante Don Luis of Portugal and our cousin the Princess (Mary) of England, respecting which the Infante addressed us shortly after the death of the late King of England requesting our opinion on the matter. We do not, however, well remember what passed at the time that it was formerly being discussed and what were the principle reasons why it fell through, and we have thought best to write to you about it before going any further. We desire that you will as soon as possible advise us in detail of all the difficulties that were formerly raised, and give us your opinion on the matter. You will also tell us what in your opinion will be the best means to bring forward again immediately the negotiations for the said marriage, so that we may be able to reply without delay to the Infante and give him the advice he asks for, accordingly.

The Camp before Wittemberg. 21 May, 1547.

May 21. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The Emperor to Van der Delft.

We presume that you have on various occasions heard that formerly, at the time that Councillor Chapuys was our ambassador in England, there was some discussion about a treaty of marriage being arranged between the Infante Don Luis of Portugal and our cousin the Princess (Mary) of England. The matter was not carried through at that time, owing to certain difficulties that were raised. After the death of the late King of England the Infante at once brought the proposal forward again, desiring us to inform him whether, in our opinion, if he renewed the negotiations there was any appearance that the match would be acceptable. We are in ignorance of how the late King has dealt with the Princess in his will, and what amount of dowry

* This was the famous Catharine, Lady Willoughby d'Eresby, whose mother was the daughter of Diego de Sarmiento, first Count of Salinas, and had been the devoted friend and attendant of Queen Catharine of Aragon. Lady Willoughby D'Eresby had married as his fourth wife, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and as will be seen by a letter in the last volume of this Calendar, it was commonly believed at Court that Henry VIII during the last months of his life had contemplated divorcing Catharine Parr in order that he might marry the Duchess of Suffolk. There is no reason to suppose that Thomas Seymour ever had any intention or idea of marrying the Duchess. He was shooting at higher game even than she was, with all her wealth; and the intelligence given by Van der Delft was doubtless a vague echo of his secret courtship, which had already commenced, of Catharine Parr. The Duchess of Suffolk subsequently married a gentleman of her household, Francis Bertie, and thus became the ancestress of the earls of Abingdon and Ancaster.

† Formerly the imperial ambassador in England but now living in retirement at Louvain.

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she will have. This information is necessary before any further steps can be taken, and we therefore request you to inform us in your first letter, but without making any mention whatever to the English of the Portuguese matter, in the fullest possible detail all that you may have been able to learn on the subjects referred to. You will also endeavour to discover the tendency of the Protector and the other governors towards the marriage of the Princess, in order that we may be able to inform the Infante on the matters which concern him.

Since our last letters, with the intelligence of the capture of the ex-Elector of Saxony,* we have arrived before this town. Certain agreements have been discussed with the said person, by which he holds out the hope of causing this town to surrender, but up to the present this is uncertain. If it does so we shall then proceed to adopt the course which may appear to us expedient in view of the position taken up by the Landgrave of Hesse and the maritime cities still in rebellion.

From our camp before Wittemberg, 21 May, 1547.

29 May. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.†

Since the reception of your Majesty's letters with the excellent news of the capture of the proscribed Duke of Saxony, I have refrained from writing to your Majesty, not having had anything of importance to communicate, and at present the only matter worthy of mention is the rebellion and contumacy of the Irish against this King (Edward VI). To bring them to order a thousand foot men are being sent from here with five hundred horse under the command of Bellingham, a gentleman of the Chamber who was recently sent to your Majesty to announce the demise of King Henry. I understand that the towns are standing firm for the King with a principal lord of the country called Lord Desmond, but that the rebellion of the common people, who are called here savages, is made the more serious by reason of the adhesion of several nobles. Some people assert that they have some understanding with the Scots, who, as I learn from a close confidant of the Scottish Ambassador still here, are thinking more of carrying on the war than of peace. They are expecting in two or three days to have good certainty of aid from France. This was said after the arrival here of Sieur de Vielleville, who has been sent hither by the King of France, and yesterday, after being feasted at Court went with the French ambassador-resident to see the King.

So far as I can understand, Vielleville's mission is to reciprocate that of Master (Sir Francis) Brian, who was sent post from here to France, as I wrote to your Majesty in my last letter, and,

* At the great battle of Mühlberg on the 24 April, Wittemberg, which was defended by John Frederick's heroic wife, surrendered to the Emperor on terms two days after this letter was written. John Frederick had been condemned to death, ostensibly, with the principal object of obtaining as the price of his life the surrender of Wittemberg.

† An almost exact replica of this letter was sent on the same day by the writer to the Queen Dowager of Hungary in Flanders. As the variants are merely verbal, the latter despatch is not transcribed here.

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as I since have heard, for the purpose of asking the King of France whether he was willing to entertain the negotiations that had been carried on with his late father, to which he replied that he was. For the further ratification of this decision M. de Vielleville has doubtless now been sent hither. However, that may be, these people are very anxious to keep on good terms with the French in consequence of the fear they are beginning to entertain of your Majesty, now that you have been so successful against your enemies in Germany, whom these people here were not desirous of seeing conquered and subdued.

The government here remains entirely in the hands of the Protector; to such an extent, indeed, that very little mention is made of the King and his Court, and all solicitation and resort are at the Protector's palace, where the Council meet and all business is despatched. This is so strictly and narrowly done as to give very little satisfaction to those foreigners who have any business to transact with them, and everybody is beginning to recognise that the reputation of the Court of England has greatly come down.

The former Lord Chancellor (Thomas Wriothesly earl of Southampton) was a few days ago taken by the captain of the guard and the halberdiers to the Protector's house, where there were assembled all the most renowned doctors of law. I have not been able to learn anything of the result of his examination, except that his confinement has been modified so far as to allow him to go within twenty miles of London. This will prevent him from being able yet to go to the country where his property is situated and where he has friends, about sixty miles away near Southampton, where he has for a neighbour the Bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) who is now resident in his diocese. It is quite probable that they (the Councillors) want to prevent these two men from meeting. It is very evident that the case against the Lord Chancellor was not found to be seriously criminal as he was allowed to return home surrounded by his servants without any guard.

As some days previously I had been informed that the Lord Chancellor would be summoned, and that the common people were beginning to look forward with hope to his case, I deemed it advisable at all events to entertain him in his adversity, in order not to lose my hold upon him if peradventure he should return to authority again. Before he was summoned, therefore, I made some other pretext for sending to him, and said how sorry I was to hear of his misfortune, and that I would have sent to visit him before, but that I was afraid that if I did so it might injure him and burden him with suspicion. I told him that he might be quite sure that your Majesty would be grieved after all the good and loyal services he had done to this realm, that any injury or wrong should be done to him. He took my message in very good part, offering and professing himself, as the most humble and obedient servitor that your Majesty could have, and recounting the whole history of his case. He referred finally to the enmity, which, he said, the Protector had borne

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him for a long time past. Amongst other things which were not true the Protector had accused him of granting authority, after the death of the late King, to ordinary judges to hear private causes, to which charge the Chancellor had replied that the authority in question had been passed with the seal of the Council, and was not in any way objectionable, since he had issued it in furtherance of justice. The power granted, moreover, was only to hear causes and not to determine them; and besides the power had not even yet gone out of his (the ex-Chancellor's) hands. He maintained that in his capacity as Lord Chancellor of the realm, he possessed the power, not only of granting such authority as that in question, but also of referring to, and providing (*pourveoir*) judges to decide ordinary causes, as he had been commissioned as Chancellor by the late King and also nominated as such in the King's will.

The Protector, he said, had thereupon asked him whether he would submit the decision of his cause to the Council or to the public tribunals; and, although he was strongly of opinion that the majority of the Councillors would not dare to decide contrary to the Protector's contention, he had preferred to choose rather the certain condemnation of the Council than a scandalous contention before the public judges, which might have resulted in great murmuring on the part of the common people. And so, the members of the Council having agreed with the Protector, and the ex-Lord Chancellor having been requested to retire for a short time, the latter was told that he was to surrender the great seal and withdraw to his house until further orders. He had been informed since then, he said, by some good friends of his that inquiries against him had been carried on incessantly in the interval, but he hoped that nothing wrong would be found which could justly be laid to his charge. He was well aware, he said, that they (the Councillors) had not yet found the stuff they were looking for, and he (Southampton) then went on to congratulate us on your Majesty's victory in Saxony.*

This victory was announced to me by order of the Protector by the gentleman of the bishop of Westminster,† who delivered to me your Majesty's letters. Since the receipt of this news the common people have been rather taken aback, but the Council are always intent upon consolidating the new doctrine both by the dissemination of new books and by the dismissal of such doctors and preachers as are reputed to be worthy and learned, whereby they give us but little hope of amendment.

Madam Mary is at a house some ten miles from London, and is allowed for her maintenance ten thousand ducats a year. The house where she is staying is that in which the Prince used to live in Essex, called Havering. So far as I can perceive very little account is made of her, and I have heard from a secret source she has had some discontent at certain discourse addressed to

* The great and decisive battle of Mühlberg, in which the Protestants for a time were crushed, and the deposed Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, was captured by Charles, 24 April, 1547.

† Dr. Thirlby, the English envoy with the Emperor.

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her; but as I have had no occasion nor excuse for going to see her, I have not been able to learn exactly what it means.

London, 29 May, 1547.

May 29. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to LOYS SCORS.

I thank you most humbly for your goodness in writing to me and sending me the copy of the Emperor's letter to the Queen (Dowager of Hungary) with the good news. These hardly meet with credit here amongst the common people, although it was known that the Emperor had written to me the same intelligence, and even that the gentleman who brought the letters had himself witnessed the whole affair; he being an Englishman sent hither from his Majesty's Court by the Bishop of Westminster to inform the Lords of the Council of the capture of the ex-Duke of Saxony (John Frederick), from which it is easy to understand what are the sympathies of these people (the English).

Your Lordship also writes to me to the effect that within a day or two I shall receive letters from the Queen (Dowager of Hungary), but no such letters have as yet come to hand. I am writing now to the Queen and also to the Emperor, giving them an account of what is passing here, as you will see by my letters. Monseigneur, I have recently received letters from my uncle Van Bombergen, who informs me that he had spoken to your Lordship respecting my private affairs and of the great necessity in which I find myself. As I have no doubt that you are bearing in mind the information you gave me on my departure from Flanders with regard to the manner in which I should bear myself here, and also that you are well aware of the express instructions I have from the Emperor to follow the King (Edward VI). I may say that in carrying out these orders I have fallen into very heavy expense, and I most earnestly hope that your Lordship did not reply to my uncle's representations in the way that he says. For my own part I have never expected to receive any pecuniary recompense, knowing, as I well do, the difficulty of it; but when I have gone beyond my own capabilities in the service of my sovereign it has always been in the confidence that when time and opportunity served I should, at all events, be remembered, and that bearing me in mind you would you aid me in obtaining the favour of the Queen.

My uncle also writes to me that he had understood that you desired me to employ greater energy than at present in the execution of my office, as you had told him you were writing to me more fully. In doing so you will display the long standing benevolence with which you have always acted towards me, for, truly, I cannot think in what respect I can have fallen short in my duty.

London, 29 May, 1547.

A personal postscript in Latin fully acknowledges "the absolute insufficiency of the writer to bend these obstinate spirits who hold out inflexibly against all the representations and complaints he makes to them. In the matter of the claims of the subjects of the Emperor owning property in the Boulognais they

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have been most bitter and vehement notwithstanding all his pertinacity." From the tone of this postscript it is plain to see that Van der Delft owed his position to the patronage of Loys Scors, whom he addresses throughout with exaggerated respect and humility.

June 1. PRINCE PHILIP to the EMPEROR.

Simancas E. 75.

(Extracts.) With regard to the gold and silver of the churches, I note what your Majesty is pleased to reply and the resolution you have adopted, notwithstanding the inconveniences and difficulty set forth in the report sent to you on the subject. Before replying thereto I wish to assure your Majesty that the representations made to you from here were not prompted by a desire to raise obstacles or to invent objections, but because it appeared necessary to set before your Majesty all the aspects of the question, in order that you might be able to avoid the difficulties which it was feared might result. This course was adopted out of the earnest zeal and goodwill borne by all the Councillors who were convened to discuss the question.

In accordance with your Majesty's new instructions the Councillors have been again summoned to discuss anew the procedure that will be most advantageous in carrying the plan into effect without scandal when the bull may arrive from the Pope authorising it. Your Majesty's letter was read to the Council of State in my presence, and it was decided that the question should be first discussed in the Royal Council, as that Council will have to execute the decree when the time arrives. It was agreed also that the Council of Finance should consider it, in consequence of the experience of its members in similar cases. These two Councils were, therefore, ordered to discuss the matter and to report to me. The Patriarch (of the Indies) came and gave me an account of their deliberations. They submitted to me that the evils set before your Majesty previously as being the probable outcome of the measure, were, in their opinion, quite as pressing, or more, so than ever: and that still greater evils had since occurred to the members; but nevertheless as at present they did not know upon what terms and with what limitations the bull would be conceded, they were unable to give any valuable opinion, as they might do after they had seen the bull. If the latter were worded in one way it would necessitate a certain form of procedure, and if in another way different means would have to be adopted. Since, however, your Majesty had sent such precise orders, the Councillors were constrained to say that in their opinion the prelates and provincials should not be assembled until the bull was here; and on no account should they be given any hint of what was being discussed, as this would put them into possession of the project, and although some of them are zealous and desirous of serving your Majesty, there are others who as soon as they got wind of it would arrange for all the treasure to be hidden.

When the moment came to execute the decree trustworthy persons should be sent, in the opinion of the Councillors, to the

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prelates and provincials and even to the chapters, with letters informing them of the great enterprise your Majesty has in hand; how good and saintly it is, and how conducive to the interests of our holy faith as well as to the peace and prosperity of Spain. Your Majesty's great need should be dwelt upon, and they (*i.e.*, the ecclesiastics) should be told that you can look to nowhere else for aid, every part of your dominions being so utterly exhausted, together with other arguments that will occur at the time the letters are drafted. By this means the affair may be promoted with less scandal and difficulty than otherwise. The Councillors, however, still persisted that they must see the bull itself before they could devise a regular scheme for the execution of the project.

After I had heard this decision of the two Councils, I ordered the Council of State and the Patriarch (of the Indies) to debate the question in my presence. They agreed that it was still advisable that the great difficulties which they feared might result from this means of raising money, should be urged upon your Majesty, the difficulties set forth in the previous letter being in their opinion not by any means the most dangerous. Others more grave would not be evident until the plan was actually carried into effect. One amongst many of these was that we have to hold a sitting of the Cortes of the realm of Aragon, and the whole benefit we hope to gain by doing so would be lost if they had an inkling of this plan. The Cortes would be sure in such case before they closed to demand a charter or guarantee against the execution of the project, and it might cause trouble with regard to the Cortes of Castile if they had to be summoned. If your Majesty, on the other hand, were to order the project only to be executed in the realms of Castile and not in those of Aragon, the same inconvenience would arise when the Aragonese heard of its being done. On this account it is urged that the prelates and provincials should certainly not be given the slightest hint of the plan. They are so numerous that it would be impossible to keep it secret, and its revelation would render it entirely ineffectual, both because of the action of the Cortes already mentioned, and because the treasure would be hidden before it could be collected. It is quite probable also that the effect of prior publicity would be that his Holiness might be influenced to hold back the bull, as has been done in other similar cases.

It is indeed thought here that your Majesty should write to Rome that the matter must be dealt with secretly there if possible, at least until the bull arrives in Spain. Much depends upon this point of secrecy. The Council of State were of the same opinion as the other Councils, that it was impossible for them to give a valuable decision as to the best means for carrying the plan into effect until they had seen the tenour and wording of the bull itself. When the clauses and limitations are before them they will be able to suggest a way to put them into execution, and when the bull should arrive the Councillors promised to do this to the best of their ability, drafting letters to the

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prelates, chapters, etc., to tell them how to proceed, but without assembling them, which they think should be avoided in any case, as full experience exists to show how fruitless such gatherings are. Some of the Councillors were of opinion that the plan might be made to appear more justifiable and fairer, if it were announced that your Majesty intended simply to borrow the treasure for the purposes of your enterprise, but that it would be restored when you found yourself able to repay it, but this view was not adopted by the majority, because of the obvious and grave difficulties to which it would give rise, and also because the ecclesiastics would expect all sorts of warrants and bonds and promises that there would be no end of it.

These are the conclusions arrived at by the Council of State as well as by the other Councils, but your Majesty's orders in any case shall be obeyed, and as soon as the bull arrives, they will all apply themselves to devise the best way of executing it; as they are unable to do now until the clauses are known to them. Their principal dependence is upon the penalties the bull imposes to compel the ecclesiastics, etc., to obey the decree, and the censures of conscience declared for those who conceal the treasure. Without such penalties and censures it would be very difficult to carry the decree into effect.

Guadalajara, 1 June, 1547.

June 2. Vienna Archives.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

We send you herewith some letters from his imperial Majesty the Emperor, which we have opened to inform ourselves of the contents. You will forthwith, with all diligence and dexterity, forward the business explained in the letters, and duly advise his Majesty of what you may be able to discover, and also of the conduct of the principal ministers of the realm (England). According to the rumours current here, these ministers appear to have abandoned all Christian decency, and profess quite openly the doctrines of the Sacramentarians, despoiling the churches and overthrowing all churchmen. We wish you to write, telling us what you have heard about this. Inform us also whether any Parliament has been held since the death of King Henry, and, if so, what constitutions have been made there. Let us know if they have confirmed the old customs, dues, etc. (tallieux), which were voted to the late King for his life, and whether any new Lord Chancellor was appointed at Whitsuntide.

We have on former occasions requested you to set forth the continual complaints that we are receiving from Flemish subjects who possess estates in the Boulognais and who cannot wait until they (the English) have come to an agreement with the French, for the restitution of their properties. We do not know whether this procrastination is to be interpreted as a refusal to restore the estates; but we can hardly believe that they would refuse the claims of his Majesty's subjects, so fully justified and reasonable as they are. But, nevertheless, we are

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extremely desirous of knowing finally what they (the English Government) intend to do in the matter, that we may give the Flemish subjects some sort of answer.

We are also sending you a petition presented by the injured Flemish merchants, who are really losing all patience, and we can only say that if they (the English Government) will not make any provision in the matter, we shall then send the petition to the Emperor in order that his Majesty may give us his instructions as to how we are to proceed. We fear that in such case his Majesty will greatly resent that after so many efforts have been made we have been powerless to obtain from the Protector and the English Government any satisfactory settlement. Nevertheless, before proceeding to this extremity, we request you once more to set forth the grievances of these merchants, and to inform us in due course of the reply you receive, in order that we may then submit the matter to his imperial Majesty and await his commands.

Please inform us also if the Scots have still any ambassadors in England, and how they get on together. We are much in doubt whether they are not pretending to be at war with them (the Scots) to prevent us from making an arrangement with them.

Tournoult, 2 June, 1547.

June 10.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

EUSTACE CHAPUYS* to the EMPEROR.

With all humility I recommend myself to the good favour of your sacred and invincible Majesty.

Sire. Finding myself three days since at Liège for the purpose of testing the virtue of a certain spring, in the hope that at least it might alleviate my malady, I was honoured by receiving letters from your Majesty dated 21st of last month. As they were in cipher and I had not my cipher-key with me, having left it behind me at Louvain, I started out at once on my return hither, in order to learn your Majesty's commands and obey them to the full extent of my power.

After using the utmost diligence, I have arrived here, Sire, this afternoon, and have learnt from the decipher of the said letters that the good pleasure of your Majesty is that I should furnish you with information as to the negotiations that formerly took place relative to the then proposed marriage of the Infante Don Luis of Portugal and the Princess (Mary) of England, during the lifetime of the late King, and to give you my opinion thereon.

I am very sorry, Sire, not to be able to satisfy your Majesty's commands entirely, for the affair happened so long ago, and even whilst the negotiations were in progress my mind could not conceive the possibility of any good result coming from them. As a consequence I did not at the time make any

* This old diplomatist, whose letters fill several earlier volumes of the Calendar, had represented the Emperor in England for many years and had now retired, dreadfully afflicted with gout, to his home at Louvain. His long experience of English affairs was frequently drawn upon by the Emperor.

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great effort to fix the details of the affair in my mind or memory. My recollections, moreover, such as they are, cannot be reinforced by reference to documents, as I was not in the habit of making written notes of such negotiations, in view of the danger that might arise from them, which I considered outweighed the advantages. I was writing, moreover, to so virtuous a prince that there was no danger of my communications being tampered with, and no need for me to keep copies for the aid of my own memory, since he who has no desire to disguise matters always recollects the truth. My forgetfulness of the details, too, may the more easily be tolerated considering my long and continued indisposition.

Nevertheless, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, I will set down summarily what I can recollect; which in the first place is that the late King of England and his Council put forward as their first standpoint that the respect and honour due to ladies demanded that they should be sought with all ceremony and solemnity and not offered. In consequence of this position Don Diego de Mendoza was sent to England.* The second contention of the King and Council of England was that the King of Portugal, or in default of him, your Majesty, should settle a revenue of at least fifty or sixty thousand ducats upon the Infante Don Luis, with a household and position adequate to his rank, and that he should settle as a dowry upon the Princess herself a sum of twenty-five thousand ducats or thereabouts. The third contention of the English was that the Infante Don Luis should confirm (*i.e.*, accept) all the statutes made with regard to the divorce (of Katharine of Aragon) and all other things concerning the legitimacy and right of succession of the Princess.† The fourth contention was that the King of England demanded that on no account should there be any talk of a dispensation for the marriage to be granted by the Pope, in respect of any consanguinity that existed between the Infante Don Luis and the Princess.

The two last points were those that were taken by the English as a pretext for breaking off the negotiations, although, as I have said, neither the King of England nor his Council, whatever appearance they may have put on, ever had the slightest intention of carrying the matter to a conclusion. They had, indeed, rejected the proposal long before the rebellion in the north of England, although when this took place they reopened the proposal themselves, because they were in apprehension at the time at the condition of their affairs.

Sire, with regard to the second point contained in your Majesty's said letters, in which you direct me to give you my pure and simple opinion with regard to the marriage abovementioned: although my mind does not extend far enough to

* The famous author and diplomatist, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, came to England for the negotiations in question in May, 1537, and the whole matter may be followed in detail in Vol. V of this Calendar, in the Henry VIII of the same date, 1536–38, and in the Harl. MSS., B.M., 282.

† It may perhaps be hardly necessary to say that this was the principal stumbling-block to the match and rendered the negotiations fruitless.

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give any worthy opinion, yet to obey your Majesty's command I humbly say what I think ; under all due correction and protestation. It seems to me that there is no probability of this marriage being brought about during the minority of this King (Edward VI) ; because the present rulers of England, even if they found no other obstacles to the marriage, would stand out much more obstinately even than the late King did for these two latter conditions of which I have spoken. In addition to this they will be a prey to an infinitely greater amount of fear and suspicion, for a thousand reasons, than the late King (Henry) was, as your Majesty with your incomparable wisdom will understand far better than anyone else living. I will say nothing of the need that would arise for them to disburse a great sum of money, even if for nothing else for the restitution of the dowry of the late good Queen Katharine (of Aragon) though this alone would be an amply sufficient reason for the marriage negotiations coming to nothing.

The men who at present manage affairs in England would not, and dare not, in the present condition of their affairs send out of the country any such sum of money. On the contrary, they are striving *per fas et nefas* to fill the King's coffers and their own, and if they want to avoid entering into the question of the proposed marriage they will be in no difficulty for finding an honest excuse, in the minority of the King, their master. Or perhaps they may avoid the matter on the ground of other difficulties of such a marriage during the King's minority, in order not to seem tacitly to shut the door against any other match for the Princess : and to this avoidance of the proposal the rulers might well add another reason, even more peremptory and important, namely, that it would be a great imputation upon them to conclude such an agreement as that of the marriage in question, in view of the fact that the late King, so sage, prudent and experienced a statesman, had rejected it formerly.

I fully believe that they will not break off the negotiations promptly, but would rather take pleasure in entertaining and carrying them on, for the sake of augmenting their own importance, both in the eyes of their neighbours and in those of their own people, and in the belief even that they might be able to get some advantage out of it. In view of what I have ventured to set forth above, it may seem superfluous, to discuss the third clause in your Majesty's aforesaid letters, with regard to the best means to be adopted for initiating and promoting such negotiations afresh.

But, since it is a matter that could hardly have dangerous consequences, it might be advisable for us to use such negotiations as a means for breaking off or diverting any other proposals for the marriage of the Princess if it be true, as the rumour goes, that they are thinking of bestowing her in England, or otherwise. The negotiations might either in this direction or some other be secretly used advantageously, and at all events they would be useful in discovering the tendencies and sympathies of others, for the guidance of Don Luis, if with a knowledge of the obstacles

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he still desires to renew the negotiations. It will be most welcome also to the Princess Mary herself, who has no other desire or hope than to be bestowed at the hands of your Majesty. For her sake, Sire, under correction, I submit that advances might be made to revive the negotiation.

The most convenient way of doing this would be to send some special envoy to England for the purpose of formally demanding the hand of the Princess, in the name of the Prince of Portugal; but if the latter has any scruples about opening the matter by sending a special envoy himself, as will probably be the case considering what he wrote when the affair was in hand before, the special envoy might be sent in the name of your Majesty. In that case the demand would be presented not as if your Majesty was the principal author of the business, but rather as giving them to understand that you were acting at the very urgent request of the King of Portugal and the Infante Don Luis, a request that you had acceded to in consideration of the duty you owed to both parties, and more especially to the Princess Mary, who could not be more advantageously matched than as proposed; you were moved, moreover, by your friendship for the King of England, whom you held in the same regard as a son, and would not in any case place before him any alliance for his sister but the best. If they have an idea or conjecture that your Majesty is the originator of the proposal it will only make them more suspicious and they will draw back.

Sire. In order not to delay further the reply in view of the already long tardance that has taken place both in the transmission and delivery of the letters, and in consequence of my absence from Louvain, I have written this letter with such haste that I have hardly given myself time to read it over, and I most humbly supplicate your Majesty, with your clemency and inexpressible wisdom to make up for my simplicity and ignorance and to pardon my carelessness.

Louvain, 10 June, 1547.

June 16. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since my last despatches dated 29th ultimo, I have been honoured by your Majesty's letters of the 21st May, and in conformity with the instructions contained in them I have made every possible effort to discover the last dispositions of the late King of England with regard to his daughter the Princess Mary. The King's will, however, and all its provisions are kept so absolutely secret that I firmly believe that no one except the Protector, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Warwick and Paget has seen it or knows anything of the contents. I have perceived plainly from the Lord Chancellor (Thomas Wriothesley Earl of Southampton) that the Protector did not obtain by the will the elevation in the matter of titles that he desired, and he ascribed this to the influence of the Lord Chancellor. The latter also would not consent to any innovations in the matter of govern-

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of this, it may be concluded, that the Protector, who had the other two (*i.e.*, Warwick and Paget) on his side, and had usurped the royal authority, overthrew the Lord Chancellor and by underhand means obtained possession of the will; so that there is no whisper of the purport of any of its clauses, except with regard to the succession in case of the young King's death without leaving heirs of his body. In that case it is provided that the Madam Mary shall succeed him, for which reason many people believed and hoped that she would at once be entitled and recognised as Princess. It appears to me, however, that the care they have of her is decreasing daily, and is principally shown in making her move from one house to another, so that they are ended by sticking her in the north, at a house that formerly belonged to the Duke of Norfolk.

As I passed through the place at which she was staying the other day I sent to her my humble respects and duty, though I thought it better not to do so personally, I said, in order not to be troublesome. She was extremely pleased at this, and when, two days afterwards she moved from this place to another she sent word to me that she had come nearer to me and would stay there for ten or twelve days.* I understood plainly from that, that she wished to be visited, but as the Renegat affair made it undesirable that I should be absent from London just then I was obliged to defer paying my duty to the Princess until a convenient opportunity. The allowance made to her at present is ten or twelve thousand ducats per annum derived from lands in Norfolk and Suffolk, but I have been quite unable to discover what sum will be settled upon her as a dower, and I am informed by those who are entirely in her confidence that she herself is ignorant of it. One of these persons told me, which seems most probable, that the dower they will bestow upon her will depend upon the marriage she may make, so that in the end everything will depend upon the good pleasure and unfettered discretion of the Protector, with whom she was not over pleased from the first. The reason of this was that after the death of her father the Protector did not visit or send to her for several days. Nevertheless she did not wish to quarrel with him, and accordingly is guided entirely by his wishes, although they are of different opinions on the matter of religion; for she remains firm and constant in her good attachment to our ancient faith, and never allows a day to pass without hearing two, three or four masses, and every night has prayers in her chapel.

Therefore, Sire, I see no means of being able to learn with certainty the amount of her dower, unless I broach it under some pretext to the Protector himself. I have not done this in accordance with your Majesty's instructions; but I was at the Council to-day for the purpose of communicating to them the instructions I had received from the Queen (Dowager of Hungary) of which

* She had been staying at Havering atte Bower in Essex until early in June, when she removed to Wanstead House. The house of the Duke of Norfolk above referred to was probably Framlingham Castle, but for the next few years Mary lived mostly at New Hall in Essex.

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instructions and the reply thereto I am now sending copies to M. d'Arras (*i.e.*, de Granvelle), and I took the opportunity of leading the Protector aside and saying to him that I could not resist informing him, in consideration of the great affection I bore him that it would be advisable for them to please and satisfy your Majesty in all reasonable things, and to have your subjects better treated than heretofore, seeing that your Majesty had always behaved in the best and kindest manner possible towards the late King in order to please him, not only on account of the alliances, friendship and union that existed, but also in consideration of his age, and they (the English) ought now to follow so good an example, since your Majesty had no less desire to see the welfare of this country, that the late King Henry had to see the prosperity of your Majesty. I said that he (the Protector) as head of this Government should set his hand to this and have regard to banish and avoid all cause of resentment, as I had no doubt that he would do.

The Protector, in reply to this, said that he would certainly not act in any other way than that which I had said, as it was to the advantage of this country to maintain the good and longstanding amity, and the existing treaties between your Majesty and them ; whilst it also benefited your Majesty's Low Countries. After having delivered himself of some further discourse relative to the homogeneous character of the French King's dominions and the scattered nature of your Majesty's, and saying that the King of France would always have his eye on Italy, he again referred to the advisability of maintaining the existing alliances in which he said he would never fail. So far as he personally was concerned, he said, he was well aware of the obligation under which he was to your Majesty, for the kindness he had received from you. He added that he had served your Majesty for some time and in that service had learnt what little he knew ; so that he was in duty bound to remain always your humble servant. Although all the members of the Council, he said, bore great affection to your Majesty none surpassed him in his devotion to you, especially as he knew that any service that he might do to your Majesty would also be done to the King, his master. He was, therefore, ready to do all that your Majesty might command ; and as regarded the treatment of your subjects and all other affairs, though he could act by himself if he pleased, according to his own discretion, he thought better to communicate them to the Council. This was meant to convey to me that I ought not so persistently seek audience of the Council, but should discuss my affairs with him personally. I thanked him warmly for his goodwill and assured him that he need not doubt that your Majesty would recognise it with the highest favour whenever it was required.

As we parted he begged me sometimes to come and pass my time in his garden, where we might chat together, and I saw plainly that he was anxious for an opportunity of employing himself in matters agreeable to your Majesty. He seems to me to be quite assured of his Government, and I notice that all the

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members of the Council treat him with great reverence, and obey him implicitly. They all, as well as the Protector, expressed great joy at your Majesty's success, and told me that you had made a treaty with John Frederick of Saxony, the Protector giving me the terms of the treaty.

The ex-Lord Chancellor (Southampton) was with the Protector the other day for about two hours very early in the morning, but I do not know the purport of their conversation: only that the Lord Chancellor paid him great court and left him in very high good humour.

Several proclamations have been made here of late against spreading news without being able to give the name of the author, against engaging in religious controversy, each person being enjoined to conduct himself in this respect as before the death of King Henry, the penalty for doing otherwise being death, so long as the Council do not order otherwise. It is possible that your Majesty's success may not be the least cause of this.

I hear that they are in some suspicion of the French, who have delayed the payment of a half-year's instalment of the indemnity now due, saying that they will pay it altogether; by which it is easy to conjecture that in this new treaty they have made with them there is some fresh agreement for the shortening of the period and the diminution of the amount to be paid for the restitution of Boulogne. According to the words of the French Ambassador, here "the English profess to be willing to restore Boulogne to us, but they never stop fortifying the place." It would seem that the restitution was to be made whenever the money was ready for payment. When someone remarked to the French Ambassador that the English were apprehensive of war, he replied: "If they do not cease their hostilities against the Scots they have very good reason to apprehend it." Great sums of money and all kinds of stores are being sent from here to Boulogne, and some sort of wall is being built there to ensure their harbour against the French fort.*

The Scottish Ambassador is still here, but there is no mention or appearance of an agreement being effected between them, and, as the Protector told me, they (the English) have sent six more great ships well armed against the Scots. He assured me also that he would never make any agreement with them without the consent of your Majesty. Every day there arrive here some of the Scots who favour the English side, and they have such frequent secret conferences with the Protector and the members of the Council that they think they can conceal their comings and goings from the (Scottish) Ambassador.

Nothing is now being said about Ireland, except that some encounter must have taken place to the advantage of the English, but it will not be anything of consequence.

* This was a fort on the south side of Boulogne harbour, opposite the ancient tower called the Old Man. When Henry VIII. captured the place he was advised by his Spanish mentor Alburquerque to fortify the South bank but refused, and the French had now done so.

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I have been informed from a secret source that a marriage is being arranged between the Queen Dowager (Katharine Parr) and the Lord Admiral (Seymour) brother of the Protector, and also that of the son of the Earl of Derby, the richest noble in England, with the daughter of the Protector.

There is no news about Madam (Anne) of Cleves except that she is shortly coming to London. I have been requested to-day by a herald to attend on Sunday next after dinner at Saint Paul's Church for the obsequies of the late King of France. I hear that orders are being given for the maintenance here of a thousand horse to be always ready for any occasion.

London, 16 June, 1547.

June 16. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

In accordance with the instructions contained in your Majesty's letter of 2nd instant, I waited upon the Council and laid before them in full detail the two points referred to: first to endeavour to obtain the restoration to the owners of the property belonging to subjects of his Majesty in the Boulognais, upon which point I repeated all the arguments and reasons in support of our claim; and, secondly, to demand satisfaction for all the merchants who have complaints or grievances against them (the English).

I began, Madam, by calling to mind the intolerable outrages and injuries that were being inflicted upon our people generally; but especially referred to that of the Isle of Wight as being the most abominable; the complaint respecting which was being prosecuted here by Lope de Carrion, who had been seriously injured in the matter.* These points I urged with strong remonstrance and very vehement persuasions. They (the Councillors) replied to my speech, that, with regard to the first point, the Protector desired a short time still to consider it, but that a favourable reply should be given to me before long. With respect to the second point, touching the claims made by merchants which had been laid before them (the Councillors) by Councillor Van der Burch and myself and were still pending, they said that, although they thought that they had given the fullest satisfaction and justice by means of their Commissioners, they had nevertheless decided to commission Secretary Paget, who was their spokesman, to confer with me on the matter, and to devise some means for settling amicably all these complaints and grievances in accordance with right and justice. They had decided upon this step, they said, because the Secretary was the best informed on the subject, he having more often than his colleagues heard the representations I had made on behalf of the complainants. They hoped, however, that I would not push these claims unreasonably.

On the first point I answered softly that they were quite aware that they had always held out hopes to me of a favourable solution, and as I had trusted their word I had continued to

* Particulars of this claim will be found in the last volume of this Calendar.

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assure your Majesty in my letters to that effect. Your Majesty, however, I said, finding that all these adjournments produced no effect, was dissatisfied on the matter; and even imputed to me negligence in not urging more forcibly the demand that their final decision should be given without further delay. Now, I said, after all this procrastination, they simply met my demand by another postponement, and I must really beg the Protector to be good enough to give me a final decision to the satisfaction of your Majesty. He (the Protector) broke into my discourse and said: "but this is not a postponement: you will, I can assure you, receive a definite answer within a very few days, and to the satisfaction of the Queen, who I know will be pleased with it." I could not well press him beyond this at the time, but I will not fail to push the matter on until I get a good solution.

With respect to the merchants' claims, it seemed to me to be a very good thing to have Secretary Paget as a commissioner to arrange them with me, as I hope to be able to deal with him and settle the complaints better than I did with the Great Master of the Household, Lord St. John, in the matter of the Renegat claims; for after we had met and discussed the affair twice and had had the parties before us, we are still in the same position and have done nothing. I then proceeded to lay before the Council once more the history of the wretched acts and robberies of this Renegat, which I said had already been exposed so frequently by me; and yet this pirate was not ashamed to say now that he had not the parcels of gold, and positively produced a certain statement in which he claimed more than twenty thousand ducats compensation from the Emperor.

They made rather a vehement speech in answer to this, assuring me that they had ordered the Great Master of the Household within the next two days to visit and confer with me again, accompanied by another member of the Council; and if we were still unable to come to an agreement that matter also should be taken in hand by Secretary Paget. The latter is obliged to absent himself on a visit to his estates, he having delayed his departure solely in order to attend the Council on this occasion, when he knew I was coming, so that, as he whispered in my ear, all these matters might expedited. I thanked him very much for this, and he appointed next Monday for him to visit my house and discuss business. During this interview, Madam, I took the Protector aside and had some quiet talk with him, the purport of which your Majesty will please to see by the copy enclosed of my letter to the Emperor, which also gives an account of all other happenings here.

There is no talk here about the appointment of a new Lord Chancellor, although they did propose to nominate one by Whitsuntide last. It is reported by some that they are awaiting the return of Dr. Wotton, the English Ambassador in France* so that he may receive the vacant office. It was offered to

* Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York. It is hardly necessary to say that he did not receive the appointment.

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Secretary Paget, but he refused it, in order to avoid undertaking more work. He is, indeed, continuing to lighten his work as much as he can, and he even thinks of giving up his post as secretary and to accept instead two or three other offices of comparatively light responsibility, but of great emolument, such, for instance, as that of Chancellor of what they call the Duchy (of Lancaster) and the Constableship of the Tower of London.

There has been no sitting of Parliament since the death of King Henry, and there is no talk of calling it together. The churches remain in the same condition as they were before the death of the King. The bishops are residing in the dioceses, and the Protector has forbidden all the Court to eat meat on days when it has not been customary to do so.

London, 15 June, 1547.

June 17. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

After my other letters were ready for despatch I was requested by the Protector to go and see him, and on my visit to the Council this afternoon he took me aside and made a long harangue to me about what had passed between their Ambassador in France and the French Council, of which the Protector had been informed yesterday after I had left him.

The matter related to the two treaties they had made together, of which the French refused to ratify the later one, but were willing to confirm the former, on condition that it was fulfilled by the English, which they (the French) affirm has not been the case; in the first place because the English have not accepted the representation of the Scots in the matter of their inclusion in the treaty; and, secondly, in consequence of their having fortified Boulogne, in addition to which they (the French) allege, the said treaty contained conditions which their King could no longer tolerate.

To this the English Ambassador had replied that, so far as related to the Scots, they had been included, but as the French knew it was without prejudice to the treaties in force between them (the English) and your Majesty, from which on no account in the world would they depart. According to these treaties your Majesty's consent was necessary, and ever since the treaty had been signed they (the Scots) had never ceased to spoliate both your Majesty's subjects and the English, besides which they had assailed the English by land, and had once more given occasion for the English to defend themselves and continue the war against them.

With regard to the alleged fortification of Boulogne, they (the English) knew of no fresh work in that direction, the wall to which reference had been made being merely for the greater commodity of the harbour, and consequently of service both to the English and the French. Notwithstanding all this the arguments of the English Ambassador failed to satisfy the French Council, which repeated the former complaints and instructed the Ambassador to write that their master the King of France could no longer tolerate the present state of affairs.

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The Protector told me that at the same time that this information reached him, the French Ambassador here had come to him in order to deliver a similar message to him in the name of the King of France, so far as regarded the matter of the Scots, adding that the latter were offering to restore all that they had unduly seized. The King of France, therefore, continued the Ambassador, desired that the English would come to some honourable understanding with them (the Scots). The Ambassador, however, made no mention whatever of the Boulogne fortifications, which, as the Protector told me, surprised him extremely. He thought, he said, that the French had flourished all this bravery in return for something he (the Protector) had said recently to M. de Vielleville about the small honour and profit the King of France would gain by making war on the young King of England.

The Protector said that he had replied to the French Ambassador in similar terms to those used by the English Ambassador in France: and he also said that he saw no hope of an agreement with the Scots until the latter fulfilled their obligations towards the English, and at the same time gave full satisfaction to your Majesty.

After this long story the Protector said: "I have thought best to communicate all this to you in order that you might, if you will be so good, convey it to his Majesty, so that he may know upon what terms we stand with the French, and in the hope that, whatever happens, his Majesty will not fail us, in accordance with the treaties, and will allow us to provide ourselves by purchase in his dominions with what (munitions, etc.) we may need." I replied that he might be sure that your Majesty would not fail to do anything to which you were bound.

In the course of the above conversation we declared that the French during the negotiations for the last treaty had persistently tried to induce him to accede to the clause binding him to be "friend of friends and enemy of enemies," without any exception, promising him in exchange for the restitution of Boulogne the country of Flanders, which he (the Protector) said, had scandalised him greatly, seeing that this proposal was directed against your Majesty, to whose detriment he had not and never would accept any treaty. The result of this was that in the last treaty with the French there had been introduced a special reservation more in the favour of your Majesty than their own as he had previously told me. I replied that I recollected perfectly well what he had told me before and had duly conveyed the substance of it to your Majesty, who had no doubt whatever of his word. After making a long discourse about the small danger that could come to them from France or Scotland, seeming very little perturbed, he addressed me privately in conversation, assuring me of the great confidence he reposed in me; so that I think that I may be able to bring him round and keep him attached to your Majesty, if it may please you to send me a favourable letter that I can use according to circumstances.

London, 17 June, 1547.

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June 17. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Your Majesty will please see by the accompanying copy what has passed between the Protector and myself since my last letters were despatched. The Protector told me in addition to what I repeat in the letter that the English Ambassador resident near your Majesty had written to this King (Edward) that during a conversation he had with your Majesty respecting the state of war still existing between the Emperor and the Scots, you had replied to him that you did not understand that you were at war with the Scots in any sense. I made such explanations of this as satisfied the Protector.

I did not fail to press again for a final decision of the affairs of the Emperor's subjects in the Boulognais, and I set forth in a friendly fashion the reason and justice of our demand.* I saw at last what was the real cause of the delay that has taken place; namely, that some French subjects are demanding of the English similar restitution of their property to that which we claim. I told him in reference to this that there was no parity whatever between the two cases, we having been friends in the war and the French enemies. Your Majesty, I said, asked for nothing for the French. If they (the English) made up their minds to restore the estates of French subjects they might just as well restore the town of Boulogne itself to the French King, so as not to treat the sovereign worse than his people. After some more conversation the Protector assured me that your Majesty would very shortly be fully satisfied, but that he wished to know the names of the persons on whose behalf your Majesty was insisting. I made great difficulties about this, but I was unable to get anything further, although I recognise that he has every desire to satisfy your Majesty.

London, 17 June, 1547.

June 20. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

Since writing our last letters, we have received yours of 27 April and 4 May, and we have been pleased to learn in such full detail of the occurrences in England, the more especially that which relates to the conversations you have had with the Protector on the subject of the last treaty they (the English) have concluded with the French. Our Ambassador in France has already been able to send us a copy of the clause contained in your aforesaid letters to us; and, as we have previously informed you, the Bishop of Westminster has also addressed us on the same subject on behalf of the King of England. At present, therefore, there is nothing more to say about it, except to recommend and enjoin you very earnestly to continue to keep your eyes open, and enquire scrupulously as to the

* It should be mentioned that these claims were made on behalf of certain subjects of the Emperor who previous to the capture of the county and city of Boulogne by the English had owned estates there. As all landed property had been appropriated by the victors, it was contended on the part of the Flemings that they being neutrals in the war, in general sympathy with the English rather than the French ought to have been excepted from the general confiscation.

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progress of affairs there, not forgetting to learn if you can what they have been negotiating with the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, and especially whether there has been any suggestion on his part of the marriage of the Princess (Mary) our cousin. We have been told that such was the case, the envoy having been sent to England with this mission, and we shall be glad to know what answer was given to him. It will also desirable that we should be informed if there are any French intrigues being carried on there, and all other occurrences that come to your knowledge. Advise us of these as often as you can.

With regard to affairs on our side, we may tell you that since the capture of John Frederick (*i.e.*, the Elector of Saxony) an arrangement has been made with him, by virtue of which he undertakes to surrender his strong places and the rest of his country, and we have invested with the electorate the Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Marquis Albert of Brandenburg being consigned to prison. We have now come hither to Hall. . . . . After the above was written, your letter of 29 May has come to hand, informing us of the rebellion of the Irish savages, and what has happened in the matter of the Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley). We are glad to get your advices, and presume you will have received our last despatches, to which we are anxious to have a prompt reply.

Hall sur Salle, 20 June, 1547.

June 24. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Since the despatch of my last letter dated 17th instant, the obsequies of the late King of France have been celebrated here with great solemnity, but the Scottish Ambassador was not present, he having excused himself on the ground that his colleague was in France.

Since then Secretary Paget has been to see me, and we have had several talks together, in which he displayed the same affection that he has always held towards the Emperor. When I mentioned to him the pending question of the Boulognais he told me that he expected we should very soon receive a favourable answer. After much discourse on public affairs he declared to me the very small amount of confidence they had in the French, who had carried on all sorts of intrigues to alienate them from their alliance with his Majesty (the Emperor); but, said he, they have laboured in vain.

When we approached the business of the merchants' claims left undecided by the commissioners, he (Paget) said that he would take the matter in hand in two or three days when he had ascertained from their commissioners what was left pending. In answer to this, I urged that he had been deputed by his colleagues to look into all my complaints respecting merchants' claims from subjects of the Emperor, to which he replied, "If you want their affairs to be attended to here, it is only reasonable that our subjects who have claims on your side should be treated in the same way there." I said yes, that was quite reasonable, but that seeing the perfect justice accorded to

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English subjects in the Emperor's Flemish dominions, I was not aware that they had any pending complaints of theirs there to be dealt with. "Yes, we have," he said, "and more still in Spain"; and with these words we went to work in very good fashion on the affair of Lope de Carrion's claim, which is the most important of them.* We shall have to hold another meeting respecting that.

The day following, which was yesterday, I sent to the Protector for the purpose of reminding him that I was still awaiting the reply to the claims in the Boulognais, in order to satisfy your Majesty on the subject. He sent a reply to the effect that he really must have a specification of those who were making the claims, as he had told me the last time he saw me. He asked me to send him these particulars as soon as I received them; but that nevertheless Secretary Paget would come and see me next week to discuss the business further with me. In order that they should not conceive any suspicion of me, I also gave them notice that I purposed going to visit Madam Mary, as she was so near to my house in the village. They said that I should be doing quite right in visiting her.†

There has been no occurrence of importance here since my last, except that these people do not seem so much alarmed as they were of a war with France since the report that the Swiss, lansquenets and other men-at-arms raised for the King of France near Lorraine, have been ordered to muster in Provence. They think that this indicates that the troops are more likely to be employed against Piedmont than Boulogne, the more so as the Duke of Savoy is arming.

London, 24 June, 1547.

June 24. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since I last addressed your Majesty on the 17th instant, the obsequies of the late King of France (Francis I) have been performed with all possible solemnity. The Scottish Ambassador was not present, having begged to be excused on the ground that his colleague who had been in France when a similar service had been held there had not been invited to be present.

Two days after this, Secretary Paget came to see me on the matter of the merchants' claims, and I had a very long conversation with him, during which he demonstrated his steadfastness and devotion to your Majesty. He assured me of the small confidence with which they had always regarded the French, who had laboured in vain and utterly failed, thinking that by their intrigues and other means they might separate the English from their alliance with your Majesty. And he called me to witness that he had always asserted that, no matter what appearances

* With reference to Lope de Carrion and his claims, in which he represented certain merchants resident in Spain, *see* Vol. 8 of this Calendar, p. 138.

† Mary appears to have been living at Wanstead House at this time, and it may be deduced from this letter that Van der Delft had lodgings in the village about half a mile away.

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they (the English) might put on towards the French, they would never depart from the closest friendship with your Majesty nor contravene the existing treaties with you.

I understand plainly from Paget that the opinion I had already formed of this government is not without foundation; that the councillors had been selected by his means, that the Protector had obtained his pre-eminence as uncle of the King, the laws of England allowing him to usurp the position, and that the title of Protector previously had been declared in England *nomen ministerii* and not of so much authority as is attributed to the title in Latin. I see that a very close understanding exists between the Protector and Paget, and that one depends upon the other. I will not fail to keep them both in hand to the best of my ability and the Earl of Warwick as well.

I had on a previous occasion privately broached a few words to the Protector on the subject of the abominable and detestable opinions of the encyclopedians and Zwinglians, the evil of which is on the increase here. I again mentioned the subject in my conversation with Paget, laying bare to him the lives led by these apostates, whom I had seen and known for several years during my residence in Switzerland. I pointed out to him also the confusion in which they (the English) would find themselves if they did not restrain their people and reduce them to better order than at present in regard to the Holy Sacrament, and all other points where error has crept in. Paget took my remarks in very good part, and expressed himself in such a way as to banish the suspicion I formerly felt that a book printed in English and published here supporting the doctrines of the Sacramentarians and exalting as a martyr the young lady who was burnt here last year, had been issued by the consent of the present rulers of England*; but Paget told me that he himself had been very ignominously treated in the same book, and such enquiry had been made about it, that it was now certain that the book had not been printed in England. He concluded by saying that everything would be put in order.

We then went to work on Lope de Carrion's affair, and got on very well together. We are to have another conference about it.

The only occurrence of importance here is that these people (the English) are not apparently so much in fear of war with France since the rumour has prevailed that the Swiss, the lansquenets and other troops raised near Lorraine by the King of France are to muster in Provence, which makes them think that these forces are more likely to be intended to be employed against Piedmont than against Boulogne, especially as it is said that the Duke of Savoy has also assembled some forces.

London, 24 June, 1547.

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* This was Anne Askew who had been martyred for her denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation; Gardiner, Bonner and Wriothesley being her principal persecutors. At her trial an attempt was made to connect Seymour and the protestant party with her, but she emphatically denied that she had received support from any members of Henry's Council.

1547.
June 29.
Paris
K. 1487.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

Letters received and sent. The Dauphin still continues his preparations for the war in Piedmont, which the King of France (*i.e.*, the deceased King Francis I) had in contemplation. As soon as the Dauphin (Henry II of France) received news of the surrender of the town of Wittemburg and the castle of Gotha, he at once increased the activity of his preparations. He sent to the Rheingrave with all speed to raise lansquenets, and already five or six thousand have been collected and have entered France. They were brought out of Germany very quietly without beat of drum, in little bands, and I have no doubt that the Emperor will take this badly, and as a sign of the evil tendency, that the Dauphin should have raised this force without giving him notice. I have kept his Majesty fully informed and I have no doubt that if these soldiers return home he will punish them. There is a rumour that some of these lansquenets are to go to Bresse and towards Provence to defend Piedmont, whither three or four thousand French adventurers have been sent to garrison the fortresses, as the Italians are not trusted. Many French and Italian captains have also been sent to Piedmont, though it is believed that the Swiss will not supply the Dauphin with troops except for the defence of his own realm if they see it attacked.

The Dauphin still insists that all his preparations are simply for defence, though the Flemings do not trust him. He has consequently reinforced all his strong places on the Flemish borders. The Spaniards who are to arrive in Italy will be very apropos to counterbalance the French in Piedmont, which these people evidently intend to hold. It is now certain that the galleys will not leave the Mediterranean this year. It is said that they are mostly fitted and armed, and these people are constantly sending ships to sea, they say for Brasil, but more likely to plunder the Emperor's subjects from the Indies, if they can catch them defenceless.

There still exists little friendship between the Dauphin and the King of England, for reasons stated in my former letter. It is to be doubted whether the Dauphin will not some night demolish the wall that the English have erected near the port of Boulogne. The English themselves are in expectation of it and stand on their guard to resist if necessary. The English refuse to include the Scots in the peace, whereat the Dauphin is much annoyed. The English Ambassador here has complained that 6,000 Scots have raided a part of Ireland and have raised the natives. They do not deserve, therefore, he contends, to be included in the treaty of peace. He (the Ambassador) was told in reply that the Irish had risen of themselves, and that the Scots had not aided them. In the meanwhile the King of England sent a fleet thither, and it is to be feared that after they had finished with Ireland they may attack Scotland on their way back. These people (the French) have been in so much fear of this that M. d'Etampes has been sent in haste to

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Brittany to raise 6,000 men to man the galleys and other vessels to go to Scotland if needed. Affairs may, therefore, be regarded as anything but settled between France and England, the English having again reinforced Boulogne.

On the 10th of this month the treaty of future marriage was settled in St. Germain between Horatio [Farnese] and the bastard daughter of the Dauphin, who is nine years old. His Holiness provides a dowry in cash of 200,000 crowns to buy an estate in France for Horatio, to whom he gives also an income of 25,000 crowns, and the ancient patrimony of the Farnese family and the Duchy of Castro. It is even said that he will fortify some of the places for him. I hear that his Holiness is still very hard with the Emperor, and the papal ministers here say that the Pope is much put out at the curt reception of his legate Sfondrato by his Majesty. I have no doubt that the Duke of Piacenza* is in full intelligence with the French through this new alliance, and that he is in fear of the Emperor, since he is blamed for the recent sedition in Genoa.

It is said that the anointing of the Dauphin at Rheims will not take place so soon as was thought, though all is ready there. They are delaying it for the return of the Constable's nephew Dandelot, in the hope that he will bring good news from the Emperor in the matter of amity, which they appear greatly to desire, notwithstanding their busy war preparations, which they insist are really for defence alone.

Poissy, 29 June, 1547.

June. Paris K. 1486.

DOCUMENT HEADED, "NEWS SENT BY THE AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE."

First to be mentioned is that the Legate Capo di Ferro has entered into communication with the ministers of the Dauphin in fulfilment of his mission on the third instant and, according to common report, his object was to suggest means for establishing a peace between the Dauphin and the Emperor. He was told in reply that the Dauphin would with much pleasure accede to an arrangement on any fair conditions; but that it would be very difficult to carry through this negotiation unless this Legate was conversant with what was being done by the other Legate, who had been sent to the Emperor on a similar errand. The intentions of the Emperor have not yet been made known, but it is publicly asserted by persons of position that this Legate has really come hither to treat of a marriage between Horatio (Farnese) with the bastard daughter of the Dauphin, and not about the peace, which is simply a compliment of the Pope, as he desires rather to maintain discord between Christian princes for his own private advantage than to bring them together in harmony. The Dauphin is willing to treat for the marriage in question, but he demands that the Pope shall give

* Pier Luigi Farnese, the son of Paul III. He was shortly after this murdered by conspirators in the imperial interest.

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to Horatio the territory of Avignon and the county of Venaissin* which now belong to the Church. He also wishes for Horatio to succeed the Duke of Castro (*i.e.*, Pier Luigi Farnese) as heir of the house of Farnese, and that 150,000 crowns should be employed in buying some pieces of this realm (France) for Horatio. It is said that the Pope inclines much to the union, but he is troubled to know how he can recompense the Church. It is also known from the Venetian Ambassador here that the Legate would be glad to negotiate a defensive league between the Pope and these people; and that if the Seigniory of Venice had liked to consent to join in it, the matter would have been concluded ere this. The King of France began this negotiation and the Seigniory replied to him that to them the league he proposed would be superfluous, as there was no war with anyone, whilst if he was desirous of entering into any war the Seigniory could not join in it as they had no territory conterminous with his. If the King of France desired to open a war with the Emperor or with the King of England the Seigniory would be called upon to pass through the State of Milan to defend it, as they were bound to do by existing treaties. If this defensive league is concluded it appears that the Duke of Piacenza (Pier Luigi Farnese) will join, as he is, it is said, suspicious of the Emperor who accuses him and the Pope having been in secret understanding with Fiesco about the conspiracy in Genoa. It is said that the Duke (of Piacenza) is already making ready a force as large as he can collect, in distrust that Don Fernando (Gonzaga, Governor of Milan) may make an attack upon his State. The said Duke a month ago sent one of his gentlemen to the Dauphin, who conferred with the ministers for four hours, at which conference there was present the Nuncio who was then about to return to Italy. He declared to Don Fernando's man that he had had a very good reception and answer, having succeeded in his mission, besides which they (the French) had given him a present of 500 crowns. With regard to this I have heard from the English Ambassador here, who said that he had it from a good source, that in dealing with this marriage with Horatio these people (the French) wished the Pope to find some means by which the State of Piacenza should descend to Horatio after the death of his father the present Duke and that an equivalent should be given to Ottavio elsewhere,† this being the present position of the negotiations. Still, this looks all very improbable and would be indeed incredible unless the Pope be determined to go astray altogether from reason.

Mesnage has written that the Emperor and the Pope are at great enmity, the Pope complaining bitterly that the Emperor denied audience to his Nuncio, whilst the Emperor complained

* The County of Venaissin the capital of which was Carpentras, in the modern French department of Vaucluse, had been a papal fief, like its neighbour Avignon, for centuries, having passed by gift to the papacy on the death of Clement V. in 1316. It was here in Carpentras that the conclave was convoked to elect Clement's successor, and the place was then sacked and destroyed by the late Pope's nephew Bertrand de Goth.

† It will be recollected that Ottavio Farnese was the eldest son and had married the Emperor's legitimated daughter Margaret.

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that his Holiness had abandoned him in the German war, and had refused to concede to him a part of certain relics in Spain. This has set these people here (the French) on the alert, as they conclude that it indicates that the Emperor is in very urgent need of money, since he had come to such extremity as to take the relics. It is also reported here that the Pope is offended with the Emperor, because when he arranged with the Protestants he did not include his Holiness in the negotiations, in accordance with the treaty between them. The Nuncio who was with the confederates took care to make this known. The reply given to this by the Emperor's ministers was that his Majesty was not bound to secure the inclusion of the Pope unless he was treating of religious rights, which was not the case at present, and that the only point with which he was now dealing was that of rebellion. . . . . .

Charges are now made against Paulin that the galleys which were under his charge have been found in very bad condition and ill supplied. What is worse still is that he has nothing to answer for the money he has received but his own person, he having lived in so prodigal a fashion.

They are raising enormous sums of money from the confirmation of the offices in France and it is believed that the amount will not fall short of 600,000 crowns. They say that over 80,000 different offices will have to be confirmed, and as the sum is so great the Dauphin at the request of some persons has consented to pay it to his treasurer before giving hope to the Seneschal of Normandy, who will distribute the greater part of it, the object of this being to satisfy people that it is to be used in this way, so that no ground shall lie at any future time for a lawsuit against her for an excessive gift.*

Cardinal Tournon was in this Court about a week ago, but he only came to take leave of the King to withdraw to his home. He was not very favourably received, and they did not give him a lodging in the burgh even, let alone in the castle of St. Germain. It is evident from this that there is much feeling against him, and in good truth the King hates to hear his name mentioned. All the officers of the household of the late King have been left undisturbed in their posts, especially Surdi, only that he does not sleep in the Dauphin's chamber as he did in that of his father. Young St. André takes his place there, and at Whitsuntide the Order was given to him, and the Marshal of France was appointed to it at the same time, but the latter is very ill of gout and much depressed. The Admiral retains his office, but he is to have an assistant in consequence of the complaints of the piracies that have taken place at sea during his time. M. d'Enghein, the Marquis de Maine and M. de St. Cadiel received the Order also at Whitsuntide and it is said that Peter Strozzi is also to receive it. . . . . .

The King has left St. Germain for Compiègne, whence he will go Coutrai and so to Rheims, where he has determined to

* The Grande Seneschale of Normandy was of course the famous Diane de Poictiers, the mistress of Henry II. The passage is somewhat obscure in its wording, but its general meaning is unmistakable.

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be anointed at the end of the present month of June. M. de Rheims has gone thither already to prepare for the solemnity. It is certain that if M. de Laval had not died the Dauphin would have sent him as governor to Piedmont in place of the Prince of Amalfi, who is not much trusted.

The Dauphin has again ordered all the captains to join their commands under penalty of deprivation of their places; saying that they will do much better to do their duty in their garrisons than in dangling after his Court. He refuses to let any of these captains hold offices in his household or chamber in order to give them no excuse for staying away from their commands, and to cause them to fortify their strongholds well. He has ordered them not to return unless they are summoned.

Captain François Bernard was despatched by the Dauphin on the 4th instant to inspect certain fortresses in Dauphiné which are being strengthened. He will go thence to Provence to see what has been done in the new works there. François was recently dismissed, but he knew well how to play his cards, and they have retained him, although he does belong to the family of the Admiral. The Constable was ill of a colic lately and the Dauphin went to visit him once, remaining with him for two hours and showing great sympathy and anxiety for his recovery. They are fortifying in great haste Bourg in the Bresse, Lyons and Bayonne. There is a great plague in the latter place. The fortification made by the King of France near Langres has for the most part fallen down.

The Rheingrave was at this Court a week since and spoke at length with the Dauphin. In public he praised and exalted greatly the power of the Emperor, cursing the Landgrave as a man of little faith for having deserted the Elector of Saxony. He hoped soon to be despatched to Germany to raise some troops. It is reported also that Captain Aqueforte has been sent to Westphalia with the same object, and Captain Felix has undertaken to raise some men. They are all pensioners of the King of France.

July 3.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

Since writing our letters of the second of last month, we have received yours of the 29 May and of the 16, 17, and 24 ultimo, by which we have learnt details of your negotiations, both in the matter of the restitution of the estates of the Emperor's subjects in the Boulognais, and in that of the compensation for the injuries inflicted upon other subjects of his Majesty at sea, as well as the occurrences in England generally.

Although the Protector and the other members of the English Council are very ready to give you fair words, we can see up to the present no indications whatever of their giving anything else, as they continue to procrastinate and will come to no definite resolution. We cannot understand why they should require a declaration of those subjects of the Emperor who have estates in the Boulognais in their occupation before they

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have announced whether or not they intend to restore such estates to the owners, unless, indeed, the demand is simply for the purpose of further delaying the affair; and then perhaps after all of their finding some pretext for refusing the restitution altogether. Nevertheless, in order not to stick on this point of difficulty, you may demonstrate to the Protector, Paget and others to whom you may deem it advisable to speak on the matter, that it has never been our intention to demand anything for subjects of the King of France, to whose prejudice their own King acted in leaving Boulogne in the occupation of the English. Our action has been simply and solely on behalf of the legitimate Flemish subjects of the Emperor, who, without fraud of any sort, are domiciled in the dominions under our government, and who did not take any part against the English, and who consequently, as allies of the latter, cannot justly be deprived of the estates belonging to them in a country under English rule. On the contrary they should unquestionably be restored to the enjoyment of their property, as they have been by the French in that part of the Boulognais in the occupation of the latter. If they are treated otherwise by the English they will have good reason to complain that they are worse dealt with by their allies than by the French whose enemies they were. If, however, they (the English government) will consent in principle to the restitution in favour of Flemish subjects of the estates belonging to them in the country now held by the English, it being understood that such subjects took no part against the English during the war, we will undertake when the restitution is to be carried into effect that no person shall enter into possession of such restored estates without proper attestation that he is a bona fide subject of the Emperor, and that he has taken no part against the English. This we think in all reason should suffice if they (the English) are really dealing with the matter in good faith, as such matters should be dealt with between allies. We cannot, however, undertake at the present juncture to make a general declaration of all those who own estates in the territory in the English occupation.

You can, of course, let them know that the principal claimants to such estates are the Princess de Gavre, Dowager Countess d'Egmont for her land, farms and appurtenances at Fiennes, the Sieur de Morbecque, captain, on behalf of his wife, for the estate of Souverain Moulin and its appurtenances, the Sieur de Mamez and several other private gentlemen and honest burgesses, of whose names we cannot as yet send them a list. After they (the English) have consented in general terms to the principle of the restitution we will willingly send you the list of claimants. You will not fail, however, to point out to them (the English) the patience that these Flemish subjects have exercised in this matter of restitution, which now should be carried out promptly, the prejudice to the claimants having been already very considerable as the lands have remained waste and uncultivated. This is an additional reason why the restitution should be granted without any further delay.

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Whilst your letters of the 23 ultimo were being delivered to us three Spanish merchants resident at Bruges arrived here, and made great complaints to us of the serious wrong and damage the English are inflicting upon them by retaining possession of the merchandise belonging to Lope de Carrion. The said merchants have presented to us the enclosed petition, and we have had them informed of what you recently wrote. This has somewhat tranquillised them, and they are willing to hold over their petition until you have informed us of what you may have arranged with Paget touching their business. It may be feared that if at this juncture the English will not provide some satisfactory solution of this affair, these Spanish merchants may seek a remedy elsewhere.

With regard to other private claims and complaints of merchants, we can only recommend you again to get them cleared up and settled as far as you are able: and you may assure Paget that if any English merchants have made any complaints to them of injustice being done to them on this side since the last treaty of close alljance, and he will have the complaints submitted to us by the English ambassador here, we will promise to take such measures as will give the complainants every reason to be satisfied and we will not allow any delay to take place in the settlement.

Touching the complaints presented by (English) merchants at Bourbourg, and also by the commissioner they recently sent hither for the purpose, relating to occurrences that took place previous to the conclusion of the last treaty, we do not intend to deal with these in any way, as we consider that such matters were all settled by the treaty in question, which provided that all past complaints were estopped and extinguished. If we entered into these old claims and grievances there would never be an end. We would not on our side claim redress for any grievance that occurred prior to the signing of the treaty, which, in effect, would be in greater number than those put forward by the English. In order, therefore, not to prejudice the treaty referred to, the best course will be to confine ourselves on both sides to matters that refer to the period subsequent to the signing of the last treaty.

We send you herewith the petition that has been presented to us by a poor Friesland sailor named Simon Symonson of Bolswort, who is powerless, as he says, to pursue any further his claim in England, and we recommend to you the expedition of his business.

With respect to the complaints in general made by the merchants about the customs-dues and other extortions with which the English trouble them, several of the Antwerp merchants have come to us at Brussels, for the purpose of demonstrating to us by means of the full information which they say they possess, that the "great dues" of England were imposed after the year 1445, and that, therefore, in accordance with the commercial treaties they (the merchants') should be exempt from the payment of the same. They allege that the English are

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only trying to circumvent us by exhibiting the books they have drawn up. We have not yet come to any resolution with regard to the contention of these merchants, but as soon as we do so you shall be informed. For the same reason also we have not conveyed to you the decision of the Council here on your own report and that of Councillor Van der Burch.

We are sending with the present letter the packet we have just received for you from his Majesty, and although we expect that you will be fully informed of the successful progress of his Majesty's affairs, we think well to let you know that on the 19th of last month the Landgrave of Hesse surrendered himself into his Majesty's hands at his mercy and discretion (*genade en opgenade*) making his complete submission, and craving his Majesty's clemency, in accordance with the capitulation made with him, a duplicate of which we send you herewith in case you should not receive it from elsewhere.

According to the information that reaches us we gather that his Majesty will shortly proceed to Ulm, where he intends to hold an Imperial Diet. With regard to the southern towns which have not hitherto submitted, they are also at present entering into negotiations to be received again into the Emperor's favour, and they consequently hope that with God's blessing, since the two leaders of the rebellion have submitted themselves, the others will not persist. They have neither the power nor the resources to do so, and they will also be denounced under the Imperial ban, which will deprive them of all their privileges and render them liable to be captured by anyone. The neighbouring nobles will do their duty in this respect.

Binche, 3 July, 1547.

July 9.
Paris
R. 1487.

ST. MAURIS to COBOS.

The bearer of the present, a Spaniard named Juan de La Rea, has been in this Court requesting me to urge the King's ministers to compel Peter Strozzi to restore to him a ship which he seized in the port of Corunna. Cardinal Tournon and the Admiral of France had already informed me that previous to the seizure referred to the English had seized and pillaged a French ship in the port of St. Lonnery(?) in Spain with the connivance of the Spaniards, who had done nothing to prevent it.

Peter Strozzi having been informed of this, and hearing that at Corunna there was a Spanish ship loaded with merchandise for the English, when he was there with his galley he captured it in return for the French ship that had been taken. The vessel seized by Strozzi was manned by Frenchmen and sent to France, but on the voyage thither it was re-captured by the English and taken to England. They (*i.e.*, the French ministers) added that Strozzi had already seized at sea and sent to France two English ships; but that one of these had by the fortune of the sea been cast upon the coast of Spain, where it still remains embargoed as a reprisal for La Rea's vessel seized at Corunna. The Cardinal and the Admiral therefore begged me to submit to the Emperor

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and to the Prince (Philip) a request that they would restore to Strozzi the ship that had been driven into a Spanish harbour, and to prevent any future attacks upon French shipping in Spanish ports.

I have sent a copy of the statement to the Emperor, and have thought advisable also to inform you thereof, in order that you may take what steps may seem best in the matter. The bearer himself has spoken to Strozzi on the matter, and the reply he got was that his ship was not in Strozzi's possession, but in that of the English, and that consequently it was impossible for him to restore it to him. He had better address the English about it. I have not pressed the ministers further on the point: it is very evident that they would not give the bearer any other answer than that given to him by Strozzi. At the very pressing request of the bearer I make this statement to you, in order, as he says, that he may obtain redress or indemnity in Spain.

Only three days ago a beginning was made in hearing evidence in the charge against M. Calvasao, who is making great efforts to end the examination before the King's (of France's) fleet against the English sails, which it is considered certain that it will do by the 15th instant at latest, the galleys having already arrived at Havre de Grace. It is true that the big ships from Marseilles have not yet appeared, but it is said that the fleet will not delay its departure for them. It is said that there are as many as 600 or 800 Spaniards in the fleet.

Honfleur, 9 July, 1547.

July 10. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

I have been to-day with the Protector, who has acceded to the demand of your Majesty's subjects in the Boulognais to be put into possession of their properties on submitting to the King of England and making the usual declarations of homage and fidelity always having regard to your Majesty.

During my conversation with him he said he was extremely sorry that your Majesty should hold such an opinion of him and of this realm as he had been informed that you did. He was told that your Majesty had said that people here were worse than the Protestants, and that there was no religion at all; and, moreover, that his (the Protector's) government was displeasing to your Majesty. He could not bring himself to believe that this was true, he said; and as I saw that he was much disturbed and evidently wished me to write to your Majesty, I said that I should be quite ready to do it, but that I thought it would be derogatory both to him and to me, as he ought well to consider that your Majesty would never say such things but only such as you were convinced were true. With regard to England, I said, your Majesty had received no other relation than such as had been contained in my own letters which certainly had never given such odious information. I said, moreover, that even if he chose to believe that your Majesty had made use of such

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words (which, however, was entirely unfounded) it would make your Majesty very justifiably believe that he was too ready to accept as true things that were not worthy of credence.

I pointed out to him how lacking in probability the assertion was, and especially in view of the good opinion your Majesty had of him, which was proved, I said, by letters I had received from you. He replied, "I know full well that the Emperor is as good and virtuous a Prince as any in the world, and is not in the habit of speaking ill of anyone, and certainly not of his friends and allies, or of his very humble servant, as I have always been and am, but I have been assured that the words were not only said by his Majesty but they were the subject of public discussion in his Court." To this I replied that, whatever your Majesty might have said must necessarily have been derived from my letters, which I should be pleased to show him at any time, and he would find in them only that which tended to maintain and preserve the existing friendship between allied and confederate princes, and nothing to disturb it by suspicion and discontent; although I confessed that I had seen much here which I could not praise. In accordance with the affection that I bore him, and seeing that in his position of authority he could amend matters, I preferred to address him personally and remonstrate with him frankly to writing to your Majesty blaming him.

He thanked me very much for this, and as I saw that this was a good opportunity for carrying the matter further, I said that it was quite true that I had received letters from the Queen (Dowager), in which she desired me to inform her whether all things were so much profaned here as was generally asserted in Flanders; and I had replied to this enquiry by saying that the Mass, the Holy Sacrament, the Confession, the fasts and fish-days, were all celebrated here as customary; that the bishops were in their respective dioceses preaching and performing the duties of their office; which I told him ought all be maintained or everything would inevitably go to ruin. He took also very amiably my remark that I would not conceal from him that I had been much displeased to see that immediately after the death of King Henry nothing was heard but preachers on every side, some to proclaim their opinions and others to inculcate and enforce their fallacies, as if the government of a country consisted of nothing else than that.

I urged him finally to take great care to maintain the respect and dignity of the bishops and other ecclesiastics, as they were as worthy here as could be found anywhere and if they were further depressed there would be an end to all law and obedience.

He (the Protector) displayed a great desire, as he always does to maintain friendly relations with your Majesty and to please you in every possible way. He divulged to me in confidence that Paulin immediately after the death of King Henry had striven to win him (the Protector) to the side of France, by means of a large annual pension, which, as was only right, he had always declined. Notwithstanding this, however, Paulin, the last time

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he came hither was instructed to offer him the assignment of the pension, and as he (the Protector) had afterwards learned, had brought with him, already signed, the deed of assignment. But with all these offers and grand promises of the French to divert the English Government from their alliance with your Majesty, he said he had always remained constant and would continue to do so, being well aware of the ancient amity which it was so necessary to preserve intact for the welfare of both parties.

He told me that the French with some sixteen or eighteen galleys and two saccres had passed through the Straits of Dover, sailing in a northerly direction, and he suspected that their destination was to reinforce the Scots. He knew for certain that the latter had united all their forces with the intention of entering the territory belonging to them which the forces of the King of England now occupied, and of taking a fort, which however, was of very little importance. He believed, nevertheless, that they would not gain anything by their attempts, and that after they had done their best he would be able to win from them in a fortnight more than they could recover, to which end he had already, he said, made good preparations.

With regard to Boulogne, the wall which they had begun to construct was still being continued, and was already so far advanced that the French would not be able to hinder them in the work.

When he asked me if I had not any news from your Majesty I replied that I had nothing fresh. "Well," said he, "I will make you a sharer of the news I have received respecting the Landgrave (Philip of Hesse) who has been received into the grace and favour of the Emperor on certain conditions, of which I will send you a copy." I thanked him for the intelligence, and then took my leave of him, after which I took leave of all the members of the Council. I was in private conversation with the Protector for more than two hours and on leaving him I asked him whether he wished me to write to your Majesty about the complaint he had made as to the remarks ascribed to you respecting his Government, to which he answered "I consider you very discreet and my very good friend, so I will leave it entirely to your discretion." I have thought best, however, to let your Majesty know all that passed.

If your Majesty will please pardon me for doing so I will change the opinion I formerly held, namely that the Earl of Warwick, as he is the most splendid and haughty by nature and in high reputation would probably determine not to give way to the Protector. I think now that, contenting himself with the pre-eminence he at present enjoys, before all the others except the Protector, he will not persevere in the management of affairs, nor is he, indeed, so able to support the work, which appears to be unable to tire the Protector. The latter accordingly knows everything, and nothing whatever is done without its passing through his hands. Your Majesty will please consider if it will be advisable to keep him (Somerset) in his good devotion towards you by means of a favourable letter, such as I ventured to suggest to your Majesty recently.

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The Queen (Dowager Katharine Parr) was married a few days since to the Lord Admiral,* the brother of the Protector, and still causes herself to be served ceremoniously as Queen, which it appears is the custom here. Nevertheless when she went lately to dine at the house of her new husband she was not served with the royal state, from which it is presumed that she will eventually live according to her new condition.

I recently visited Madam Mary on her departure for the North Country. She received me in most honourable fashion, and although since the death of the King, her father, she had refrained from dining in public, she did so on this occasion to celebrate my visit, and insisted upon my dining with her. After dinner she talked for a long space with me, enquiring most particularly about your Majesty's health and the progress of your affairs. Finding myself on confidential terms with her I endeavoured to discover from her whether she knew anything about the amount of her dower, and also asked her if she was going willingly to the North country, whether she intended to stay there, and what allowance was to be made to her.

She replied that she was going to the North by her own desire, as she wished to see personally the estates that had been assigned to her, the value of which she was informed was about twelve thousand ducats (per annum). I said this was a most miserable allowance, and I thought her father had made a far different provision for her by his will; to which she replied quite frankly that the testament which was said to be that of the late King might or might not be genuine; she did not know. She had heard, however, that the provisions of it, so far as related to her, were not more favourable than those contained in the will he had made when he was about to cross over to Boulogne (*i.e.* in July 1544). On this I asked the Princess where her mother's dowry was now, to which she replied: "I know nothing about it and the matter has never been mentioned."

After a long conversation I remarked that I had heard that she was to be married in France; whereupon she said that she herself knew nothing of it, except that on one occasion a duke in France had been spoken of, although nothing had been said to her about it. She then asked me what I thought about the Queen (Dowager's) marriage to the Lord Admiral. I answered that it appeared to me to be quite fitting, since the Queen and he were of similar rank, she having been content to forget the honour she had enjoyed from the late King. I was also the more pleased at the marriage, I said, because it meant that she herself (the Princess Mary) had thus escaped an alliance with the personage in question, for which, according to common report, she was at one time designated. She laughed at this, saying that she had never spoken to him in her life, and had only seen him once; and she took in very good part my remark that, but for the perfect confidence I had in her prudence and discretion I should have come

* The exact date of Katharine Parr's marriage to Lord Seymour has always been uncertain, though it was known to have taken place after the 4 June, 1547. This letter of Van der Delft's would seem to indicate that the marriage took place early in July 1547.

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to her and have begged her to bear in mind her great descent and the respect due to her person, which should never tolerate such a degradation.

She seemed to have entire confidence in me, and begged me to write to her sometimes, although she expected to be back in London again before Christmas.

I thereupon took my leave of her; she being very much pleased that I had given notice to the Protector of my intention to visit her for the purpose of thanking her for the honour she had done me in standing Godmother to my child, to which he had sent me a reply that I should do well in going as I proposed.

London, 10 July, 1547.

July 10. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

I sent yesterday to ask the Protector if I should receive the answer about the Boulognais claims here or at Hampton Court, whither I had heard that the King was going, and in reply he gave me an appointment to wait upon him to-day.

After some conversation we came to the business of the claims in the Boulognais, which he told me they would concede to such subjects of the Emperor as had not taken the part of France in the last war against the English. He said that he did this out of consideration for your Majesties, and on condition that the claimants should do the customary homage and enter into the usual obligations of fidelity, undertaking, moreover, not to claim more than they had possessed and enjoyed before the war. I accepted this concession saying that it was in conformity with right and justice, and that your Majesties would, I knew, act in similar righteous manner towards them in any case that might arise. I also promised to communicate the fact to your Majesty at once.

The Protector displayed a great disposition to please your Majesties, whilst still complaining that there were certain rebel subjects of theirs (the English) sheltered in Flanders. These had been cloistered persons here and had possessed pensions from the King, and they had nevertheless fled secretly across the sea to Flanders, where they had entered into cloisters, both in Bruges and elsewhere. They had also, he said, incited to treason in this country, as had been clearly demonstrated by two presbiters now prisoners here. He then asked me if I had any news of the Emperor, and whether I knew how his Majesty now stood with the Landgrave (Philip of Hesse). I replied that I knew nothing for certain; whereupon the Protector told me what had passed in the matter, and promised to send me a copy of the agreement made between the Emperor and the Landgrave.

He also told me that he had received intelligence that sixteen or eighteen galleys and two saccres had passed through the Straits of Dover sailing in a northerly direction. He suspected, he said, that their destination was to reinforce the Scots, who he knew for certain had concentrated all their forces with the intention of entering the Scottish territories occupied by the English, and of obtaining possession of a fort, which, however, was of no great

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importance. Nevertheless, he said, he hoped they would not be able to take it : but in any case after they had done their utmost he would take from them more than they could get back. He had already made full preparations to this effect. As for the wall they (the English) had commenced at Boulogne, they would continue its construction ; for they had already made such progress with it that the French could not hinder them.

In a day or two the members of the Council will leave here for Hampton Court, and will make a little progress with the King. I am therefore afraid that I shall not get any good opportunity of terminating Lope de Carrion's affair and those of the merchants mentioned in the petition sent to me by your Majesty in your last letters, for the Council will not return to London again until the winter.

I have no other news to communicate to your Majesty, except that the Queen (Dowager Catharine Parr) was married a few days ago to the Lord Admiral.* She still causes herself to be served with royal honours, according to the custom of this country as I am told.

London, 10 July, 1547.

July 23. Simancas E 1193. FERNANDO DE GONZAGA to the EMPEROR.

In a long letter in Italian of this date referring entirely to the project of the Emperor to obtain possession of Parma and Piacenza, it is made clear that the murder of Pier Luigi Farnese Duke of Castro, Piacenza and Parma, which is usually ascribed to Gonzaga personally, was committed with the knowledge and connivance of the Emperor. As the interest of the letter is purely Italian and unconnected with English affairs and the Reformation struggle it is not transcribed here. The terms arranged with the conspirators in Piacenza headed by Count Giovan Agostino, are appended to the letter. The city was to be offered to Gonzaga for the Emperor on a certain day, the offer to remain open for 24 hours only. Parma and the other territories of Pier Luigi were to be forced into obedience by the Emperor's troops under Gonzaga, the person of Pier Luigi was not to be "disposed of" by Gonzaga until the citadel had surrendered, and all homicides and other deeds of violence committed in carrying out the conspiracy were to be condoned. On the 8th August Gonzaga writes that the conspirators, to whom he had communicated the Emperor's approval, need the bridle more than the spur, though they are uneasy at the presence of Duke Ottavio Farnese, the Emperor's son-in-law in the town. Gonzaga advises them to defer the execution of the plot until Ottavio has left at the end of the month.

* The exact date of Catharine Parr's marriage with Seymour has hitherto been uncertain, though the letters between them still extant prove that they were plighted lovers soon after the removal of Catharine to Chelsea early in March. They were evidently not married on the 4 June, because Princess Mary's dignified letter to Seymour (printed in Ellis' Letters) of that date refers to his petition that the Princess would intercede with the young King in favour of Seymour's suit. The letter from Van der Delft for the first time fixes the date of the marriage at some time in the first week in July, 1547 ; though it has been surmised that there was a secret marriage at the end of May. Their child was not born until the 30 August of the following year, 1548.

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July 24. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Since receiving your Majesty's letters of the 3rd instant I have had an interview with the Protector, the purport of which I have thought necessary to convey to your Majesties. I therefore dispatch this special courier, and your Majesty will see by the copy of the letter I send to the Emperor all that has happened here.

London, 24 July, 1547.

July 24. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

I was summoned yesterday by the Protector, in order that he might give me an account of certain colloquies that had passed between him and the French Ambassador on the subject of the differences now existing: namely, the limits and fortifications at Boulogne, the amount of money due to the King of England from France, and the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty of peace.

With regard to the first points mentioned the King of France demanded that they should be settled in his presence, and that with this object the English should send Commissioners to France. This the Protector refused, having regard to the honour and prestige of his King, and maintained that the said point should be discussed by Commissioners on both sides, in accordance with the treaties in force, or else submitted to impartial arbitrators. The dispute went so far, owing to the construction of the wall at Boulogne harbour by the English, that the French Ambassador declared plainly that the annual pension paid by France to this country would not be so promptly forthcoming.

With regard to the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty, the Protector repeated the arguments so often brought forward by the English on other occasions, to the effect that all their agreements must be without prejudice to the existing treaties with your Majesty: they having been expressly reserved in the treaty with the French. The Protector, however, finally said that he would be satisfied if they would send to your Majesty to learn your wishes on the matter, as without your consent and satisfaction they neither could nor would agree to anything. To this the French Ambassador had made no other reply but that he would communicate what the Protector said to his master the King.

The Protector then told me that since this interview he had received news that the Scots, to the number of eighteen thousand men with seven thousand savages in addition, had entered the King of England's territory and had captured the place he had mentioned to me previously. This place, he said, was not at all strong or commodious to fortify, but had nevertheless withstood several canon shots.* As it had been taken by the King of England since the signing of the treaty of alliance the matter did not touch your Majesty if the Scots went no farther than they had already done. In case they did, however, your Majesty

* Probably Langholme is the place referred to as the re-capture of that place was one of Somerset's excuses for his invasion of Scotland.

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well knew the obligation that rested upon you * and he (the Protector) begged me to give notice to your Majesty. I said it was very early days yet for that matter, and probably your Majesty yourself would think so. He then said: "Well, I will tell you the secret so that you may communicate it to the Emperor. As the Scots are not fulfilling the treaties they have with us, and have never ceased to injure both the subjects of the Emperor and ours, besides which they have now attacked us again, we have decided to go against them both by land and sea, and we are in hope of being able to avoid the necessity of troubling the Emperor or asking him to provide us with the aid stipulated by the treaties." He added that for the purpose of dealing with the French galleys that had gone up to Scotland he had already twenty-four well armed ships, fully equipped, which would sail very shortly to take up their position either at the mouth of the Forth leading to Edinburgh or else at Saint Andrews, which still holds out for the King of England, and thus to prevent the French galleys from getting out so easily as they got in.

They (the English) have already there all the needful stores for their camp, and have resolved that their force shall consist only of men of their own nation near the Scottish border: but the cavalry, which will consist of about four thousand horse, will be raised principally in the neighbourhood of London. The Protector told me in confidence that although the Earl of Warwick was amply sufficient a personage for this enterprise, he (Somerset) had nevertheless decided to be present in person, with the hope that by God's blessing he would be able to perform such a service as should assure this country for the future against both Scots and French in that direction.

Sire; in the course of the long conversation that passed between us he declared to me emphatically that he plainly perceived the intention of the King of France to be, not only to help the Scots, but rather to bring them into entire subjection to him: for the Protector assured me that it was quite true that the French had demanded that the two principal fortresses of Scotland should be delivered to them, to which demand, however, no reply had yet been received by them from the Governor (*i.e.* the Regent Arran). "Besides," he said, "You well know Bishop Paniter who was here as Scottish Ambassador and is now in France. We know him too, and how artful he is. But nevertheless I am certain that when he begged for assistance the King of France replied that he had already spent large sums of money upon them (the Scots) for which up to the present he had not seen any result, and he had found great difficulties raised to his demand. The galleys, moreover, he (Somerset) said, had left port for

* By the treaty of 1543 between Henry VIII and the Emperor both parties were bound to help each other to a specified extent and for a limited time in the case of any of the dominions then held by either of them being invaded by a third party. As the portion of the Lowlands of Scotland then held by the enemies of Mary of Guise and the Regent Arran with the aid of the English had been occupied by the latter subsequent to the treaty of 1543, the Emperor was not bound to aid Somerset if the Scots invaded it, but if the Scots crossed the English border the terms of the treaty became operative upon Charles V.

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Scotland before Paniter had been informed of it. When I expressed doubt as to the probability of this the Protector said. "You need not hesitate to believe it: I am as certain of the truth of what I say as that you and I are here together; and you can well consider from this what the real object of the French is, namely to set their foot firmly in Scotland, which will not be to the advantage of the Emperor's dominions or ours. For this reason it is necessary for us to be beforehand with them, and stop their proceedings in such a way that, however much they may attempt in future to interfere there they may not find means to succeed in their object, or even to be able to give assistance to the Scots if they want to do so."

I have thought Sire that it was advisable to give your Majesty with all speed an account of this conversation.

It is not known here yet that the Protector will go with the army in person, and he will not leave before the end of August; so that your Majesty will doubtless consider whether it is desirable that something should be said to him before his departure as it may be supposed that all business will be suspended during his absence.

People here are very enthusiastic about this war and every one is busy in trying to take part in it. I plainly perceive that they have no doubt that the French will make war upon them at the first opportunity but they appear to be very cheerful.

The changes in religion are proceeding more modestly than hitherto.

Madam Mary has not yet started for the North country and it appears to me that she has no desire to hasten her journey.

With regard to the man sent hither by the Duke of Ferrara, I have been able to discover nothing about his negotiations, except that he has come for the purpose of renewing the amity, and also to learn the state and condition of the Boulognais, in which by reason of his wife * the duke will have some interest.

London, 24 July, 1547.

July 27. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Just at the moment I had sent to Hampton Court for a passport for the letters I had written to your Majesty, one of the secretaries of the Council came to me, sent by the Protector to inform me that the English Ambassador in France had written that, having requested audience for the purpose of fulfilling his instructions respecting the questions at issue between them, he had received from the Constable a reply on behalf of the King, to the effect that there was nothing more to be said about it, and that the King would insist positively upon the matter of the five hundred thousand crowns mentioned in the treaties being settled in his presence; and as for the annual payment he meant to suspend it and would make no further payment on that account until Boulogne was restored to him.

* The celebrated Renée of France, the Protestant daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany married to the Duke of Ferrara.

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With regard to the first of these points the Secretary of the Council told me, the Protector and the English Council were absolutely disinclined to listen to it; both in order to safeguard the prestige of their master and to fulfil their treaty rights. The suspension of the annual payment by the King of France he said, moreover, plainly exhibited the wrong that the French were inflicting upon them; and it was clearly evident to them (the English Council) that peace could not be very long maintained between them, although they themselves had given no occasion for war, and would give none. They begged me to advise your Majesty of all this, in the confident conviction that you would always remain their true defender and friend of their young King, whose childish years perhaps were the real reason of these menaces on the part of the French.

I understand from the secretary that the galleys (*i.e.* of the French) were before Saint Andrews, and much haste is being made here for the departure of the ships. The assembly of the Scottish forces, it appears, could not be maintained any longer owing to the lack of victuals, and at present the number of men in the field did not exceed some ten thousand. They had razed the place they had captured.

With respect to the number of troops these people (the English) will have, so far as I can understand, it will not exceed sixteen thousand, inclusive of about four thousand horse and a good force of harquebussiers; whilst about three thousand fighting men will be carried in the ships. They think that this force will suffice for the exploit they aim at, knowing, as they do, that the Scots hurried into this enterprise because they were quite convinced that they ran no risk from this quarter. These people (the English) will take care not to leave their own country undefended in view of the necessity that may come to them from elsewhere.

London, 27 July, 1547.*

*Postscript.*—Sire: By the man whom I sent to Hampton Court for the passport for the letters, the Protector has sent me word that he has received news that during the last ten days the Scots have captured seventeen vessels, Spanish, Flemish and English.

July 30. Vienna Imp. Arch.

THE QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received your letters of 10th instant, informing us of the concession you have obtained in the matter of the Flemish subjects who claim the restitution of their estates situate in the Boulognais, and who took no part on the side of France during the last war, the restitution being promised on condition that the owners do homage and take the customary oaths of fidelity, it being also provided that the claimants must not pretend to more than they possessed and enjoyed previous to the war.

* In the same parcel as the above letter is another in very similar terms of same date addressed by Van der Delft to the Queen Dowager of Hungary. As the variants between the two letters are merely verbal the latter despatch is not transcribed here.

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You have done excellently in this matter, and we are much obliged to you for it. Please also thank the Protector on our behalf for the concession. The only thing now remaining is to put the promise into execution; and for the restoration of the estates to be carried out it seems necessary that the order for this to be done should take the form of Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, or by Act addressed to the English Government of the Boulognais, as otherwise the authorities there will have good reason for pretending ignorance of the concession and refusing to make the restitution to the owners of the estates they claim. You will therefore endeavour to obtain such Letters Patent or Acts, in order to avoid the raising of any difficulty on the spot when the claims are presented. We, for our part, will take the necessary measures to prevent any of the subjects here from demanding any other property but that which they enjoyed previous to the late war.

If the Protector again addresses you on the subject of the English cloistered churchmen who have taken refuge here, but not otherwise, you may point out to him unofficially and as if of your own motion, that it is permitted here for anyone who likes to enter a monastery and embrace a religious life. If any person does this he is not regarded a delinquent, a criminal or a rebel, but on the contrary is praised and held up as an example for having followed the ancient traditions of the Church which we here profess. If therefore, they (the English Government) wish to make this a pretext for requesting us to deliver up these persons as rebels and criminals, and should claim by virtue of the treaties that they should be surrendered or expelled as such, you may say that it is probable that they would not be so regarded here, and consequently would not be held to be included in the clauses referring to the surrender of criminals in the treaty. You will see how the Protector takes this, and let us know.

You will do your best to confirm him in his trust of the Emperor, saying in general terms that he will find in the future no falling away on the Emperor's part in the due observance of the treaties and good neighbourship, as in past there has been none.

Buichs, 30 July, 1547.

Aug. 10. Paris K. 1487. ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

Since my last the French King's galleys have gone to Scotland to help the Scots to recover the castle of St. Andrews, now held by the English. Nearly 4,000 foot men have been sent to Scotland from Brittany, with a number of horse. The English are powerful at sea, and it is said will stand firm to this fight, though the Dauphin declares that he has no intention of going to war with them, alleging that the castle (St. Andrews) was captured by a Scotsman and not an Englishman; whilst the English say that the place is held for the King of England. During the voyage of the galleys thither they captured two English vessels in consequence of their finding on board of them certain French prisoners. The ships captured were sent to Dieppe having been declared fair prizes by the Admiralty Judge. But

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on their way they put into an English port to take fresh water, where three of their men were captured, whereat the crews of the galleys seized three Englishmen elsewhere. All this looks to me like fanning the flame to make it burn the fiercer. We shall soon see how the business will end.

M. de Brissac has gone to the Emperor from the King of France to discuss terms of reconciliation, and I trust that his mission will soon succeed. I hear, on the subject that the Dauphin will accede to any conditions, so long as he is allowed to retain Piedmont, and these people (the French) say, that if peace be not concluded they mean to do their very utmost against the Emperor and to direct all their energies to his detriment. The Constable himself has conveyed this to me.

For my own part I am of opinion that the Dauphin will make no move against the Emperor this year, even if no other reason than that he is very uncertain of the friendship of the King of England. It is quite understood that they intend to keep their German troops all the winter because they fear that they would not be allowed to bring them out of Germany again next year. It is believed that these troops will be separated in garrisons on the frontiers of Picardy, Champagne and Burgundy. It is said, however, that before putting them into garrison they intend to send them towards Abbeville and Boulogne, in order to compel the English to send more men across the sea this autumn, and thus to reduce their capability of sending troops to relieve St. Andrews.

These people (the French) are in busy negotiations with the Confederacies, which they say are strongly in their favour especially the protestants. I have communicated to them the contents of two "propositions" made in those parts by Liancourt and Bassefontaine, especially the scandalous and shameful words they used against the Emperor. They (the French) are unable to excuse such words, but they say that their Ambassadors have gone beyond their instructions, and in truth they are annoyed that the thing has become public, and especially as they (the Ambassadors) have acted as they have done in contravention of the assurances of friendship given by the Dauphin to the Emperor. They are trying to smooth it all over by means of Brissac.

No trustworthy news has been received of the Venetians having entered into an alliance with the Pope and the Dauphin: but the Dauphin is striving his utmost to bring it about, urging upon them the same arguments as those used towards the Confederacies, and repeating to them the complaint about Marignano. As they (the Venetians) are astute people, they are anxious that the league should be effected on that ground (*i.e.* of Marignano). They say that otherwise they will withdraw.

The Flemish frontiers are being well provided, and these Germans that they have in their service will enable them to reinforce them still more.

The Constable is all powerful in this Court at present, but there is bitter jealousy on the part of the Guises, who bear secret enmity

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to him, and many obstacles are thrown in the Constable's way. L'Ordres the master of the household of the Queen of France has gone to the Emperor on her Majesty's behalf, and on the solicitation of the Dauphin to promote the peace negotiations. The Queen, indeed, is being made their principal instrument to bring about better relations, and it is confidently believed that the Emperor will look favourably upon this.

Ville de Coutrai, 10 August, 1547.

Aug. 15. Paris K. 1487. ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

As Monsieur de Sieppières, equerry of the stables to the Most Christian King, is being sent to your Highness by his Master, I hold it to be my duty to inform your Highness of what happened recently at Rheims at the solemnity of the consecration of the King, and in a separate note that accompanies this letter I give a detailed account of all that passed on the occasion.

The King told me at Rheims that he had sent fifteen galleys to Scotland under the command of the Prior of Capua (Leone Strozzi) to capture the castle of Saint Andrews in Scotland, which had been occupied by a certain Scot. Since then, I being again with the King on the 15th instant, he told me that at that moment he had just heard the news of the capture of the said castle, and that he had by this means been able to punish a man who had rebelled against the Queen of Scots, to whom and to her realm he (the King of France) owed every assistance.

I understand, Sire, that the castle was surrendered conditionally on terms, and that before giving it up, the Scots, who were in great number, had seized another castle on the frontier which had been taken from them by the English in the late war. The English thereupon raised a powerful army to relieve the said fortresses, but as the latter surrendered immediately their (*i.e.* the English) designs have ceased. They (the English) are deeply grieved at these captures. Nevertheless, as I understand, the King (of France) claims that he has done nothing against the treaty of peace, since he has only turned out the Scotsman who unlawfully held the castle of St. Andrews, and has punished a rebel.

The King (of France) is now on the way towards Picardy, and it is said that he intends to go and inspect his fort near Boulogne. They also say that he is sending a good part of the lansquenets he has in his service to the same neighbourhood, to the number of about twelve thousand, with sixteen thousand on paper. He assures the Emperor, however, that this is not with any offensive intention towards him.

I have heard, Sire, from a secretary of the King of the Romans that the latter had received letters from his ambassador to the Turk at Adrianople, M. Gerard, that he had agreed upon a peace with the Turk for five years, during which period each party should hold what they now occupy in Hungary, and the Turk would abandon his claims on Transylvania. The brigands, moreover, who had made incursions were to be punished and fugitives from justice on both sides surrendered. By the same letters also he learnt that the brother of the Sophy had been turned

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out of his dominions by the Sophy, and had taken refuge with the Turk, who had received him well and was about to prepare a powerful force to invade the Sophy's dominions next winter. News also comes from the same source that Count Roquendolf had absented himself from the Turkish Court, and it is believed that he has fled with one of the principal Pashas of the Turk, who has now been condemned to perpetual exile. The Count had been promoted by the Turk at the instance of this Pasha.

Since the King of the Romans subjugated the rebels in Prague, as your Highness will have heard, he has commenced to punish the other rebellious towns in Bohemia, from which, as he says, he means to squeeze a pretty penny.

The Christian King, Sire, is acting most dutifully in filial fashion towards the Queen; giving her all that belongs to her in regard to her dower and allowance. The Queen is therefore entering into peaceable enjoyment of her property and is greatly respected by the King. The Constable has helped her Majesty in every possible way with the King.

The Constable, Sire, has sent me a message on behalf of the King, to say that if your Highness desired anything in his power to give, especially in this realm, he begs you will let him know through me, and he will do his best to please you. This, he says, will be the greatest pleasure that he could have, and he begs your Highness to prove his sincere goodwill towards you. In this connection I cannot fail to say that the envoy who is being sent, M. de Sieppières, is in good reputation with the King, and is a person well qualified for his mission.

Coudrai, 15 August, 1547.

*P.S.*—Sire, I beg most humbly that your Highness will be pleased to have some money sent to me for my expenses, of which a whole year is due. It may be delivered to the Countess d'Antremont at St. Maur with the Queen Dowager. If I do not receive money I shall be obliged to resign my post.

Aug. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Since receiving your Majesty's letters of 30 July last, I have sought every opportunity of gaining access to the Protector, but as he has been much occupied in putting in order the army destined for Scotland, our interview has been postponed until his return to London. But as it appeared to me that he was putting it off unduly I sent to him the day before yesterday to learn when it was his pleasure that I should wait upon him for the purpose of laying before him the mission with which I had been entrusted by your Majesty. He replied by my messenger that he was coming to London at the end of the week, and was himself anxious to confer with me. I have therefore, Madam, not been able to send you any reply to the contents of your letters, but I will do so without fail immediately after I have had my interview with the Protector.

I have no doubt, Madam, that you will have received information that three ships of Flushing, bearing letters and licence from your Majesty authorising them to execute all acts of war

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against the enemies of his Majesty, either Scots or sea pirates, had captured a pinnace belonging to the King of England, and were afterwards brought into the port of Harwich by the English ships of war. . The men who had thus brought them in reported the outrage to the Protector, saying what had been done to the said pinnace and also previously to certain English fishermen who had been plundered and stripped of everything by the same Flushing vessels.

The Protector thereupon sent to me and authorised me to judge the case myself. I presume that he took this course because he thought that one of the Flushing ships, which had been separated from the others by bad weather and which had on board many of the English sailors, might have arrived in Flanders. But hearing subsequently that this vessel, like the others, had arrived at Harwich, he sent to me again to say that he would place the whole matter in my hands ; and although he was of opinion that the ships might be released, he nevertheless thought it advisable that the captains should be summoned to London, in order that they might be examined as to what had taken place. I replied that for the purpose of ascertaining for myself what the facts of the case were, I had already sent to the port of Harwich my secretary with instructions to examine the men on both sides and get at the truth. On his return, I said, I should have great pleasure in sending to the Protector a full report of what had occurred.

I thanked him also for the honour that he had done me in referring to me the judgment of the matter, although I perceived that some limitation had now been placed upon the reference, inasmuch as at first he had referred the matter to me absolutely, whilst after the arrival of the third vessel in Harwich he had demanded that the captains should be detained. I accepted this, however, on the condition that the same treatment should be extended to all English captains who were accused of injuring the subjects of the Emperor. After the Protector had been made acquainted with the evidence contained in my man's report, he sent the English captain (of the pinnace) to me, and I heard what he had to say in the presence of one of our (Flushing) captains. I finally decided that there had been roughness and injury on both sides, and I informed the Protector that in my opinion our men had suffered very severely, and that he should dispose of the affair as might seem to him best. On this he at once ordered that the ships were to be released freely, all property on both sides being restored to the owners.

You Majesty will also have learnt that the French galleys that went to Scotland have returned after the capture of the castle of St. Andrews, which it is said has been razed. The English have sent a large force of horse and foot against the Scots, and the Protector himself is very shortly to follow them ; but I shall be able to write all about it to your Majesty later, after I have seen the Protector ; for although they have information of the French warlike preparations they do not appear to be at all alarmed at them. I will do my best to learn what is going on.

London, 17 August, 1547.

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VAN DER DELFT to PRINCE PHILIP.

As usual, I have continued to write to his Majesty (the Emperor) everything that was happening here, presuming that your Highness would be duly advised of what I wrote; for which reason I have refrained from troubling your Highness with my letters. I cannot, however, now help writing to your Highness, to describe how these people (the English) are going with great forces by land and sea against the Scots, who recently with an army of twenty-five thousand men entered into lands held by the King of England, he having conquered them from the Scots in the last war. Here they (the Scots) captured and razed a castle, and simultaneously eighteen French galleys with some ships arrived off the Scottish coast and cast anchor before another castle called Saint Andrews, which was occupied by those who had murdered the Cardinal (Beaton); these men being much favoured and supported by the English. After a few days bombardment the castle surrendered to the King of France but the French handed it over to the Scots, whilst they (the French) returned home with large sums of money which it is said they discovered in the said castle.

The Earl of Warwick, General of the (English) army, has already started with the forces, and it appears that the Duke of Somerset, uncle of the King, who is here called the Protector, as chief ruler of the realm and guardian of the King, is also to go to Scotland. He is however detained here by the rumours that the French have collected a great force of men near the Boulogne frontier, consisting of German and Swiss mercenaries, and these people (the English) are of opinion that this force is more likely to be directed against them than against the dominions of his Majesty the Emperor. In all probability they only await some pretext for war, and I will duly advise your Highness of what happens.

A few days ago the case of Captain Renegat* was enquired into. This captain had seized the ship coming from the Indies to Spain, and the embargo placed upon English property in Andalusia was the consequence, upon which subject your Highness has written to me. Renegat refused to confess that he had taken so much gold and pearls as the claimants assert in their statement that they have lost, and the King's Council therefore decided to order restitution to be made to us of at least what he had confessed to have seized; and in regard, to the rest to deliver to us the person of Renegat in prison in order that justice might be done upon him as reason dictated. But as it would be more advantageous to the claimants to obtain some recompense for the loss they had suffered than to keep the man in prison, the Great Master (*i.e.* the Great Master of the Household Lord St. John) who at present is acting as Lord Chancellor, has agreed with me

* Particulars of Renegate (or Reniger's) depredations in reprisal for some injuries done to him in Spain will be found in the last volume of this Calendar. A large number of Spanish claims were made against England in consequence, and a Spanish merchant long resident in London was the attorney for the principal claimants. It will be seen in the course of the present volume that the case was subsequently settled with Carrion by the cession to him of certain immunity from Customs dues on specified goods imported by him.

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amicably to settle the whole business to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. I expect that this will shortly be done and other grievances similarly settled.

Your Highness will have learnt that the widowed Queen (Katharine Parr) has married the Lord Admiral, brother of the Protector, and he (*i.e.* Lord Admiral Seymour) will remain here with the Council to take the place of his brother during the absence of the latter in Scotland, after which it is expected that the Lord Admiral will be made a duke.

Madam Mary does not reside at Court, as she was sent away to the North country to inspect some properties which had been assigned to her for the maintenance of her establishment. I have since heard, however, that she did not go so far and is returning to London.

Madam Elizabeth the second daughter of the late King is staying with the Queen (Katharine Parr) also away from Court.

London, 18 August, 1547.*

Aug. 23. Simancas Estado 644.

THE EMPEROR to DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

In addition to the contents of our other letter which goes with this, we think better to instruct you that if after having taken all the steps directed therein you find it quite impossible to move the Pope to stop the sessions of the Council (of Trent) at Bologna, until the protest against it arrives, you will, as if of your own accord, and in the form you may consider most fitting, propose that the procedure of the said session, and the whole of the other acts of the Council shall be entirely suspended until it is seen what course is taken in this coming Diet.

It seems to us that this expedient will be less prejudicial than for us to enter into inconvenient conditions, and especially those that have been mentioned there (in Rome) and you have conveyed to us. If you see that the Pope and his friends will agree to this proposal in a way that will give us some assurance, you may certify them that you will be able to bring us to consent to it. But you must take great care that no other period or time is fixed or mentioned for resumption of the sittings, taking your stand solely upon the formula just stated : namely, "until we see what course will be taken in the Diet."

It is considered that the Pope, with his belief—which we understand he holds—that the Protestants will not submit to the Council nor approve of its resolutions, may incline towards this idea of suspending or supercession, and the Protestants as well, especially those who will not willingly submit or agree, seeing the difficulty that presents itself to the return of the Council to Trent. This it is thought will make them consent to the suspension or supersession the more readily ; and if both parties thus consent to it the Council will have to be held where and how it ought to be.† You will consider whether it will be likely further to bring

* In the letters he writes to Prince Philip in Spanish François Van der Delft hispanolises his name to "Francisco Delfos" and the above letter is thus signed.

† *i.e.* in the Imperial dominions and under the unchecked control of the Emperor's representatives.

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the Pope and his friends round to the suggestion, if, as a matter of confidence, the text of the protest should be shown to them by you, or whether it will be better for you to tell them as much as you think fit of the contents.

Since the above was written we have received your letter of the 15th instant, and your account of what had passed between you and Cardinal Farnese has been most carefully considered. With regard to the matter of the Council we do not see how any other course can be taken than that indicated in the other letter and in the present.

We may advise you that since we wrote last the Legate has seen Granvelle again, and whilst confirming his assertion that he had received no fresh instructions nor particulars, he dwelt at length, as if of his own accord, upon the difficulties he had formerly pointed out to the return of the Council to Trent, and especially in view of the apprehended death of the Pope. He said he did not see that the return of the Council was now so urgent as to outweigh the grave difficulties enumerated, especially, he said, as he had understood from Granvelle that means might be found for settling the remaining questions without their being discussed in the Council. To this Granvelle had replied that, in addition to the other considerations which had been advanced by us, we pressed the matter of the return of the Council to Trent in order that the Germans might have no pretext for declining to attend it on the ground that was held in a foreign country; and also because the preachers and learned men of Germany who had usurped the ecclesiastical properties and were now enjoying them, being probably in fear of the Council and unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves if they attended it, might be drawn into some way of concord and compromise, and we did not wish to come to any agreement with them without the authority of his Holiness and the Council.

In addition to this, it might well happen that in case of negotiations for a compromise those apostate priests who have taken wives might insist upon retaining them, and the lords who had promoted or permitted the administration of the Sacrament *sub utraque specie* might demand toleration for this either permanently or for a fixed period, on the pretext of fears of popular tumult; and we have no wish to put our hand to any such things as these without the authority of the Pope and the Council. If the business was finally brought to some tolerable compromise it would likewise have to be passed by his Holiness and the Council, and indeed in this and other points our intention was to respect in all things the authority of the Holy See. Granvelle enlarged upon this, in order to allay the fear and suspicion which it is commonly reported the Pope and his friends entertain, of our intentions in this matter and in the Reformation generally. The Legate was embarrassed how to reply to the aforegoing; and, as if of his own accord, then proposed the supersession of the Council: the sittings in Bologna being stopped, and that the Council should remain in *statu quo* until it was seen what course would be adopted in the Diet: but he said that he did not wish

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to be quoted as proposing this, as he did it entirely on his own initiative. Granvelle however rejected the idea entirely, on the ground that this could not be apposite for the necessities above mentioned. This course was taken in order that you might negotiate in Rome with greater freedom, either in the direction traced in the former letter, or in that of the supersession, which however you must only use as a last resource; because if they will not consent to the return of the Council to Trent the whole affair would be totally quashed.

With regard to what you write about Cardinal Farnese's remarks respecting the coming hither of the Cardinal of Trent as Legate; if he will agree to either of the two solutions here set forth and they like to give him a Commission as Legate, you will not reject the idea, but encourage it so far as you may consider convenient. But this must be done cleverly, so that the Pope and his friends may not thereby conceive more suspicion of the Cardinal of Trent than they already entertain. If it is decided finally to send him you must take care to get his powers and authority as ample as possible as that will be desirable for the success of the business.

Aug. 24. Vienna Imp. Arch.

THE EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have thus far delayed our reply to your letters of the 24th and 27th of last month, in consequence of our having been somewhat indisposed for some days past, but now, by the grace of God, finding ourselves better and in fairly good health,* we are unwilling to defer any longer the sending of this letter in answer to those from you.

Referring to the first point, of the concession that the Protector has made out of consideration for us, in the matter of restoring to our subjects the estates they held in the Boulognais, the business has been very well managed, and it will be better still when the property has been actually handed over to the owners. You will not slacken in your efforts to have this effected, but will use every diligence, in accordance with the instructions that the Queen Dowager will send you.

With regard to the complaints that the Protector made to you about religion, you replied very prudently and properly. In the matter of the pension, which he says the French have offered to him, of course he would naturally refuse to accept it, if only in the interests of duty and decency. The good-will that he displays towards us must be encouraged to the utmost by you on all occasions, and you must lose no opportunity of confirming the Protector in these favourable sentiments. In order to provide you with an additional opportunity for doing this we are enclosing herewith letters for the Protector, the tenour of which you will see by the accompanying copies. You will deliver these letters to him in the most convenient way that occurs to you, and by virtue of the credence with which the letter concludes in your favour, you may say whatever you think will be most suitable to keep

* Van de Ness records in his imperial itinerary that the Emperor was about to take his usual remedy of the newly discovered Indian bark wood on 1 August when he was attacked with jaundice which troubled him all the month.

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him firm both with reference to our regard for him personally, and with our intention to keep inviolate the treaties, to maintain firmly and sincerely our perfect friendship with the young King of England, as we have amply declared already to the English Ambassador here. Our address on the subject to the Ambassador has been put into writing, and we are sending you herewith a copy of it for your own guidance.

Referring to the passage of the French galleys towards Scotland, the wall the English are building at Boulogne, the negotiations in England of the Duke of Ferrara's envoy, and all the other subjects mentioned in your letters, you are doing very well in advising us in detail of everything that occurs, and we shall consider it a good service to us if you continue in the same course. We also approve entirely of your having spoken to our cousin the Princess (Mary) and of your discreet procedure in endeavouring to discover the terms of the late King's will with regard to the allowance, etc., of the Princess, and to her late mother's dowry. You will always act, as far as you can, in favour of the Princess and will assure her of the affection with which we regard her. In addition to this you will continue to obtain such further information on the points referred to as you can manage to obtain by any means without arousing the suspicion and jealousy of the English.

Referring to the communication made to you by the Protector of the remarks addressed to him by the French ambassador respecting the disputes between them touching the limits of territory, the fortifications, the money due to the English and the raid that the Scots had made, and especially with regard to the Protector's remark that if they (the French and Scots) went any further we were aware what our obligations were in the matter, a similiar representation has been made to us here by the English Ambassador, in accordance with special instructions that were sent to him by the Protector and the Council. In answer to this representation we used similar terms to those contained in the present letter, to which you will also adhere. If they speak to you again about the assistance* being given to them you will courteously confine yourself to the said reply and excuse yourself from entering further into the matter, by saying that you have no instructions. This has appeared to us the best course for us to take for the present, and the reply we have given should the more readily satisfy, the Protector, having regard to the hope which he expresses of being able to bring the Scots to reason, in which case there will be no need to pursue any further the question of the assistance.

Touching the appearance of the French galleys before the castle of Saint Andrews, the news has since reached us that the castle itself has been captured. Indeed the French are boasting about it, and are trying to palliate their action by saying that they have been able to carry through the enterprise without contravening the treaties in force between themf and the English. They

* The assistance which the Emperor was bound by treaty to give to England if English territory was invaded. For particulars of this see the last volume of this Calendar.

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explain this by alleging that the place was held by some Scottish rebels, and vaunt that the fortress, being now in their possession, they mean to keep it for good, whether the English like it or not. We inform you of this so that you may let us know how the English take the capture, and how affairs in general are, and will be affected between the English and French in consequence of these events. You will use all possible diligence in advising us promptly and often of this and all other news.

With regard to the ships which they say have been captured from our subjects, we have heard nothing beyond what you tell us. Let us know anything else you hear on the subject.

Augsburg, 24 August, 1547.

Aug. 25. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

The Protector having decided to go and join the army, which he had despatched already under the command of the earl of Warwick to encounter the Scots, I took the opportunity of communicating with him for the purpose of asking him to grant letters-patent directing the restitution already verbally granted to the subjects of your Majesty of their properties in the Boulognais to be carried out, and also to discuss with him other private affairs entrusted to me by the Queen Dowager.

In conversation with him about this enterprise of theirs against the Scots, I said that I very much feared they would find the task more difficult for the want of the castle of Saint Andrews, which has been captured by the French galleys. They (the English) had, I said, as it seemed to me, been deceived by those who had held the castle; recollecting, as I did, what he had told me before; namely that these men had determined to hold the said castle in the name of the King of England to the very death. We had witnessed, I said, what a slight resistance they had offered, after all, to the French; and it appeared that they had not provided the place with any proper munitions for defence. The Protector replied to this simply that he had never been able to persuade the men who held the castle to put it into the hands of the King of England, nor could he get them to surrender to him the son of the Regent (Arran) whom they held in their power.

He then referred to the French, and said that they had maltreated some of their people (*i.e.* the English), and had even put some of them in their galleys at Rouen with the prisoners captured at the castle of Saint Andrews. He mentioned the great preparations that were going on in France; Germans and other troops being placed on a war footing, and he gave me plainly to understand that he had not much hope of maintaining the peace with them, although he was sincerely desirous of doing so. In any case, he said, he had well armed and provided all the strongholds and places on both sides of the sea, and consequently that they were in a position to defend themselves if attacked.

Amongst other things he told me as a great secret that Don Pier Luigi Farnese Duke of Parma and Piacenza had sent to tell him

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that if he was willing to come to an arrangement with him he would help him against France, and get the Pope to let them (the English) enjoy what they at present held in the same independence as at present. Continuing, the Protector said, "We know very well that Don Pier Luigi is in close alliance with the French, and is in somewhat evil odour with the Emperor; but nevertheless, he said, look what the Pope is ready to do for the purpose of forwarding the interests of his own family." He had replied to this, he said, that under no circumstances need anyone expect that he would ever make any treaty to the prejudice of your Majesty. On hearing all this, Sire, I had some suspicion that it might well be an artfully devised plan to sow jealousy between your Majesty and our holy father the Pope. I therefore pressed the matter more closely with the Protector, saying that the whole business might very well be designed for the purpose of deceiving them (the English), and it would be well to keep in view what could be the final object of the Duke (Pier Luigi) in thus offering his assistance against his own ally, and in volunteering to influence the Pope to the extent he said. "Perhaps," replied the Protector, "he distrusts the Emperor." I gave him an absolute reply to this, whereupon he showed me a letter of credence from the said Duke and the signature of his surname, and said that he trusted me to keep this matter quite secret.

When I was bidding good-bye to him he said that he was leaving instructions to the Council that all affairs concerning your Majesty and other negotiations entrusted to my charge were to be promptly despatched. I thanked him for this, but nevertheless expressed my regret that the fair words extended to me had not, so far, produced much effect; though, I said, I would not communicate this to your Majesty, as I did not wish to cause you displeasure before I received the final decision of the Council on the various just complaints and claims made by your Majesty's subjects. The Protector promised me to recommend the Council to expedite matters, and he begged me to remember him to your Majesty as your humble and loyal servant.

The principal members of the Council remaining in London are the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) Lord Saint John, Great Master of the Household who is still holding the Great Seal of Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal (Lord Russell) Paget, now Controller, Sir Anthony Browne and Secretary Dr. Petre, with one other Councillor whom the Protector did not name to me. This made me think that he might be his brother the Lord Admiral, who has married the Queen (Katharine Parr) and that he would be left here to preside over the others. But the Protector afterwards told me that his brother was to go to the West of England to see after anything that might be necessary there. The Protector said that he expected to be back here in six weeks.

(The rest of this letter is a repetition of Van der Delft's letter to the Queen Dowager of the same date.)

London, 25 August, 1547.

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VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

After waiting for some days the arrival of the Protector in London, I lost no time after he came, and visited him immediately for the purpose of executing the instructions which your Majesty had sent me in your last letters of 30 July.

I thanked him on your Majesty's behalf for the justice he had done in restoring to the subjects of the Emperor their properties in the Boulognais; and I requested him to grant letters-patent for effecting the said restitution. He asked me why we needed letters-patent, since the restitution would be made without fail in any case; and I explained to him how very necessary they were. He thereupon remarked that the letters-patent would not be of much use, for the present at all events, because the principal governors and commanders of their places in the Boulognais to whom the letters-patent would have to be addressed were mostly now in England to go on the Scottish campaign. In his opinion, therefore, he said, it would be more expedient that your Majesty should summon to you all those who would benefit by the restitution and cause them to furnish you with an exact specification of the properties claimed by them; and he trusted that your Majesty would take such measures as would effectually prevent any person from claiming property that did not rightly belong to him. After he had received this specification, he said he would immediately take care that the restitution should take place without any failing or delay. Seeing that I still pressed my point and asked for the letters-patent the Protector said: "I pray you write what I have told you to the Queen, for I am sure her Majesty will approve of it, and the whole matter will be arranged by her, as she knows much better than we do who are the persons entitled to have their properties restored in accordance with the agreement."

It was quite evident to me, Madame, that this answer was dictated solely by the scruple they entertain of restoring estates to people not entitled to them, and by the wish to avoid the reproach that such a thing would bring upon them (the English). They therefore are anxious that the schedule or specification of the claimants and their respective properties should come through your Majesty. On my grumbling somewhat and making some complaints, the Protector said that he had enjoined the members of the Council who were to remain in London to do every sort of justice to my claims; and he continued that I was to communicate with them anything that might arise on behalf of your Majesties, as he himself intended to start for Scotland the next day.

I observed that I was afraid that they would find their enterprise somewhat thwarted by the loss of the castle of St. Andrews, in which matter, it seemed to me, that they (the English) had been deceived, having regard to what he had told me previously as to the firm determination of those who held the castle to live or die faithful to the King of England. It seemed, I said, after all, they had not made much resistance to the French attack, nor had they laid in proper munitions for the defence of the place.

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The Protector made no answer to this, except that he had never been able to get these people (*i.e.* the defenders of St. Andrews) to hand over the castle to the King of England, nor could he obtain the surrender to him of the son of the Governor of Scotland (the Regent Arran), whom those inside St. Andrews had in their power in the castle. He hoped, nevertheless, to do well in Scotland. He complained that the French had placed in their galleys at Rouen, with the (Scottish) prisoners captured at St. Andrews, certain Englishmen whom they had found there ; and he repeated to me what had passed between him and the French Ambassador here on the subject.

In this he clearly indicated that he had not much hope of a durable peace with them ; and also that, although they were fully aware of the German (mercenaries) and other soldiers that the French had concentrated around Boulogne, he (the Protector) did not appear at all apprehensive of danger in that direction. They think, indeed, that they are quite safe, because they have abundantly supplied all their places on the French side, as well as the ports of England. He has even refused to accept foreign mercenary troops for special service,* indeed he has even dismissed the Italians who formerly served the King of England. I have heard nevertheless from a person in their confidence that Captain Courtpennick (*i.e.* Conrad Pennick) will be sent.

Whilst I was engaged in this conversation with the Protector the Queen entered ; and in order to conduct her he left me, offering himself as he bade me good-bye for a good and loyal servant of your Majesties. He had before this mentioned to me the names of those in whose hands he had left the Government during his absence. They are, first the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord St. John, the Lord Privy Seal, the Controller, Paget, Sir Anthony Brown, a Secretary, "and," said he, "there is one other." As he did not name this last one I concluded that it must be his brother the Lord Admiral, and that he was leaving him here as the chief of them : but he afterwards told me that he was sending his brother the Lord Admiral to the West country to provide for any emergency that might arise there.

He himself he said hoped to be back in London again within six weeks.

Everybody here is in great expectation of the exploit that this army of theirs will effect. They have twelve thousand infantry and more than four thousand horse, besides the men who go by sea in two-and-twenty ships, well equipped and furnished. The weather has not been favourable to them, and three hundred of the best soldiers whom they had taken out of Boulogne to

* So far from this being the case Somerset at the time was in negotiation with certain Spanish captains who had served Henry VIII. at the siege of Boulogne and afterwards and were living in London on English pensions to raise fresh bodies of mercenary foreign troops, Spaniards, Italians and Burgundians to serve him in the Scottish campaign. There were many of such troops at Pinkie and the victory was stated to be in a large measure due to the dash displayed by a body of foreign harquebusiers under the Biscayan Colonel Sir Pedro Gamboa. Particulars of the services of these men will be found in the present writer's Españoles é ingleses en el Siglo XVI.

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send to Scotland have been drowned. I will keep your Majesty well informed of what happens.

London, 25 August, 1547.

Aug. 29. GRANVELLE to DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

Simancas Estado, 644.

The courier despatched by you on the 22nd instant arrived with your letters this afternoon, and as the matter of the protest was dealt with fully in the despatch that left the day before yesterday, I have not considered it necessary to give an account of what you say to his Majesty, as all he would do would be to refer to what had already been written to you. I will only add that since the letters for you left here, the Legate Sfondrato and the Confessor have been in conference, and the Legate gives us to understand that if the general reformation is not discussed in the Council nor the person and authority of the Pope, but these questions are left to private settlement between his Holiness and his Majesty the Emperor, the return of the Council to Trent could be easily arranged. Of everything that may be done in this matter you shall be duly advised; but do not on this account slacken in your efforts to fulfil the instructions that have been sent to you in writing *namely that either the Council shall return to Trent or the whole business shall be suspended or superseded indefinitely until the course taken by the Diet shall be seen*; this being the most convenient procedure for the reasons set forth in the letters sent to you.

With respect to the coming hither of the Cardinal of Trent as Legate, you will have learnt from his Majesty's letter that far from being out of the question, this would be very desirable if he brought ample powers, as no doubt he would, considering his position and high standing; and I am confident that his Majesty would be glad if you could manage to get the Cardinal sent as Legate. Apart from the advantage that would accrue to the present negotiation, it is very necessary for the Cardinal to be here for the business that may occur in the Diet. Referring to the wish expressed in Rome for information as to what Sfondrato would think of this, it may be piously assumed that he will not relish the idea of another Legate being joined with him.

In reply to what you say in the letter to his Majesty about going to Siena, and that you thought of taking with you the Auditor Mohedano and Juan Luis de Arazonia, I, with a father's privilege, to say to his son exactly what he thinks, am of opinion that it will be very inappropriate to take these two personages in your company. In the first place there is not the slightest necessity for their presence in Siena for the settlement of the affairs of that Republic, which, in effect, consist chiefly in police and government rather than in points of law. You may very well be aided in these respects by the opinion of Señor Fernando,* and by the information of Eraso, who has had such long experience of affairs there. The Sienese would be much displeased to see these two jurisconsults brought to make new laws for them and to curtail their liberties; and if you take them with you simply for company I should think

* Ferrante Gonzaga, Governor of Milan.

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it would be much better to take instead of them, two or three gentlemen of the short-robe. It may be that owing to the business of the protest you may not have left for Siena when this letter arrives in Rome, and I have therefore thought well to say plainly what I think about this. His Majesty gets better every day, thank God, and my legs are also improving.

Sept. 2. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

In fulfilment of the orders sent to me by the Queen Dowager, I was at Hampton Court a few days ago; the members of the Council having returned thither from accompanying the Protector some way on his road to Scotland. Whilst I was there I had some chat with Paget, who, although he intended to withdraw from the active management of business, is still in charge of everything.

He asked me if I had not any news of your Majesty's health; and I told him that I had received private letters saying that your Majesty was in better health than the rumours asserted. Paget was rejoiced to hear this, saying how important it was, not only for your own subjects but for Christendom at large that God should preserve you for a long life. "For," said he, "yesterday I had a long conversation with the French Ambassador, who told me as news, of the indisposition of his Majesty; and in such a way as clearly showed which way their thoughts were running. The subject of their conversation, as Paget told me, was that the King of France said he had no other desire than to preserve peace, but complained, nevertheless, that the English should continue to fortify Boulogne; by which they proved that they had no intention ever to restore it. He complained also that the Scots had not been allowed to enjoy their inclusion in the treaty of peace. Paget said that he had replied to these representations that the English were carrying on no fortification works at Boulogne except those which were allowed to them by the terms of the peace treaty.

With regard to the Scots, he said that the clause in the treaty concerning their inclusion was so worded that it expressly reserved all existing treaties. Nevertheless, even if the Scots had been included unconditionally and the great seal had been attached to it as the Scots had requested, they would still be in their present position because they had since come and invaded the lands in the occupation of the King of England, and had assailed his places.

After some more conversation, Paget asked me whether the Protector had not told me something in secret, and I then communicated to him (Paget) what the Protector had said about the Duke of Parma and Piacenza, though I concealed from him that I had written an account of it to your Majesty. He then said: "It is very necessary that his Majesty should know of it, and it was by my advice that the Protector spoke to you on the subject. Besides that, when you write to his Majesty about it tell him also what is of more importance still, namely that the said Duke is entering into an arrangement with the King of

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France to resign to him the duchies of Parma and Piacenza in exchange for Avignon and the surrounding lands, both those belonging to the Pope and those belonging to the King of France, which the Duke (Pier Luigi) is to enjoy in perpetuity." Paget requested me very urgently to keep the matter quite secret and again repeated to me his wish that I should write an account of it to your Majesty as an actual fact. Whatever truth or otherwise there may be in this I presume that your Majesty will be better informed than anyone else. Paget still shows on every occasion his devotion to your Majesty. I also entertain him to the best of my ability, seeing that everything here goes through his hands, and that there is not one of them who can excel him in the management of affairs.

So far as I can learn from Paget, they are much in fear of the French, as they think they (the English) are quite able to defend themselves if any attempts were made to invade the territory they hold in the Boulognais. Paget told me that the Protector was to march into the enemy's country on the first day of this month, and he had no doubt that, by God's grace, he would perform some worthy exploit.

London, 2 September, 1547.

Sept. 2. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Madam: The same day that I despatched my last letters to your Majesty dated the 25th ultimo, I received by the bearer of the present, the letters addressed to me by your Majesty on the 13th August, respecting the Flushing ships of war which had been brought into the port of Harwich by the armed vessels belonging to the King of England. I had already written to your Majesty at length on the 17 August giving an account of all that had happened in the matter, and had reported that the ships had been released unconditionally, the property seized on both sides being mutually restored.

I thought therefore that the whole matter had thus been peacefully settled, especially as our people had not been at all blameless. One of our captains was confronted, first at Harwich and subsequently in my presence in London, with the principal Commander of the English vessels, and I was put very much to shame at having cried out too loud about it, depending on the word of our captain, who when he was face to face with the other failed to support his statements. I nevertheless extricated myself from the business as well as I could, maintaining all through that a great wrong had been done to our men. After the release had been granted by the Protector this captain of ours left to join the ships again and sail with them to Zeeland; but meeting on the road another captain, a comrade of his, he learnt from him that the vessels had already sailed, but that the restoration of the property seized had not been entirely completed. They had therefore left him (the second captain) in England to solicit the return of the remainder.

For this reason, Madam, and because your Majesty's instructions are so explicit, I travelled to Hampton Court as soon as I learned

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that the members of the Council had returned thither from accompanying the Protector some distance on his way to Scotland. When I saw them at Hampton Court I laid before them your Majesty's instructions, and insisted upon full satisfaction being given. They replied that our people had been the aggressors, having begun the trouble by plundering English subjects, and had even captured and held in their hands for four days the King's pinnace, which was of the utmost importance to them. They dwelt upon this with many words, but they concluded by saying that, notwithstanding all this, the restitution of the property seized had been made, as I was well aware: and the King, moreover, had been put to much expense in maintaining these men here for so long a time as they were in port. As for the restitution, they had ordered that it should be effected, and if there had been any shortcoming in this respect they would enquire into it when the English captain who had brought the Flushing ships into port had returned from Scotland where he now was. I think it necessary to report this to your Majesty as the present state of the affair.

London, 2 September, 1547.

Sept. 6. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Since I wrote my last letter of 2nd instant, nothing of importance has happened here, except that on Friday last six French galleys and two brigantines encountered in the Straits between Dover and Calais a well equipped vessel belonging to the King of England. After the galleys had one after the other cannonaded it for a long time they took possession of the English ship and carried it off. This has caused a great commotion amongst the people here, although the Council itself appears to attach no great importance to it. But the rumour is current that certain galleys with some fourteen or fifteen great ships full of fighting men have sailed toward Scotland from France to aid the Scots. It is asserted that the affray between the galleys and the English vessel arose out of the question of lowering the sails and saluting, which has so often been the cause of disputes between the English and the subjects of the Emperor. In these disputes the stronger party always seeks to carry off the glory though they often suffer for it.

There is no news yet from Scotland, although I have heard that on the arrival there of the earl of Warwick some of his men who were in too great a hurry to penetrate into the enemy's country did not all return. I am also given to understand that even if the English do not succeed entirely in their enterprise this year they intend to construct two fortresses on Scottish territory and in such a position as will enable them to make themselves masters of the rest of the country with ease. In his conversations with me the Protector himself made much of this plan. The English have disseminated certain printed letters with the object of persuading the Scots not to defend themselves against the English, promising entire liberty to those who join

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and the Queen of Scotland agreed upon by the Parliaments and estates of the two realms. Everything, they (the English) say, shall be without prejudice to the kingdom of Scotland, which united with England will assume a joint name and the people be called Britons.

Some time ago these people (the English) drew up certain articles in the form of an ordinance, according to which all persons should conduct themselves in matters of religion. As this ordinance was not officially published, but on the contrary so long deferred that it seemed as if it would never be put into operation, I hoped that everything would continue in the same position as before.* But since the departure of the Protector for Scotland the ordinance in question must have been issued, the effect of it being already apparent in the abolition of the sacred images in the churches. For the last two days these images have begun to be taken down and cast away at Westminster, and they will not even leave room for them in the glass. They have also suppressed some of the lessons in the Mattins service and have substituted for them the exposition of two chapters, one from the Old and one from the New Testament.

Mass is still celebrated, but in future it is not to be allowed on behalf of the dead. The Holy Sacrament is held in all reverence, and the Confession is observed; whilst in all the churches will be placed and kept the Bible, with the paraphrases of Erasmus Rotterodami. In the said ordinance there is a clause enjoining the citizens to hold the clergy in due respect, but four Commissioners are appointed to examine the clergymen and enquire into their knowledge, manner of life and income. All this has not been done without great murmuring amongst the people, but the worst of it is that the populace around London are too much attached to the sects and clamour for novelties of all sorts. It may well turn out that the question of incomes is the principal one.

Madam Mary has already returned from her journey. There is nothing more said about the former Lord Chancellor (Wriothesley Earl of Southampton). This week the Great Master of the Household (Lord St. John) is to come hither from Hampton Court to finish off the business of the Spanish merchants who were plundered by Renegat. The Controller Paget is also to come and see me about the arrangement of Lope de Carrion's claims. In this and the other various pending questions Paget displays his extreme willingness to get rid of all points of difference between us by some means.

London, 6 September, 1547.

*Postscript.*—Madam. Just as I was closing this letter I have been informed that a herald from France has arrived here and is proceeding in this very hour to Hampton Court. I have not

* The Royal visitation referred to had been, in fact, decided upon in April; and in May mandates had been issued by the Council suspending the ordinaries from their customary jurisdiction, and dividing ecclesiastical England into six circuits, each with a Registrar and other officers for the purpose of reporting upon the actual condition of the Church of England. The intended visitation was, however, indefinitely postponed shortly afterwards; and, as Van der Delft reports, the order upon which the visitors eventually proceeded in the discharge of their functions were not issued until 1 September.

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been able to detain this courier to send your Majesty information as to what his mission may be, but I will do so with all possible speed as soon as I can learn.

Sept. 6. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

I received yesterday the letters from your Majesty dated 23rd ultimo, with a letter for the Protector. As the latter has now gone towards Scotland, I will, with your Majesty's permission, retain the letter until his return will allow me to present it personally, which I will do on the first opportunity. By my penultimate and latest letters your Majesty will have learnt what the Protector, and subsequently Paget, had communicated to me with regard to the conduct of the Duke of Parma and Piacenza. Nothing of note has occurred since then except that six galleys and two brigantines from France were seen between Dover and Calais. . . .

(The rest of this letter is in substance the same as that from Van der Delft to the Queen Dowager of the same date.)

London, 6 September, 1547.

Sept. 12. Paris K. 1487.

FERRANTE GONZAGA to ST. MAURIS, IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE.

On Saturday the 10th instant certain gentlemen of Piacenza rebelled against the Duke and killed him. They thereupon sent advice of the occurrence to Pavia, Cremona and other neighbouring places, begging these to send a number of troops to them. Don Alvaro de Luna, commander of the fortress of Cremona, did so, and also decided to go himself. From Pavia there came also a captain who had been summoned. I, having heard of these events, came as far as Lodes, in order to ensure that this occurrence should not cause any injury to his Majesty or disturb the tranquillity of Italy, especially of Milan. When I was at Lodes, the aforementioned conspirators approached me by one of their number, Count Jehan Angusol, and informed me that they had delivered themselves from the hands of a tyrant, and would rather surrender the town to the Emperor than to anyone else, or else to restore it to the rule of the church* if I would concede certain articles to them, with the object of placing their country in a better condition, as they desired, this indeed having been their motive from the first. I replied that I would grant them everything they wished, if I was assured that they would not make any (further) innovations, it having been with this conviction that I had left Milan. I took this course because they were willing to give themselves over to the power that offered them the best terms, and the rivals of his Majesty were amongst those to whom they thus held out the hand; and I thought best to offer them as much as the others would, in order to avoid the obvious disadvantages that otherwise might ensue.

* It will be recollected that Paul III. had instituted his son Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Castro, Duke of Piacenza, which place was a Papal fief.

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On the return of Count Jehan to them they held a general Council, and after deliberation decided to submit to his Majesty the Emperor, and to me on his behalf. This resolution was conveyed to me, and I was informed that the troops they had summoned had entered the city (Piacenza). It was agreed that I myself should come hither, which I did this morning, having been received by everybody in the most gracious manner. I now remain here in peaceful possession in the name of his Majesty, to whom I have sent an account of all that has passed and await his commands. This is all that has happened hitherto, and I will duly put you into possession of what may occur in the future.

Piacenza, 12 September, 1547.

*Note.*—Although this letter has no direct bearing upon English affairs it is interesting to the history of the Reformation, particularly as coming from the prime mover in the murder of Pier Luigi and the annexation of Piacenza to the dominions of the Emperor. It need not be added that the events here briefly recorded vitally influenced the relations between Charles V. and the Papacy for years.

Sept. 18. Simancas Estado 806.

Italian letter, unsigned, dated from London, giving an account of the victory of the PROTECTOR SOMERSET over the SCOTS.

I have thought well to send you the present letter to inform you of the good news received from Scotland, where the army of our King of England entered on the 2nd of this month, and on the 10th encountered the enemy, who had a strength of 40,000 men. Thank God our side gained the victory with great destruction of the Scots, 15,000 of the latter being left dead upon the field, besides a multitude of prisoners captured, the greater part of the Scottish nobility being killed or taken. The Governor (the Regent of Arran) has escaped. They say that about 800 of our men were killed, and a few taken prisoners during some skirmishes early in the engagement. The Earl of Warwick, the general of our army, has laid siege to Edinburgh the capital of the country, and by this time it has probably submitted to him. The fleet had met the Scottish fleet and there was a severe fight between them, but, thanks be to God, our side proved the stronger, and our fleet is now at a place called Leith, which they intend to fortify; so that it may be hoped that our King (Edward VI) will have the whole country subject to him, either by force or agreement. The Queen has retired to a castle called Stirling which can hardly hold out against our force, for the Earl of Warwick is only four miles away, and the Protector with a fine force also; so that it may be captured if desired.

Sept. 19. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Learning that Controller Paget had come from Court and had immediately proceeded to the French Embassy, I sent to ask him to say when he was pleased that I should wait upon him. The following day he himself came to see me, and amongst much discourse touching the complaints of the Emperor's Flemish subjects against the English, I mentioned the really scandalous

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proceeding they have adopted in the casting down of the images which were here in the churches. I could not imagine, I said, that God would tolerate such actions for long, and especially since they were accompanied here by such contumelious behaviour, He replied that it was quite true that they had ordered to be removed the images of saints which were worshipped as miraculous, but that if anything beyond that had been done, the fault must lie with the Commissioners who in that case would be punished.

He then laughed and said: "Of course that was the reason why you sent and asked when you could speak to me"; whereupon I said that the reason why I had done so was that I wished to put an end to all the complaints and points of dispute, especially that of Lope de Carrion, upon which there was only one insignificant point now outstanding. I hoped, I said, that he (Paget) who had successfully found a solution for several other troublesome claims made by the Emperor's subjects, and had even brought Lope de Carrion's almost to a conclusion, would finish the work. He promised me to do so, and indeed, he effected it there and then, so that Lope de Carrion is now satisfied and will be recompensed by the enjoyment of certain privileges with regard to customs duties, in the form of what are called here licenses.

Since then Paget has sent me word that he has received letters from the Protector with great and glorious news of their victory over the Scots, and in order to learn full particulars of the matter I sent at once to Oatlands, where the King and Council are, with my hearty congratulations for the victory. Paget caused me to be informed that after the entry of the English forces into Scotland, the enemy had endeavoured to hold certain passages, but had always got the worst of it. The Protector had penetrated so far into the country that he was only four miles away from Edinburgh itself, and knowing that the whole army of the Scots to the number of twenty-four thousand men were advancing towards him, he had decided to be beforehand with them and to occupy a mountain which stood between the two armies. In order to do this he sent a body of two thousand light horse for the purpose of reconnoitering, who came into contact with an ambuscade of the enemy some of whom were killed and some captured.

On the following day, which was the 10th of this month, when the Protector was advancing towards the said mountain, he heard that the enemy was approaching him in order of battle; and he sent out his cavalry to skirmish with them. Upon their approach the advance guard of the enemy, who were on horseback, dismounted, and crossing their lances, which are in the same fashion as pikes, they stood together in such close order that the English could not do them much harm. The two forces were all the while marching towards each other until they were so close that they exchanged shots. The Protector then decided to send the Earl of Warwick with a good body of horse to take the enemy in the rear, and in order to carry out this operation more unobservedly, he took advantage of the wind and had some smoky fires lit. This enabled the Earl of Warwick to surprise the rear guard of the enemy who were so completely taken unawares that after making

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a very slight resistance they took to flight, the conclusion being that those who began the panic were those who have an understanding with the Protector. When the rest of the enemy's army saw their rear guard in full flight they followed its example, and they were so actively pursued by the English that there were some fifteen thousand of them either killed or taken prisoners, the Earl of Huntley being amongst the latter: he having been in command of the rear guard, and one of the principal of the Scottish nobles. When this Earl was led to the Protector's tent he said that all the Scottish nobility had been undone on that day, and that with two thousand horsemen the English might range whithersoever they pleased.*

The Governor (the Regent Arran) who led the battle escaped, and from what I can understand George, Earl Douglas, who formerly belonged to the (English) King's party, but had afterwards assumed another attitude, did his best for the advantage of the English during the engagement. On the same day that this battle was fought the King's (of England) ships with other vessels loaded with victuals entered the port of Leith, whither it is believed that the Protector has gone, and has sent a part of his forces with his Scottish adherents to take the city and castle of Edinburgh, where it is presumed that the Regent has taken refuge.

The courtiers here are not boasting so much about this victory, although they believe now that they hold the whole of Scotland in the hollow of their hand. They are even saying that it is not the valour of their men that has won them this great victory but the grace of God alone, since the enemy being so powerful and resolute to fight, was nevertheless so quickly defeated and with so little loss on their side. They calculate that they have not lost in all more than two hundred men, although private letters are to hand which speak of five or six hundred, amongst whom, however, there was no person of quality. The Earl of Warwick is greatly praised. Lord Grey, captain of Boulogne, was wounded, as well as others of position but none dangerously.

The French Ambassador here is sending a gentleman of his to Scotland to-day; but I have not been able to discover what his object is. I observe clearly, however, that this Ambassador is not so brave in words towards these people as he was before. In order to find out something about it, I asked Paget on what terms they were with the French; to which he replied: "We are fighting the French with words and the Scots with arms"; and at once changed the subject.

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* It is somewhat curious and certainly intentional that in this account of the battle of Pinkie sent by a minister of the Emperor—King of Spain, no mention whatever is made of the important part taken in the battle by the Spanish mercenary captains and other auxiliary troops mainly recruited from the Emperor's dominions. It will have been observed in a previous letter from Van der Delft to the Queen Dowager that he mentions that Somerset was dismissing his foreign mercenaries. So far from that being true the Spanish captains who had been in the service of Henry VIII were being assiduously courted by Somerset and their services as recruiting officers made much of. Particulars of these mercenaries and their services at the time will be found in the present writer's Españoles é Ingleses en el Siglo XVI.

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In the matter of this visitation of the churches and the introduction of certain articles in the services it is said that the bishop of London (Bonner) in accepting the same employed certain expressions very little indicative of obedience; as the Commissioners, who are none too favourable towards him, interpreted them. He has therefore been put into prison where he still remains.* I expect that the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) wise and circumspect as he is, will be more careful how he bears himself, and will accommodate himself to circumstances.

London, 19 September, 1547.

Sept. 19. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

(In a letter of this date, of which the first portion is identical with that of Van der Delft to the Queen-Dowager of the same date, the following additional paragraphs are contained, referring to the interview described at length between the writer and Paget.)

During the course of the same interview, in answer to an enquiry from him (Paget) as to whether I had received no letters from your Majesty, and how you were in health, I told him that I had good news of the convalescence of your Majesty, whereupon he rejoiced greatly. I told him also that I would not conceal from him that I had rendered such a report to your Majesty of what the Protector had communicated to me that your Majesty had sent me a favourable letter for the Protector. It seemed to me that this was exactly what he (Paget) had wished for, as he endeavours to support the interests of your subjects here more than anyone, and to respect all agreements with you, in order to keep your Majesty friendly and contented, in close amity with the King of England. This your Majesty will have understood by my letters touching the practices of the Duke of Parma and Piacenza; and, in good truth, there is no other member of the Council who so closely takes to heart all that concerns your Majesty, or who knows so much or can do so much as Paget, seeing that the Protector himself does nothing of importance without him. Your Majesty may perhaps think it advisable to confirm him in his attachment by a gracious word or two in a letter.

London, 19 September, 1547.

Sept. 19—Oct. 15. Simancas Estado 644.

THE EMPEROR to DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

In consequence of the Emperor's indispositions and frequent journeys, Mendoza's letters of 12, 16 May, 5, 19, 26 June and 14, 16 July have remained unanswered. The present letter will deal with all the open points in them.

* On the 1st September Bonner had taken the prescribed oaths of abjuration and supremacy in St. Paul's Cathedral: but when the Injunctions of the Council and Cranmer's homilies were presented to him he protested against compliance with them. He was summoned before the Council on the 12 September and retracted his protest. This submission, however, did not save him, and, as an example to other recalcitrant clerics, he was sent to the Fleet prison where he only remained until the beginning of October, being then released on cautionary bail.

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Your arrival in Rome and reception by the Pope, with the various addresses you have made to him in our name in discharge of your Embassy are all noted and approved; as is also what passed between you and the Legate Sfondrato at Viterbo, respecting the Council, the peace with France, the submission of England to the Church and the various points touching the Pope personally.

You have already been informed of the proposals made to us by the Legate at Bamberg, where he met us on the road from Saxony, and our reply to him. As he has not since then proceeded any further in his mission there is nothing more to say about it until we see what else he has to add.

Everything that you have said and done in the matter has been marked with the good sense, prudence and cleverness we always expect from you. If they should again broach to you the matter of peace with France, about which the Legate has not said a single word to us, you must get out of the subject with general expressions saying that you have no instructions, or authority to discuss the matter, referring them to us. You did well in visiting our daughter the Duchess of Camarino,* and at present there are no instructions to give you on the matter you enquire about. When anything is to be done we will advise you. Nothing but good can come of the compliments, etc., you have paid to Cardinal Farnese and the other Cardinals, but you must always be on the alert to be guided in what you do by your knowledge of the tendency and behaviour of each one of them.

With regard to the Council we refer you to what we recently wrote to you by the special courier who carried the protest. We have only to add that we entirely approve of all you have done and said on the subject. . . . . You may know however, that the Legate Sfondrato spoke with Granvelle lately, and said that a bull had been promulgated on the reformation, both in the matter of the rights of the datariate† and also touching the prelates. Granvelle replied, that in order that any such reform should be effected properly and sufficiently in the circumstances in Germany, it was desirable that before the bull was issued it should have been discussed with people who were conversant and experienced in what was needed to be remedied and redressed, especially in these parts. The Legate was unable to deny this, saying that such had been the intention, but it had been finally left as it was. If they speak to you in Rome on the subject of reform you may reply in the same way. Referring to your conversation with the Legate about the Pope, and your belief as to the instructions given to him to speak of the confirmation of Parma and Piacenza,‡ and even to touch on the matter of Siena, the Legate has not said a word on the subject yet. You will take care if they hint at it in Rome, to slip out of the subject with vague expressions, referring them to us.

* This was Margaret of Austria, the natural daughter of Charles, who had married Ottavio Farnese, the Pope's grandson, and became Duchess of Parma.

† The dataria was the office of the Papal Chancery.

‡ That is to say the confirmation by the Emperor of the cession of the dukedoms to Pier Luigi Farnese.

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They need be under no apprehension, as you say they are, about the honours and reception to be accorded by us to the Legate. He was received fittingly and in accordance with his position as Legate, and we are sure he will have reported as much to Rome. What you replied to the meddlers, who exhorted you to intercede between the Pope and us, was appropriate ; and you will continue in the same course.

Referring to Cardinal Farnese's professed desire to serve us, we need only remark that there is nothing to add to what we said on the subject when you arrived in Rome. We entirely approve of the way you have treated this matter, but you will always be on the look out to watch his (Farnese's) proceedings, especially if this new relationship with France by the marriage of Horatio (Farnese) be effected ; for although it appears to be a matter of very small foundation, it is easy to see that they want to make the most of it, and it is quite possible that there may be some secret negotiation. It is not likely that the Pope and his friends would depend alone upon the settlement of this marriage, since this cannot, in the nature of things, be effected in a short time, and cannot be guaranteed sufficiently.

As to Cardinal Farnese's talk to you of the wish to send Flaminio Ursino to France, it will be seen in due time that it is all nothing but vain babble unworthy of credit.

We approve of the change you have made in your habit of dress, the reason for it being that stated by you. With regard to your returning to long robes again, you will act with your usual discretion, as you may judge best, for the mission entrusted to you and your position.

We thank you exceedingly for the care you take to inform us of all you can learn from all parts as well as in Rome and we beg you to continue to do so.

Regarding the advice you send us of an alliance made between France and England, the alliance in question has been such a simple one that neither party has been satisfied with it nor assured by it. The present rulers of England have shown a desire, both by words and acts, to maintain, in any case, peace and amity with us, and in the agreement with France this has been specially stipulated by the English.

The bull for the 400,000 ducats from the half fruits and the fabrics of the churches which came to Sfondrato, was duly received and we thank you for your diligence in getting it despatched.

With regard to the treasure of the churches, it will be spent in this form until we get detailed advice from Spain of the amount that can be obtained from that source, and with what facility or otherwise, because it is said that it will not be so much as was thought and it would cause much scandal and ill-feeling.

Referring to what Cardinal Farnese said to you about the intention of the Pope, to the effect that if we did not approve of the assembly of the Council in Bologna he would make it all end in smoke ; and would hold a provincial Council in Rome effecting therein a good reform ; his Holiness, from what we hear here, will take very good care he does no such thing. Your own advices

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of his fear that we may put into effect what we said to his Nuncio on the matter, namely that we would go ourselves to the celebration of a Council in Rome, confirms this ; besides his Holiness will never willingly agree to make any such reform. With regard to Count Fiesco's galleys, no documents have been produced here to prove that they belonged to his Holiness or to Pier Luigi (Farnese) but it is only known that they (the Farneses) received eleven thousand crowns and occupied two places which belonged to Count Fiesco, and the galleys are held jointly on account of the purchase. It will be well for you to let his Holiness know this, continuing in the course already laid down for you on the matter.

Touching the request to the Auditor Mohedano to go to Bologna, we need say nothing more than has already been written to you, and we are obliged to the auditor for his having excused himself from going. The reports you send to me of the negotiations and marriage treaties they have in hand with Sr. de Pamblin, which may piously be assumed to have the French behind them, are a further reason to desire the exchange ; and we therefore beg you to manage to get this effected as you were instructed to do in our recent despatch.

We approve of your action with the Pope and Cardinal Farnese as soon as the disturbances in Naples occured, and of the reply you gave to their offers. You did well also in your reply to the Prince of Salerno's question to us. Thanks also for your promptness in seeking the money, and the precautions you took in case of need. We thank you for the advice in your letter to Idiaquez, respecting care of our person, and for your careful enquiries ; but God, in whose hands all things are, will dispose of us as He may deem best, and we can only trust in Him. Thanks to Cardinal Coria for his desires to serve us. We are writing to him direct, but you will also express our thanks to him, treating him with all honour and confidence, as he will be so useful and advantageous in our affairs.

The Bishop of Arras (*i.e.* Granvelle) spoke to the Legate Veraldo on our behalf, expressing displeasure that he should report things from here which were inaccurate, but he flatly denied it all. You will see him there (in Rome).

A letter of thanks enclosed for Cardinal Cornaro, saying that we are pleased with his action in our affairs. You can add what you think best in our name.

Nothing has been said to us yet about the marriage of Victoria (Colonna) with the Duke of Urbino. Your reply about it to Farnese was good. As to the rest of the plan, that Don Guiglio should be able to retain the dukedom of Sora, although he is a Cardinal ; we judge he will certainly act as he should with regard to our interests, and consequently we have conceded it.

Touching your remarks as to the way you should behave towards the Pope and his friends, and the course you propose to follow in this respect until you see a decided issue, namely that you should appear to be friendly with them ; it appears that they are making great capital with the people out of their professed friendship with you, especially (Cardinal) Farnese and you

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ask us whether these demonstrations are injurious for any other reason. You know all the circumstances, and in conformity therewith you may be guided in this particular by your own discretion, in which we trust entirely. You observe that, as the Duke of Camarino (*i.e.* Ottavio Farnese) is our son-in-law, it is desirable that you should know how you ought to treat him in the matter of precedency, etc. In this you will follow the same course as our other Ambassadors have adopted, behaving towards him (Ottavio Farnese) as towards others of his rank, and, besides this, having proper regard to his relationship to ourselves.

It is very wise to order the people of the Sienese who were in Rome to return to their republic and so to avoid the discussions that might have taken place with them.

The illness of the Duke of Camarino was at once recognised here, and, so far as was decently possible, we endeavoured to detain him. But as he has now arrived in Rome you will discuss the matter with Lope de Guzman and his wife as far as you may consider fitting, with a view to preventing the Duchess from catching the disease, taking care that no more scandal and annoyance may arise than can well be avoided.

We have seen the notes given to you by the lawyer, Juan Luis de Aragonia, respecting the churches of Germany. The business is not practicable but you may thank him for his zeal.

We will bear in mind about the Marquis de Cañete, and the services of the Cardinal and his brothers.

If you discover anything more against those who governed Naples at the time of the tumult, especially as to their understanding with the French, let us know. Do the same with regard to those sent secretly from Siena to ask the Pope for support, and take notice whether they go any further in that direction, which, however, is unlikely, seeing that the place has now submitted to us. The answer that our daughter the Duchess of Camarino gave to Cardinal Farnese about this Siena business was very wise, and was a fitting hint to them how they must negotiate with us.

We learnt immediately from Don Juan de Mendoza, of the deliberation of the Seigniory of Venice on the proposal for a defensive League put forward by the Pope and the French, the decision being such as you have always said it would be. We shall thank you always to send us the reports you get from there (Venice) and elsewhere, knowing also that you will still do all you can with the Venetian Ambassador in Rome, as you did when the talk about the League was current.*

We have never had much belief in the marriage of Horatio (Farnese) with the bastard daughter of the King of France. Find out whether it goes forward, and if they are still giving to Horatio the Lieutenancy of the Island of Poncia; and inform yourself what damage or disadvantage may be caused to our interests if they build the castle there, as you say they propose doing, etc.

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* Mendoza had formerly been Spanish Ambassador in Venice.

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The Cardinal of Jaen is in fear that because he was at Trent and did his duty with regard to the Council, the Pope may try to deprive him of the pre-eminence in the church to which Cardinals are entitled. It is not right that, either for this or any other reason, the cardinal in question should be injured in any way. He resided in Trent in discharge of his service towards God and ourselves. As we are moved by the same object, we desire you, if necessary, to speak to the Pope about it, endeavouring that the Cardinal shall not only receive no injury for what he has done but all possible grace and favour.

You will already have been informed of the dispute between his Holiness and the Prince (Philip Regent of Spain) about the claim to the inheritance of the deceased Bishop of Sagon. So much time has passed without any decision being arrived at, and the Prince has had such strong representations made to us that it is unjust that he should be denied justice any longer. We have accordingly written to the Viceroy of Naples, telling him to take possession of it (the inheritance) in the way laid down in the copy of the letter you will receive with this. We send it you, so that if you are spoken to about the matter in Rome you may answer in conformity therewith. We may remark that the Pope has on several occasions pressed us to have justice done in Naples, but we have always deferred the matter, or have conceded the request with the limitation that attempts should first be made to settle the matter by a friendly agreement.

You will see by the enclosed narrative of a Dr. Saco, a close familiar of Count Fiesco, who was saved from the galley that fled from Marseilles, and who is now in Turin, how the plot of Genoa was woven, and who were those that took part in it, with the connivance of his Holiness and his son Pier Luigi. You will be informed by this, and you will make use of the intelligence as may be convenient. You will also enquire who is this Chevalier Fodrato who managed the business, and see whether you can lay hands upon him.

We note what you say about the election to the Pontificate, and the detailed particulars you give, showing that the choice is limited to a few persons who appear most convenient or least prejudicial to us, of all of whom you give us the tendencies and record, etc. This business is all the more grave and important, inasmuch as we have seen and experienced the great disadvantage and dis-service to God's cause and to our holy faith and Christianity at large, arising from the election of unfit Popes. It is true that, with very great reason, we have always wished to avoid any interference with the elections to the Pontificate, as they are affairs which should be guided by the Grace of the Holy Ghost and by means ordained by law and canonical sanction. But in times such as these, with Christendom in its present condition, we could not with due regard to our conscience, seeing the evident peril of ruin to Christianity, stand aloof from the business, nor neglect to do what we could to secure the election of a Pontiff favourable to God's service. In order that the trouble that we have taken to this end may not be impeded by the election being

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conducted improperly we have had every detail examined and considered, in order that the next election shall fall upon a person favourable, or least prejudicial, and we have considered closely the personal information given by you. The result seems to be that the competition lies between Cortes, Sadoletto Sfondrato and Moron ; but as we have so slight a knowledge of their parts and inclinations, and considering that their present attitude might change the moment the Holy See was vacant, we cannot easily decide which of these would be best. We have therefore determined to refer the matter to you. The importance of it is so great, and the secrecy and tact in dealing with it so vital, that we depend upon your forwarding it with all necessary care and caution, inquiring and watching closely which of these persons has the greatest following and the most apparent chance of being elected. At the same time you will reject the others that are unsuitable, being guided throughout by extreme caution, especially with regard to Cardinal Farnese. Your own remark respecting this latter will guide you, he being, as you say, such as he is and with so little courage. As to the tendencies of Santa Flor and Salviates in this respect it may piously be concluded that when the grandfather (*i.e.* Paul III) dies many of those who adhere to him now would change their attitude. It may be that amongst the Cardinals favourable to us there may be some from whom light may be gathered as to the most suitable action to be taken, and you may enquire from them with all secresy their opinion, and find out whether Cortes is a statesmanlike person. Cardinal Carpi has always shown himself to be a good adherent and servant of ours, and excellent reports have come to us of his exemplary life and virtue ; you will consider and enquire if he offers any prospect of success when the opportunity arrives and the help we could give him, etc., etc.

Closed 7 October, 1547.

Sept. 21. Vienna Imp. Arch.

GRANVELLE to VAN DER DELFT.

Your letters of 25 August and 2nd and 6th of the present month were duly received some ten days ago ; but as the Emperor left yesterday on a hunting expedition to recuperate his health after his long illness your letters have remained unanswered. The English Ambassador resident here is desirous of sending off a courier with reference to the reply which his Majesty has given him in the audience of yesterday, his Majesty having referred him to me to enter more fully into communication on the matter. I have therefore thought well not to miss the opportunity of writing to you, in order to inform you what has passed with the English Ambassador, and at the same time to tell you that his Majesty will be glad if you will write him very ample news of everything that is passing in England.

His Majesty was gratified to learn particulars of your conversation with Secretary Paget. You may assure him and others that there shall be no shortcoming in the good and sincere friendship at present existing. I am enclosing you herewith a duplicate of

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the information we have received from Italy detailing the death of Duke Pier Luigi (Farnese), which you may convey to the above mentioned Councillors as you think most convenient.

With regard, now, to what has passed with the English Ambassador here: he opened his discourse by expressing to his Majesty the pleasure with which the Protector had received the reply recently given by the said Ambassador, of which reply a copy has already been sent to you. He then proceeded to say that the Protector had gone to Scotland with a powerful army, and hoped whilst there to perform some worthy exploit: he was, however, very desirous, if possible, to learn what his Majesty thought was the best course to adopt in coming to terms if peradventure in the presence of the English army the Scots should show themselves more reasonable and conciliatory than hitherto. The Ambassador incidentally, and as if on his own account, here remarked that it seemed to him that the French were trying by means of their usual tricks to sow distrust between the Emperor and the English.

The Emperor in reply said that he had heard with the greatest pleasure the good news of the favourable progress of the (English) army, and with regard to the suggestion of a possible arrangement with the Scots, he must defer a definite reply until the Queen Dowager had been consulted on the matter. As to the intrigues of the French referred to by the Ambassador, his Majesty said that he (Dr. Thirlby) should be convinced of his friendship and determination to fulfil the treaties with England; but that he might discuss affairs at length with me (Secretary Granvelle), and I would declare fully to him what has passed here with the Sieur de Lussac.

The English Ambassador afterwards came to me for this purpose, and we discoursed on the abovementioned subjects. With regard to M. de Lussac's negotiations, I told him that Lussac had prefaced his address by asserting emphatically the inviolable intention of the King (of France), his master, to observe strictly the treaties that had been made by the late King (Francis) his father. He then went on to say that he had proposed a marriage between Madam Margaret of France the King's sister and the Prince of Piedmont. This was all that was said by Lussac, and the Emperor in reply said that he, for his part, also intended to fulfil the treaties in force. As no mention had been made by Lussac of the King of England it was thought unnecessary for the Emperor to refer to him, having regard to the inclusion of England in the treaty of Crépy. Referring to the matter of the marriage, the Emperor replied that that was a subject which principally concerned the Duke of Savoy, and the Emperor therefore desired before proceeding further to learn the Duke's wishes with regard to it. Nevertheless his Majesty would be glad for the marriage referred to to take place, as a means for the general welfare and the tranquility of Italy conditional upon the authority and rights of the Holy Empire being duly respected. The best news I can write to you in addition to this is that his

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Majesty the Emperor is now quite well. You will do well to write as often as you can all the news from England.

Augsburg, 21 September, 1547.

Sept. 22. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Madam: To-day Controller Paget and the Chancellor of the Augmentations* came to my lodging to inform me that after the victory that they (the English) had gained over the Scots,† the Governor (the Regent Arran), who is staying with the Queen (of Scots, the Queen Dowager Mary of Lorraine) at a castle called Stirling, expressed a wish to treat with the Protector. The latter, however, having regard to the treaty at present in force between the King of England and the Emperor would not conclude any arrangement with the Scots without the consent of his Majesty. They (the English Councillors) continued that they were aware that the French were extremely irritated by the said victory and had sent all their galleys to sea, presumably in order that they might attempt something to the detriment of England. They (the English) were very anxious to prevent any such enterprise and to end the matter with the Scots; but nevertheless they would not, even with this object, enter into any understanding until they obtained the acquiescence of his Imperial Majesty, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty. As his Majesty was, however, so far away and time pressed, they begged me to tell them what my opinion on the matter was, as their greatest desire was to fulfil scrupulously the terms of the treaty.

I replied to them that they were quite right in wishing to respect the treaty with the Emperor, as his Majesty had always observed it inviolately, and they knew that the Emperor was at present in a state of war with the Scots solely in fulfilment of the treaty obligations. The Scots, I said, had sought by every possible means to bring about an agreement with the Emperor, but their advances had always been rejected in accordance with the treaty. Having regard to all this, I said, and seeing that the Emperor was maintaining the state of war with the Scots solely out of consideration for them (the English), my opinion was that his Majesty would be glad that the war should be brought to an end with as little bloodshed as possible, always on the condition that his Majesty and his subjects were fully satisfied.

He (Paget) replied that no arrangement that did not effect this would be concluded by them, and all through he gave me to understand that the proposal for agreement was brought about by the victory. He prayed me to write to your Majesty with all speed, in order to learn as soon as possible your Majesty's wishes on the matter.

Madam, so far as I can perceive, these people (the English) will not make any agreement with the Scots unless they can obtain posession of the young Queen and the occupation of all the ports. The Protector is inside Leith and has sent some of his troops further up the river of Leith (*i.e.* the Forth) which

* Sir Edward North.
† The battle of Pinkie.

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is about a German league broad; and there are some islands there, of which the Protector thinks of fortifying one, which would suffice to guard the whole of that coast. The victory was gained without any great loss on their side in the way I described in my former letter to your Majesty. Since then they have captured all the largest of the Scottish ships to the number of thirteen. It looks to me as if they had no doubt about being able to make themselves masters of the whole of Scotland. Copy to the Emperor.

London, 22 September, 1547.

Sept. 22. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

(The letter is in substance identical with that of Van der Delft to the Queen Dowager of the same date.)

Oct. 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. The QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

We have hitherto delayed communicating to you our intention with regard to the negotiations of yourself and Councillor Van der Burch with the English Commissioners in the matter of the exaction of duties which are demanded without warrant by the English from the merchants and merchandise of these dominions, and also in the matter of many other private claims and complaints of the Emperor's Flemish subjects. The reason of our delay in dealing with these questions is that we considered that the death of the King would cause the Councillors to be so busy in the direction of the young King and in the settlement of the affairs of the realm that they would not have leisure to attend to the subjects referred to.

We have now, however, caused the report of yourself and Councillor Van der Burch to be maturely considered, and we note that the English Commissioners remain practically at the same point with you as they took up at Bourbourg with the representatives that we sent thither in the year 1545, with the exception that the English have exhibited to you certain registers and books of their dues, by which they claim to prove that the customs and tallies in question have been levied in England for a hundred years past, according to the declaration made upon a sheet of paper commencing with the words *Compendium eorum vectigalium, etc.*, which the said Commissioners delivered to you. We have had the contents of this statement communicated to some of the merchants here, who find it quite preposterous and untrue, for the reasons set forth in a certain document which has been drawn up in the form of a remonstrance, and also in view of several Acts of the Parliament of England, of which we are sending you herewith Flemish translations.

After you have thoroughly studied all these documents and incorporated them, it will be advisable for you to place them before the English Council and discuss the matter with them, with a view to redressing the various evils complained of. You will request the Councillors to be good enough to furnish you with extracts of the Acts of Parliament since the year 1445, which is the year

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specified in the commercial treaty providing for the payment of dues by the merchants of these dominions; "*such as were exacted in the said year of* 1445." By such Acts of Parliament it will appear that several of the duties which the merchants here have been made to pay have been imposed subsequent to the aforesaid year 1445, and also that the books which they have produced to you, and from the contents of which they have drawn up the *Compendium* above mentioned, are false and have been concocted to suit their own contentions and pleasure, as you will learn by an attestation made before the King of England's Justice immediately after the reply of the merchants was made.

We send you herewith a portfolio with several extracts from the reply that the English Commissioners at Bourbourg handed to our representatives there at the Conference. You will see plainly by the contents of this portfolio that the merchants of these dominions have been in the past greatly robbed, and large sums extorted from them in England over and above what was warranted by the Commercial treaties. This ought to be stopped for the future, both in accordance with equity and also in view of the confession made by the English Commissioners (*i.e.* at Bourbourg). We are sending you the original reply; so that you may, if necessary, produce it. You had better request that the confession referred to, and also the declaration, shall be despatched as Letters Patent to ensure attention, and to prevent the English officers from continuing their exactions; each one may then know exactly what he has to do and to pay, which hitherto has been most difficult to ascertain in consequence of the perversity that has been displayed with regard to the exaction of these duties. If they raise any difficulty to granting the Letters Patent you request, on the pretext that the merchants on this side have complained without reason, and that the amounts demanded of them in the past have not been such as stated by them, but only such as is confessed by the English Commissioners in their reply, you will say that even if this were the case, the Letters Patent would still be necessary, because if they be needed there are innumerable witnesses to testify to the said exactions. At all events it is necessary that Letters Patent of the Confession referred should be despatched; so that at least in the future these illegal demands may not be made. The officers at present do it easily for their own private benefit and still will do so unless the abuse is obviated in time, as will be done if these Letters Patent are despatched. If, after all, your efforts to obtain this are fruitless, and you find that they will not issue the Letters Patent referred to, you will insist at least, that the reply in question be signed and certified by one of the principal Secretaries of State.

It will also be advisable for you to enquire very carefully whether in the coming Parliament or any other that may in future be summoned in England, any new duties or imposts are likely to be granted to the new King, and if the tonnage and poundage tax, which was a charge imposed in the time of the late King and for his life only, will be continued. You will give us full

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information on these points, in order that we may provide for the indemnity of the merchants here as we may consider advisable.

With regard to the wools, in the handling of which the merchants of the staple of Calais commit many faults and abuses, which up to the present time the English Commissioners have refused to redress or prevent, we send you the commercial treaty (*traictie d'entrecours*) concluded in the year 1522, which, as you will see, is made for a specified period, and will expire by the effluxion of time and King Henry's death in seven or eight months. You will accordingly sound the members of the King's Council to discover what their inclination is with regard to remedying the abuses referred to, either by a new commercial treaty or by some other means by which the trade may be properly regulated, since it is entirely impossible to tolerate the present abuses any longer.

It is, moreover, plainly evident by the negotiations that took place at Bourbourg and also by those carried on by you and your colleague Van der Burch, that the English Commissioners have been unwilling to put an end to the grievances of so many of his Majesty's subjects who have been disgracefully pillaged and rifled by the English both at sea and in England itself, notwithstanding all the efforts and solicitations that have been made to prevent it. It is now really necessary, once for all, to have a definite settlement on the point, and we send you herewith also a portfolio containing all the information and particulars, by which, in addition to what you already have learnt on the subject, you may be thoroughly conversant with the present position in which the matter stands. You will endeavour by the aid of this information to obtain a settlement by means of amicable and mutual discussion, on the best terms that you may find possiblo, and as speedily as may be, in order that the persons who have been plundered may recover that of which they have been unjustly deprived.

If you see that all your efforts to come to an arrangement are frustrated by the delays, subterfuges and other pretexts raised by the English Commissioners, you may demand officially, in the name of his Majesty the Emperor, that these complaints and claims of the merchants here shall be submitted to the decision of a legal tribunal, before judges who are not open to suspicion, appointed for the purpose. You will also expressly require that these cases shall be dealt with summarily and plainly, without the form and procedure of regular lawsuits, the sole object being to verify the facts alleged. As to submitting cases of this sort to the ordinary legal procedure in the Courts, we have hitherto learnt by experience that the long delay and great expense incurred make such a course quite insupportable to the unfortunate persons who have been despoiled, especially as, after all, liftle or no redress is gained in this way. By doing justice to the Emperor's subjects in the manner now suggested, they (the English) will not only be acting as they ought to do, but they will be obliging us greatly, which will naturally incline us to favour

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the English merchants, and other subjects of the King of England who reside in or visit these dominions.

Brussels, 1 October, 1547.

*Postscript.*—It will be better for you to keep the reply referred to (*i.e.* the reply given by the English Commissioners at Bourbourg to the complaints of the Flemish representatives) and the other original documents sent to you, so that they may be ready to hand if they are needed.

Oct. 2. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to VAN DER DELFT.

In reply to your letter of the 22nd instant, I am in doubt as to whether affairs are so far advanced as Controller Paget gave you to understand with regard to an arrangement being arrived at between the Protector of England and the Regent of Scotland, before you could receive this reply to your letter, in which arrangement the Emperor and his dominions would be included in general terms.

You will therefore persist in the contention you have already advanced in your communications with Paget, that his imperial Majesty is at war with the Scots solely for the purpose of pleasing the English; and that the Scots have for some time past been offering to treat with his Majesty, if the latter had been willing to listen to them. This the Emperor has always refused to do, so as not to contravene the terms of the treaty of close alliance. For this reason the English should be all the more scrupulous on their side to respect and safeguard the interests of his Majesty and his subjects, and to avoid negotiating with the Scots without the Emperor's consent. They (the English Government) will otherwise be unable to deny that they have violated the provisions of the said treaty.

Although I do not believe that his Majesty would desire in any way to hinder the conclusion of a fair peace and good friendship between him and the English on the one hand, and the Scots on the other, especially now that the victory gained by Protector seems to provide a favourable opportunity for bringing about such a desirable end, his Majesty nevertheless could not acquiesce in any treaty, unless it provided that he and his subjects were entirely compensated and satisfied for the unjust pillage, robbery, damages and losses, which the Scots have committed upon them. The treaty that the English propose to make with the Scots must therefore be regarded as conditional upon the fullest satisfaction being provided for his Majesty and his subjects, at least to the extent of the property plundered from them subsequent to the signature of the treaty made between England and France, in which both the Scots and his imperial Majesty were comprised, a certain period being fixed for the indemnity to be effected, failing which the English should be bound to declare themselves at once the enemies of the Scots, in accordance with the clauses of the treaty of close alliance. In addition to this they (the English) should also include in their treaty with Scotland not only his Majesty's Flemish and Netherlands dominions, but generally all his realms, territories and

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dominions whatsoever, no matter where situated, and more especially should Spain be comprised by name. With this proviso, and the guarantee for full satisfaction being given as aforesaid, I have no doubt that his Majesty would willingly accede to the said treaty, as you may see by the extract of a letter from his Majesty written to me on the 12th October, 1546, which I send you enclosed.

You will make Paget clearly understand that I have no special power to give the Emperor's general consent to any arrangement, but I have gone so far as to write the aforegoing to you in order not to lose the opportunity that apparently offers in the interests of peace, having no doubt that if the two points specified above are covered clearly and specifically, the treaty being made subject to his Majesty's ratification the Emperor will be pleased.

For more ample information I refer you to what I wrote in my letter dated 2 December last, with the memorandum attached, giving full particulars of all that had hitherto been negotiated with the Scots. But it will not be necessary to mention at present the agreement made, as the English will negotiate with the Scots. You must, however, maintain in principle that the Scots should be bound to surrender what they have captured from the merchants of these dominions, and from the Emperor's Spanish and other subjects, subsequent to the treaty (of peace) made between England and France, this being in accordance with the principle maintained by the English as against the Scots, namely that the latter have violated the said treaty (of peace) with France, both by reason of the pillage of which they (the English) have been the victims, as well as the subjects of the Emperor. Take great care not to go beyond this until you receive a reply from his imperial Majesty.

With reference to the excuses the Protector advances for not issuing a written order for the restitution of the estates in the Boulognais to the Emperor's subjects to whom they belong, I find the pretext a very poor one, and but ill harmonising with honesty to have granted a thing and then refuse to put it into writing for execution, without which formality the subjects will never recover possession of their property. You will therefore renew your representations to the members of the Council, to obtain in writing the order of the Protector on the subject; and if you cannot get this notwithstanding your efforts you will urge, at least, that they should give you a special order for the Lady Françoise de Luxembourg, Princess de Gavre and Dowager Countess d'Egmont, to be restored to her estates of Fiennes and its appurtenances, to enjoy the same as she enjoyed them before the commencement of the last war between England and France. Ask for a similar order in favour of the Sieur de Mourbecque, the Captain of Aire, in right of his wife for the estate of Souverain Moulin with its appurtenances. If they refuse separate orders such as these it will be absolutely useless for us to send the general statement of all the estates claimed by the Emperor's Flemish subjects, which I do not see my way to do. But if the two claimants above mentioned are restored to the

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possession of their properties the others will come and declare their claims, and you may assure the members of the Council that I shall denominate no person who is not a loyal and bona fide subject of the Emperor not attached to the French party. If they (the English Councillors) will not consent to grant the special orders requested, it will be a clear indication that they do not intend to make the restitution at all.

Touching the matter of the three Flushing ships captured by the English and released after they had completely ransacked them, it is true that our people confessed that they first seized the pinnace coming from Scotland, under the impression that it was a Scottish vessel, and as the soldiers who were on board refused to produce their papers, our people had good reason to retain possession, without incurring the liability of being plundered for doing so; for, as the saying goes, return good for evil (*mal prendre et bien rendre*).

This occurrence has come very inopportunely seeing that I had caused orders to be given to all the war ships at sea to favour and assist the English to repel the Scots, and that a good understanding should be maintained with the former to annoy the common enemy. This the others have not chosen to do, having heard of the ill treatment that was meted out to these Flushing ships. For the English to defer the restitution of the property captured by them until the return of the captain from his Scottish journey is tantamount to saying that if he does not return from Scotland the Flushing men will not get their property at all. When the captain returns from Scotland they may well send him somewhere else, or he may absent himself; so that, after all, these poor subjects of the Emperor will remain despoiled, without knowing how to obtain redress or restitution. You will again bring this matter before the members of the Council, so that they may take such steps as will ensure these people of ours obtaining restitution of that which was taken from them as is their right under the treaties.

It is satisfactory to learn that Lope de Carrion has been satisfied, although I presume that he has not received all he claimed but has accepted what they were willing to give him. Please do what you can with Controller Paget so that the others who have been unjustly prejudiced may also receive satisfaction, and on our part there shall be no failing to provide that prompt and strict justice shall be accorded to any English subject who may have received damage here since the treaty of close alliance. Up to the present no person has made any representation to me to that effect, and I conclude from this that none of them have been prejudiced by acts of injustice, nor would I permit such a thing to be done.

Brussels, 2 October, 1547.

Oct. 6.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Since I wrote my last letter to your Majesty on the 22 ultimo, the members of the Council have sent to ask me whether I had not received a reply from your Majesty to the message brought

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to me by Controller Paget, which I conveyed both to your Majesty and to the Emperor. It appears to me that they are extremely anxious to obtain the consent to negotiate with the Scots, and the only reason that I can imagine for this is their distrust of the French.

As your Majesty's letter arrived here yesterday evening I sent this morning to inform Paget that the reply had reached me. He had, however, already left London to go and meet the Protector, who is expected to arrive here in three or four days. I expect that directly he arrives he will seek me to learn his Majesty's intentions on the matter that concerns them so much, especially if it be true as is reported that he (the Protector) has granted safe conducts to certain Scottish nobles to come hither to treat with him on behalf of the Queen (Dowager of Scotland) and the Regent. In any case, Madam, I will not proceed further than your Majesty now instructs me to do, until I receive other orders from you. I will nevertheless entertain them with fair words such as those suggested in your Majesty's letter, and I will not fail to impress emphatically upon them that unless and until the entire and prompt satisfaction for the damages inflicted upon his Majesty's subjects, and the inclusion in the proposed treaty of peace of all the dominions and territories of his Majesty wherever situated, especially the realms of the Spanish crown, his Majesty will never agree, no matter what arrangement they may come to otherwise. This of course is only reasonable.

It is reported that the Protector has continued to prosper in Scotland; he having captured several fortresses in which he has distributed his army, and he expects to be able to hold all the country as far as Edinburgh. The principal port of the river of Edinburgh is Leith, but as at low tide this place is dry, the Protector has had fortified a little island lying in the river near Leith, the name of which is given as Saint Colmes. Further on, beyond St. Andrews, in another river (*i.e.* the Tay) they are fortifying a place called Broughty Crag, which is a rock they think they can make quite inaccessible, and they consider it to be the key of the whole district. So that with all these strongholds, and the fortresses they have taken called Hume Castle, Roxburgh and Blackness, they consider themselves the masters of the principal part of Scotland and the whole of its navigation.

I have sent to Court every day to learn news of the progress of their arms, but I can hear of nothing beyond what I have already written to your Majesty. It is certainly a most extraordinary thing that no one has come from those parts, big or little, except those sent by the Protector to the Council, no private letters having been received at all.

Controller Paget has sent to tell me how, and in what manner, their ships have captured the Scottish vessels. It seems to have happened as follows. A Scottish gentleman of rank named Beton, an inhabitant of Leith, came to the Protector and feigned a willingness to place in his power all the great ships of Scotland, of which he was the commander. He requested the Protector to send the English vessels to the place whither he (Beton) had

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sent the Scottish fleet, a place far up the river. The Protector listened to his proposal and ordered the English ships to proceed to the place indicated by Beton, the latter accompanying them. When they were approaching the Scottish ships Beton caused the English to put him ashore, for the professed intention of fulfilling his promise. But as the Scottish ships were observed by the English to be drawn up in good order under the shelter of the fortress of Blackness, and it was seen that they had placed all their artillery on the side the English would approach, the latter understood Beaton's falsity: for when they drew near the whole of the Scottish vessels opened fire upon them at once, more than twenty (English) men being shot dead and a great number wounded. In the end, however, the English mastered them, and carried off with them the principal of the Scottish ships, burning those that they could not take. Some of these ships have already arrived in England with the ships of the King of England, and they are now in the port of Harwich. The Protector, recognising that Beton had tried to deceive him, and had fled, set fire to his house in the town of Leith, and this has caused the destruction of the rest of the place.

There is not so much being said about the French galleys as before, although they have heard that the King of France intends to arm them with the Germans. The bishop of London, who has been in prison, has been let out on bail, as it is said; and the bishop of Winchester has been put into prison where he still remains, in very good spirits as I have heard.* An ambassador from Portugal recently arrived here. His name is Fernando de Silveira, and he comes well provided, it is said to reside here. I will discover whether he has any special mission.

London, 6 October, 1547.

Oct. 6. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

(The letter is in substance identical with that of Van der Delft to the Queen of the same date.)

Oct. 7. Simancas Estado 644.

The EMPEROR to DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

When we returned from our hunting expedition† the Legate Sfondrato requested audience, which we granted on the 2nd instant. He began his address by congratulating us on our health, saying that our hunting and the country air had done us much good, as he saw by our colour and strength. He then

* Gardiner had remonstrated very earnestly with Somerset and the Council against the expediency and legality of the visitations; and had demanded permission to come to London to argue the matter before the Council. He was allowed to do so, and on the 25th September he made his speech to the Council in Somerset's absence in Scotland. He failed to convince the Councillors, who thereupon asked him his intentions as to his obeying the Injunctions. His answer, given after long deliberation, was considered to be evasive by the Council. He pleaded for more time and further discussion before he gave a decided answer; but the Council was obdurate and he was taken at once from the Council Chamber to the Fleet, a prisoner.

† According to Van der Noss, the Emperor left Augsburg on the 19th September, after a serious attack of jaundice, to hunt in Bavaria returning to Augsburg on the 1st October.

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deplored his own misfortune, which he attributes to his having come at a time when discontents and turbulence prevailed, this preventing him from being able to do what he had desired. To all this we replied in general terms.

After this preface he spoke of Piacenza, dividing his discourse into three points. First he dwelt upon our rectitude and goodness, saying that everybody would believe, since we were so catholic, just and virtuous a prince, that we could know nothing of the conspiracy there. But as to Don Fernando (Gonzaga) he had, on the day before the revolt, made preparations for the event in Pavia, Cremona and other neighbouring places; and this, in addition to other indications, produced the conviction that he was almost certainly a party to the affair, and had an understanding about it with the conspirators. But from our own actions it would be seen whether his Holiness had any grievance against us. The Legate pressed for prompt action; and gave us to understand that if due satisfaction was not given to the Pope trouble and disturbance would ensue.*

The second point was to dwell upon the affection that Duke Ottavio had always displayed towards us, and upon his services to us, and the consideration we owed him on account of his relationship towards us and our affection for Madam (*i.e.* Margaret Duchess of Camarino the Emperor's daughter) who had borne two sons to her husband (Ottavio). Notwithstanding the ill feeling between the Pope and ourselves, he said, Ottavio had never ceased to follow us, and had continued to devote his life and property to our service. If for no other reason but this, he said, we ought to show signal favour as was fitting, to the Duke in the matter of Piacenza.

The third point was the respect due personally to the Pope, and, although his Holiness confessed his political distrust of us, he had always shown the greatest esteem and respect personally to us as a good son, prince and Catholic. Apropos of this the Legate set forth what the Pope had done for us, and how much money he had spent and the help he had given us always, and especially during the last troubles in Germany where he had sent 600,000 crowns. After reference to other general affairs he said that his Holiness did not desire to mix these up with the affair of Piacenza, and thus he ended his speech, pressing hard for the restitution of Piacenza, saying that the sooner it was done the better the world would recognise what was universally expected of our justice and goodness.

We answered, avoiding the references to our person, leaving, as we said, the world to judge of our actions. We had, we said, always held Don Fernando to be a truthful man, and we could not therefore refuse him credit in what he had written on the subject, as the Cardinal himself had seen in his letters. But if Don Fernando had consulted us we should not have been in favour of his entering Piacenza nor of his accepting its surrender,

* That is to say for the murder of the Pope's son Pier Luigi Farnese Duke of Piacenza, and for the acceptance by Fernando Gonzaga on behalf of the Emperor of the custody of the city which was a Papal fief.

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although we had always been of opinion that Don Fernando had done as he did with very good reason, and believing that it was for the best, moved by the suspicion that the French or others might at once have taken possession of the place whilst it was thus divided. This would have caused much inconvenience to the State of Milan, which was entrusted to Don Fernando; and it was his duty to safeguard its interests and defence. This was Don Fernando's view, and in the circumstances it appeared to us that if we had been in his place we should have done the same in order to avoid its (Piacenza's) falling into other hands.

But as we had only just returned from hunting and had not yet entirely heard what Algarzin had to say, we were still only partially informed on the matter; which we would consider later. This brought us to the question of Duke Ottavio, of whom we said that, of course, we loved him as a son, and had always been satisfied with him. We had also been much displeased at the death of the Duke (Pier Luigi Farnese) his father, and even at the entry of Don Fernando into Piacenza. But this had now been done; and, as we had frequently said when in our private negotiations with the Pope the latter did not act fittingly, we were not to be expected to consider either the Duke (Pier Luigi) and his sons, or even our own daughter. With regard to the Pope's vaunting of what he had done for us, we said that all the world knew what we also had done in return for the benefit of his house, and the respect we had had for his authority and for the Holy See; more than had been shown by any other Christian prince, whereby his Holiness had drawn great advantage from our realms and dominions. It was true, we said, that he had helped us in the German enterprise, but it was notorious that very much more had been spent upon that enterprise by us; and all the world knew how the Pope had left us at the most critical time when the greatest need existed for the forces to bring the people to submission on the religious point after the danger in which the Pope placed us by the publication of the articles in Switzerland. This had immensely complicated the business as our forces were not mustered at the time. We also set forth what occured to us of the actions and attitude of the Pope hitherto, and in answer to the Legate's remark as to what difficulties might arise, we said that we were perfectly aware what the Pope could do in Italy. But if his Holiness tried to stir up trouble, without there being any just cause of complaint on the part of his Holiness or others against us, we could so manage as to take care of our own affairs and obviate any fresh undertaking to our detriment.

We thus gave the Legate to understand that nothing would be gained from us, nor would we be deviated in the least from what was right and just, by all these discontents and dissatisfactions of the Pope. With regard to his remark that the Pope did not wish to mix up this business of Piacenza with affairs in general, we said that we quite agreed with this: it had never been our custom to mix up our private questions with public negotiations, whereas the Pope had always done so. The worst of it was

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that he had continually spoilt general business by insisting upon dragging in his private interests, and had sacrificed the public welfare on that account. It might well be, we said, that these events of Piacenza and others of a similar sort, were a judgment of God in punishment for this.

We then returned to the point of the occurrences of Piacenza, as the Legate continually called it, and we repeated that, as we had just returned from our hunting expedition and had not yet heard fully Don Fernando's envoy, Algarzin, the whole matter would be considered later and such action should be taken as seemed desirable. The interview then closed.

After this there came to us Sforza Palavicino, who had been sent by Duke Ottavio. He said that, as we had already been informed of the events of Piacenza and the death of Pier Luigi, the Duke (Ottavio), with his love for us, upon whom he alone depended, hoped that we would bear in mind and consider the right and justice he had on his side. He complained of Don Fernando de Gonzaga who had treated him so harshly, not in the past alone, but now in wishing to occupy the territory of Parma, proceeding with as much rigour in the matter as if he (Ottavio) was a traitor and a rebel against us. This and the shame he felt at seeing himself thus misused by our ministers caused him more pain that had the death of his father and the loss of Piacenza.* We answered him in the same way that we had answered the Legate, but without touching upon the Pope's business. Both the Legate and Palavicino pressed us for a definite answer; but for the present, until we have considered the business maturely we have only caused to be given to them the reply which you will see by the enclosed copy. The Legate considered this reply not so definite as was desired by them, and he requested that it should be given to him in writing. He was told that as he himself confessed that he had no special instructions from the Pope to discuss the matter and we could not go any further than we had done.

We have given you full information of all this, in order that you may act in accordance if the Pope and his friends speak about it. It is supposed that this despatch will reach you in Siena, but as you can go from there to Rome in twenty-four hours you will consider whether it will not be advisable for you to go thither, in order to carry out this Commission and discover their intentions; giving us full account of what they reply, and all else that seems necessary.

Oct. 10.
Paris
K. 1487.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

(In a letter of this date giving an account of French armaments, detailed elsewhere in this Calendar, the following paragraph occurs relative to the victory of Pinkie and other English affairs.)

* In the Simancas Archives (Estado 1193) the document sent by the Piacenza conspirators to Gonzaga exists. One of the conditions they attached to their surrender of the place to the Emperor's general was that on no account should they ever again be handed over to any member of the Farnese family. The terms were accepted by Gonzaga, hence the Emperor's difficulty.

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"In accordance with your Highness's instructions to advise you of events in England since the departure of Schippières, it is confirmed that the King of England has won a battle against the Scots, in which the victorious army was led by the Protector in person. About fifteen thousand Scots were slain, with two thousand prisoners, amongst whom was one of the principal Earls of Scotland, whilst the Governor of the realm was pursued to the gates of Edinburgh, in the fortress of which place he has taken refuge. This castle is extremely strong.

"The English army is still in the country doing all the harm it can, and a week after the aforesaid battle there was a naval engagement in which the Scots lost most of their ships, some captured and some sunk. The widowed queen and her daughter have retired to the remotest part of Scotland, and the Scots have lost all their artillery.

"Sire, in consequence of so many English ships having been seized in France the King of England has caused about forty French vessels to be arrested in Dover, on the pretext that the English merchants had demanded that this should be done. The Dauphin (Henry II.) has complained of this as being a violation of the freedom of trade, and the answer given to him through the English ambassador was to the effect that as no justice was done to them in France they had availed themselves of this means, as being more efficacious than making claims here. The Dauphin was much put out at this reply, and at once sent six of his galleys to sea which captured an English ship well armed, and also subsequently some merchant vessels. Since then, however, these two monarchs have entered into negotiation on this matter, and at the present time arrangements have been made for simultaneous restitution on both sides. The English stood out firmly that their armed ship which had been captured by force should be restored first, but the Dauphin's council refused to consent to this.

"So far as I can gauge affairs here, Sire, the Dauphin will not commence war on the King of England unless he first makes terms with the Emperor. This may be taken as certain. In this connection your Highness will doubtless have heard of what has passed with M. de Brissac, who has proposed a marriage between the Prince of Piedmont (*i.e.* Emanuel Philibert of Savoy) and Madame Margaret (of France), the Dauphin ratifying the treaties of peace but still not restoring Piedmont. The Emperor decided to refer the question to the Duke of Savoy. Your Highness will also have been informed of the death of Pier Luigi (Farnese) and that Piacenza is in the possession of the Emperor, a thing which annoys the Dauphin extremely; for he had negotiated the marriage of (his daughter) with Horatio (Farnese) in order that the latter might bring Piacenza to him. This Pier Luigi had agreed to; and he was to have the Duchy of Bourbon in recompense for Horatio. The latter at the instance of the Dauphin started at once for Rome to beg the Pope to establish him in Parma, so that the Dauphin may still have his hand in it. But I hear that Ottavio (Farnese) Duke of Camarino, has been beforehand with him, and I conclude that he would be on the

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side of his Majesty (the Emperor). This makes the Dauphin more desperate than ever, for his whole plan turns upon his dominating Italy, and then to commence war before the death of the Emperor.

"The Cardinal of Guise has gone post to Rome, in order to negotiate with the Pope and then to exhort the Venetians to enter into the League, which the Seignory has hitherto refused to do.

"I have news of the Emperor of 20th September. His Majesty was well and the affairs of the Diet were in a good way."

Earnestly begs for money for his support. He has had to borrow money, as three years' salary is due to him.

Melun, 10 October, 1547.

**Oct. 12.** FERRANTE GONZAGA to the EMPEROR.

Simancas Estado 1193.

"Even if Peter Strozzi comes to Italy at the Pope's instance, as Don Diego (de Mendoza) writes, I shall have excellent facilities by means of Aloysius Gonzaga of having him killed, making use for the purpose of the ministers of the Duke of Florence, one of whom is here for the purpose, in consequence of the private enmity which exists between the Duke and him (Strozzi) which will cover the homicide.* But I have not likeed to resolve upon this matter by myself, in order to avoid the occurrence again of the case of Fregoso and Rincon; for in these times anything is seized hold of to condemn your Majesty,† and I ask you therefore to let me know your wishes.

"The person of this man (Strozzi) is in my judgment of the highest importance to the interests of the French, for lacking him I do not see any other person of strength on their side belonging to the faction, or anybody able to lead or succour them. For the same reason it is of great importance to your Majesty's service that he should be put out of the way. Pray send me your instructions but with all celerity, so as not to lose our instruments, and I will have it executed without hesitation."

In the margin of this letter there is a long note written by Eraso, which runs as follows:—"He is quite right to think of this, and if it is thought well to consider the matter, it may be referred to the Duke of Florence, to whom it might be communicated

* The Duke of Florence was Cosimo de' Medici, who was married to a Spanish wife, daughter of the Duke of Alba, and was strongly supported by the Emperor. The Strozzi family had opposed him, in union with other Florentine malcontents, on his accession after the murder of his predecessor Duke Alessandro, and the head of the family, Filippo Strozzi, had been captured by him after an abortive attempt at revolution and had been tortured to death. The brothers Strozzi then entered the French service and forwarded to their utmost the French designs in Italy. The feud between them and Cosimo was therefore a double one, and such as could only, according to the ethics of the time, be ended by death of one or the other party.

† This case happened in 1541. Cesare Fregoso and Antonio Rincon two renegade subjects of the Emperor were employed by Francis I. in negotiating an anti-Imperial league between France, Venice and Turkey. On their way through Lombardy for this purpose the two diplomatists were waylaid and murdered by Spanish troops under the orders of the Marquis del Guasto the Viceroy of Milan. Francis I. was loud in his complaints and the matter nearly precipitated the war which in fact did break out three years afterwards. The Emperor disclaimed the crime, but the French adherents insisted that it had been committed by his connivance and by that of his high officers.

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by Don Fernando. In conversation with Don Fernando de Toledo the other day the Duke said he would do anything to get hold of this man. In fact the whole aim and object of Peter Strozzi and his brother with the rest of the confederates is to be revenged on the Duke of Florence, and they will spare no effort to get him into trouble. It would be on the whole perhaps better that he (the Duke) should be free from this, and the French could hardly hate him more than they do now in any case. They are only dissembling their hatred because they can do no more, and are awaiting an opportunity to injure him, which will not be easy to find if this man (Strozzi) is out of the way."

*Note.* The above letter like all of those from Gonzaga are in Italian, but Eraso's note is in Castilian, evidently intended for the Emperor's guidance.

Piacenza, 12 October, 1547.

Oct. 15. Paris K. 1487.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER of HUNGARY.

My previous letters will have informed your Majesty of the condition of affairs between the Dauphin* and the King of England, and it is now reported at Court, it is said on the authority of a great personage, that the Constable and Paget are to meet and confer as to the best means to bring about a more sincere understanding between them, and especially with regard to the observance of the last treaty.

As this report still continues here, I, being anxious to find out what truth there was in it, asked the English ambassador here whether it was the fact. He replied that he knew nothing about it, but that he himself had heard that a few days ago the Dauphin sent a gentleman to England on an important mission though he (the ambassador) had not been told anything further. So far as regards the dispatch of this gentleman, Madam, that is quite true. He is the man who was previously sent to the King of the Romans, and his name is M. des Cordes, who to my knowledge has recently made several voyages to England. It is said, indeed, that it is he who is managing the attempts to bring about a fresh understanding between the Dauphin and the English King. In the course of my enquiries about the business I have sought to find out from Olçacius what it really amounts to. He replied that all he knew was that des Cordes had been sent to exhort the King of England and his Council to suspend their hostilities against the Scots, and to offer the Dauphin's good offices to bring about some understanding between them. He will, he says, undertake to get the Scots to consent to any reasonable and tolerable conditions. The Dauphin was almost obliged to take this step, because in the present circumstances he could not succour the Scots, and he did not wish, moreover, to engage himself in this labyrinth, even if he had the means, without first making some agreement with the Emperor; and he was therefore in hopes of being able to bring about an understanding between the English and the Scots. I know not, Madam, what will come of it, but

* It will be noted that St. Mauris still continues to call Henry II. "the Dauphin," although he had succeeded his father some months before.

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I have no doubt that the Dauphin will try his best to persuade the King of England to some such understanding, though the English will not very willingly consent, unless very good conditions are given in their favour. This is the opinion of the English ambassador who assures me that they have almost conquered Scotland for themselves.

He also declared to me that he thought there would be some difficulty about the ratification of the last treaty (with the French), because the sending of the Prior of Capua (Leon Strozzi) to Scotland was regarded by them (the English) as violation of the treaty; besides which it was notorious that Captain Combes and several others had previously gone to Scotland to assist against the English, with the full knowledge and approval of the King of France. The latter, moreover, had deferred the payment of the instalment of the pension due on the 1st May last, in contravention of the terms of the said treaty. These were points which he (the English ambassador) thought would be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, he said, the Protector and the Council would not refuse to enter into any good peace negotiations with the Dauphin.

In this connection he also said that the mutual restitution of ships taken on both sides had not yet been effected; the reason for this being that the Protector was still of opinion that the return of the English ship of war captured by force should first be restored. This claim had again been pressed here and the Dauphin had refused to accede to it, whilst his Council were still more strongly opposed to it. It would be, they said, too great an indignity for the Dauphin, and they had, as before, decided that the whole of the captures should be simultaneously restored on the same day. The ambassador told me that he had sent advice to this effect to his King.

He then went on to say that the Constable had conveyed to him the same observations that he had made to me, without his having learnt from me of the bad offices in the matter effected by certain ambassadors in England. But he added; thank God things were still sound between them, and that nothing would be done on the part of the Dauphin which would give occasion for a rupture. His (the Dauphin's) intention was to observe the last treaty, and if any difficulty arose respecting it, an arrangement would easily be arrived at between them; adding that they were receiving great offers on the part of the Emperor. I presume, Madam, that he (the Constable) invented this part of it, as is the custom of these people, in order to get better terms from the King of England, and under this cover to mix themselves up with Scottish affairs. The Dauphin is extremely anxious to succeed in this latter object, as he sees clearly that otherwise Scotland will be utterly lost and nearly ruined. He has this subject much at heart, and would avoid such a wound at the beginning of his reign, especially as he was the cause of the war by sending his force to St. Andrews, and the English ambassador makes the most of this fact by constantly hammering it home. This habit of the French of inventing whatever will best suit their purpose makes me think

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that the Constable almost certainly feigned his reply to me when he tried to excuse and justify the proposals made for a league against the Emperor, namely that the ministers of the Emperor had made other proposals in writing even more opprobrious, which I take to be mere forgeries made for the purpose supporting their evil deeds by such lies.

Oct. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to PRESIDENT LOYS SCORS (LOIS DE SCHORE).

I cannot avoid writing the present letter to you, because the principal members of the Council here have very urgently requested me to write to her Majesty the Queen, praying that good and prompt justice should be done in the cause of the bearer of this letter, one Derek Bourne, a servant and factor of the late Duke of Suffolk, in a case now pending before the Council of Brabant against Pierre Imhoff. It appears by the memoranda and certificates that the Council have sent to me, for the purpose of attaching to my letter to her Majesty on the subject, that the Queen has on a former occasion given closed letters to the same end; and consequently I have not considered it advisable to importune her Majesty in the affair again. I am therefore sending to your Lordship the said memoranda, etc., by which you will see that every sort of delay and procrastination has been employed there (*i.e.* in Brabant) and that the closed letter of her Majesty has produced very little effect. During the Duke of Suffolk's life I was very frequently requested to recommend this lawsuit to the tribunals at Antwerp, so that a prompt judgment might be obtained. I have also been pressed to grant similar letters by the opposite side, who begged me not to give credence to everything that was alleged against them. In view of this it certainly seemed to me that it would be most expedient that the question at issue should be submitted to and decided by arbitration, and I am still of that opinion. Your Lordship would be doing a good service to both litigants if you got two arbitrators appointed to decide between them, one arbitrator to be a member of the Privy Council (of Brabant) and the other a member of the Chancellery. Monseigneur Scheiff was formerly fully conversant with the details of the case, as it was thoroughly ventilated at Antwerp. I would have enclosed herewith the letter the Duchess of Suffolk has written to me about the affair, but I am unwilling to worry your Lordship too much in the matter.

London, 18 October, 1547.

Oct. 18. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DEFFT to the EMPEROR.

When the Protector arrived here from Scotland I thought it would be most advisable for me not to wait upon him until I was invited to go and inform him of your Majesty's intentions with regard to the treaty that might be made with the Scots. I was confirmed in my opinion upon learning that the greater part of the troops that the English had in Scotland were being withdrawn and returning, and also that the Scottish Commissioners who were

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expected here to discuss conditions were to go to Newcastle and negotiate with the Earl of Warwick who has remained in that town. In view of this, moreover, it appeared to me unlikely that the Protector would leave the enemy's country in the full flood of his success without some sort of treaty, understood or projected with the Scots, nor would he, I should imagine, leave the whole settlement to the Earl of Warwick. I was also, not yet informed of your Majesty's absolute intention, and I consequently deferred my visit to Court pending the receipt of more definite and special commands from your Majesty or from the Queen Dowager, and to see whether the Protector would communicate to me what had taken place. But up to the present I have not been summoned nor has anyone been sent to visit me, of which I know not the cause, unless it be their old custom in their times of prosperity.

The day after the arrival of the Protector the French ambassador was with him at Hampton Court, with a gentleman who has been sent hither by the King (of France). So far as I have been able to gather, the mission of this envoy concerns the release of the ships embargoed on both sides, which they appear to have arranged; though the envoy was not here long and did not have much communication with them. Perhaps the Protector has put off sending for me until he returns to London, where he is expected within the next two or three days. I will promptly advise your Majesty and the Queen of what passes.

The Bishop of Winchester is still held prisoner, and firmly maintains that he is not bound by the new regulations recently published with regard to the services of the church; since they were not ordered during the lifetime of the late King Henry,* nor sanctioned by an act of parliament, although I understand they very shortly will be.

London, 18 October, 1547.

Oct. 18. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received your letters of the 22 of last month, and have learnt what Controller Paget communicated to you touching the treaty proposed between the English and the Scots, which he tells you is being sought by the Queen and the Regent of Scotland, but which they (the English Government) will not discuss without our consent, in order not to contravene the provisions of the treaty with us, and he Paget requested you to acquaint us with the fact and also to inform the Queen Dowager of Hungary.

Since then the Queen Dowager has sent us a copy of the letter she wrote to you on the subject in answer of your letter, instructing you fully how you should proceed with the English if the treaty referred to is concluded by them. It will therefore

* Gardiner's contention was that Henry had changed his mind in his later years. He took his stand upon certain decrees that had been passed in Convocation making innovations in ecclesiastical affairs illegal until these decrees were repealed and a new command given by the King. *See* Gardiner's letters in Strype's *Cranmer*.

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be unnecessary for us to give you detailed instructions on the matter here, and we enjoin you to be guided entirely by the letters of our sister, and let us know as frequently as possible the state of affairs there. If the treaty is negotiated please also send us the particulars of it, and of all else that occurs. We send you herewith a letter for Controller Paget, in accordance with what you wrote to us recently, to the effect that he displayed some signs of jealousy at the letter we addressed to the Protector. You will dispose of this letter to Paget as you think desirable for the interests of our affairs, and in order to confirm Paget still in his attachment and devotion towards us.

*Postscript.*—Since writing the above we have received your letter of 6th instant and have made ourselves acquainted with the progress of events in England up to that date. We thank you very much for so constantly keeping us informed of occurrences there, and we enjoin you to continue to advise us of all events. For the rest we refer you, as we say above, to the instructions that were given to you by our sister touching the proposed treaty between England and the Scots.

Augsburg, 18 October, 1547.

Oct. 18. The EMPEROR to CONTROLLER PAGET.

Vienna Imp. Arch.

Very dear and well beloved. My ambassador resident in England has informed me of the good affection that you constantly display towards the preservation of the friendship and amity between the King your master, my good brother and cousin, and myself, and in all other things concerning and tending to the good neighbourship between our respective subjects and the restitution of property on both sides. The ambassador has also acquainted us with the confidential information you have given to him on the state of affairs generally. We thank you very affectionately for all this, and you may be assured that on my side the most sincere and entire reciprocity shall always exist, and if at any time it may happen that I can give you pleasure I will do so. I shall always be singularly desirous of hearing good news of the progress of the King's affairs, as my ambassador will tell you more at length. I beg you to give full credence to what he says, and also to believe me when I say that you will find me very ready to do anything that may give you pleasure.

Augsburg, 18 October, 1547.

Oct. 21. The FLEMISH COUNCIL OF STATE to VAN DER DELFT.

Vienna Imp. Arch.

Since the Queen Dowager's departure from this city and her Majesty's enclosed letter was written, the Lady d'Egmont has informed us that in order to obtain an order for the release of her lands situated in the Boulognais she had sent to the English ambassador resident here to ask him kindly to give her letters of recommendation to the Captain of Boulogne, so that she might gain a good issue of her affair and secure the disembargo of her lands the more expeditiously. The English ambassador had thereupon told her that the King of England did not intend to

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restore to the Flemish subjects the lands they had held in the Boulognais, and consequently he did not see his way to oblige her in the manner stated. He added that he knew very well that the intention of the English Councillors was not to restore the estates in the Boulognais. This is entirely contrary to that which you have written to the Queen Dowager, to the effect that the Protector was willing to make the restitution, but that for certain reasons he did not wish to give a written warrant to that effect.

There has also arrived here the Sieur Dyne, the father-in-law of Sieur de Mourbecque, lord of the manor of Souverain Moulin in the Boulognais by right of his wife the daughter of the said Sieur Dyne. The latter gentleman declared that Sieur de Mourbecque, in conformity with what you recently wrote to the Queen Dowager, had sent to the English authorities at Boulogne, a clerk to obtain the raising of the embargo on the said manor of Souverain Moulin; but he had been told that it was not their intention to restore any of the property situated in the territory in their occupation.

In consequence of this, and in accordance with what you have written to her Majesty, we direct you to insist very strongly and emphatically to the members of the Council that a written warrant should be drawn up in accordance with the Protector's promise to you, or at least that separate and special warrants should be granted for the release of the estates of Lady d'Egmont and Sieur de Mourbecque, in order that no failing should occur in carrying out the Protector's pledge.

We also wish to inform you that the commercial treaty made in the year 1522 for the conduct of the wool trade in England and the staple of Calais will shortly expire in consequence of the death of the King (Henry) of England. We have been informed by some merchants here who some time since went to Calais to buy wool that the merchants of the Staple refused to sell any to them, saying that they would sell it at a much higher price after the expiration of the said commercial treaty than they do at present. It is necessary to consider beforehand the provision to be made for indemnifying the poor subjects here after the expiration of the treaty, and we request you to weigh the whole matter carefully as stated above, and write your opinion as to how it may be remedied for submission to the Emperor and the Queen Dowager. You will, however, for the present make no mention of it to the members of the English Council, nor press the subject in any way until you receive further orders from their Majesties.

Brussels, 21 October, 1547.

Oct. 21.
Simancas
Estado 644.

The EMPEROR to DON JUAN DE MENDOZA (Spanish Ambassador in Venice).

(Gives a long account of the audience granted to an ambassador from Venice, in which the Seigniory assures the Emperor of their great regard and esteem for him, and their determination not to interfere in any way with his action in Piacenza.)

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The following paragraphs of the letter are of interest.

"You well know the reasons that exist for our displeasure with Lorenzo de Medici, and that he should not go free from punishment for his grave crime. As he usually makes Venice his lurking place you will let us know whether he is there now; and if you can find means to have him killed secretly, so that the Seigniory may not have any grievance with respect to their liberty.*

"You will tell Titian that we should like him to come here to touch up (aderezar) the portrait of the Empress now in heaven, which arrived here somewhat injured on the road two years ago. Tell him to bring with him the pictures and you will see to provide him with some money for his expenses on the journey. Let us know the amount and urge him to come soon." †

Augsburg, 21 October, 1547.

**Oct. 21.** Simancas Estado 806.

VAN DER DELFT (FRANCISCO DELFOS) to PRINCE PHILIP.

Pray your Highness pardon me for continuing to trouble you with my letters, but I am afraid that I should be blamed if I neglected to give your Highness advice of what is passing here.

Your Highness will have learnt from my former letters that the English had raised an army of twelve thousand infantry and four thousand horse to go against the Scots, who had with a large force entered into territory held by the English, and had captured certain places, whilst the French galleys had taken Saint Andrews.

After this, when the Protector had arrived on the Border and had found his army under the earl of Warwick in good order and well supplied, he entered into the lands of the enemy before they expected him. He thus gained the passage without damage, although the Scots had thought to hold it with a very few men, which seemed perfectly feasible. The Protector pushed on until he was four miles from Edinburgh, where he took his stand so near the enemy that there was only a brook between them. This the Scots crossed in order to occupy the two hills which flanked both armies. The first of these hills they managed to gain; the English were before them with the second, and the two armies met there. Although the Scots had twenty-four thousand men the fight was soon over, for without any need whatever they were seized with panic and began to fly. They thus lost more than ten thousand men, the English gaining the victory, taking amongst other gentlemen the earl of Huntly, who is a person of great

* Lorenzo, or Lorenzino, de' Medici as he was usually called, was the inhuman monster who had with his own hands murdered his comrade in debauchery the Duke Alessandro de Medici, the first husband of Margaret the legitimated daughter of the Emperor (afterwards married to Ottavio Farnese). Lorenzino had fled after his crime to Venice, the refuge of most of the Florentine refugees in opposition to the new Duke Cosimo son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere. In fact Lorenzino was murdered in Venice in the following year 1548, but I am not aware that it has ever been suggested that the crime was committed at the instance of the Emperor, as this letter shows was the case.

† With regard to this portrait, which now hangs in the Museo del Prado in Madrid, *see* the Emperor's letter to Diego de Mendoza in Vol. VIII. of this Calendar, p. 258.

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estimation amongst his people. The Governor (*i.e.* the Regent Arran) who was also present at the battle contrived to escape.

A few days later a certain John Beton, a Scotsman, came to the Protector offering to put into the hands of the English all the principal ships of the Scottish realm, of which he was the commander. It was arranged that Beton should accompany the English fleet for this purpose, but Beton's ideas were quite different from what he professed and he took care to have the (Scottish) ships anchored in a position where they could only be attacked on one side, and arranged to have the whole of their artillery ranged on that side. When he with the English fleet came in sight of his (Scottish) ships he directed them to put him ashore, so that he might the better forward the plan, instructing the English to approach the Scottish ships slowly and he would surrender them. But his real design was to put himself in safety and witness, as he hoped, the destruction of the English fleet. As the latter gradually approached the Scots, unsuspicious of treachery, it was received with a great cannonade, but although the English suffered somewhat they forced the Scottish ships to surrender, some of which were brought to these parts and the rest were burnt. In the Forth near Edinburgh they burnt a place called Leith and upon an island near called St. Colmes they built a fort which they (the English) still hold with two other fortresses well manned and provided, so that they have now subdued the greater part of the Scottish border country.

The Protector returned hither a few days ago, and the rest of the army is also coming south. After the battle the Regent of Scotland demanded a safe conduct for certain of his gentlemen, in order to discuss terms of agreement. The safe conduct was granted; but when they (the Scots) knew that the (English) army was dispersed they sent word not to expect them. This causes the English to distrust the Regent and his people the more. Whatever settlement may be arrived at will have due regard for the Emperor's interests.

There is not so much suspicion of France here as previously, because since the King of France sent his galleys to help the Scots he has not been so favourable to them. But if circumstances do not prevent it we may be sure that there will be trouble next summer. I hope to God that the League he (the King of France) has made with the Pope will not cause injury to his Majesty's (the Emperor's) interests, as it is believed by many here that it will.

These people (the English) have taken it into their heads to do away with all the images in the churches except the Crucifix and a few of the Virgin. The bishop of Winchester is detained in consequence of these passions. God remedy them, as He may see best. Pray your Highness forgive me for my prolixity and bad writing. I would write in French if I thought your Highness would prefer it.*

London, 21 October, 1547.

* The Spanish in Van der Delft's letters is in fact very laboured and imperfect.

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Oct. 22.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

The FLEMISH COUNCIL OF STATE to VAN DER DELFT.

The deputies of the towns of Harlem, Delft and Leyden, have represented to us that for many years past the commerce and industry of drapery have been carried on, as they are still carried on, in those towns, and for the convenience of the same, and in accordance with the commercial conventions in force, it is customary to obtain the fleeces and wools necessary and proper for the trade from the Staple at Calais. For some little time past however, it would appear that the drapers of England desire to monopolise for themselves the whole of the drapery trade, and to turn the merchants on this side out of it altogether; and they have accordingly placed obstacles in the way of these latter, depriving them of the sheep's and lamb's fleeces, sending only the residue of the fleeces to the staple so poor and thin as to be almost useless; so that the people on this side can hardly do anything with them in their drapery trade. This results in great injury and loss to the Emperor's customs dues, and also to those of the King of England, since they (the Flemish clothworkers) receive fleeces and wools from Spain.

The Dutch deputies above mentioned therefore request us to give you the information contained in this letter, so that you may open the question to the people there and obtain some proper arrangement, in accordance with the commercial conventions in force. Having regard to the fact that the Commercial Convention of 1522 is about to expire in consequence of the death of the late King (Henry) we have thought well not to delay writing to you on the matter. It is of very great importance, and we request that you will on the first opportunity you can get represent the whole question fully and cogently to the Protector and the other members of the Council and officers of the King. You will not let the matter drop, but will show to the English ministers that in the interest of the continuance and maintenance of the close and sincere alliance at present existing between the Emperor and the King of England and their respective countries and subjects, they (the English Government) will have to devise a good and ample provision with regard to the abovementioned affair, so that the people on this side may be able to pursue their customary trade and dealing in fleeces and wools at the Staple of Calais, in the ordinary exercise of their business, as they have done in times past without obstacle or hindrance; otherwise it may be feared that the Emperor, for the purpose of indemnifying his subjects, may be moved to take the matter in hand and to dictate some fit remedial measure. You will advise her Majesty the Queen Dowager with all diligence of all you do in the business, and what satisfaction you obtain.

Brussels, 22 October, 1547.

Oct. 23.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

As a gentleman is leaving here now to go direct to his master the bishop of Westminster,* I wrote to the Emperor, as your Majesty

* Dr. Thirlby, English ambassador with the Emperor.

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may see by the copy enclosed. Since then Controller Paget came to see me on behalf of the Protector and the Council, to ask if I had not received a reply from your Majesty touching the matter respecting which he had recently addressed me. I told him that very lately a special courier dispatched by your Majesty had brought me a letter from you on the subject, and I had wished to let him know, but that when I sent he had already left to meet the Protector.

Since the arrival of the latter in London, I said, the rumours that one heard on all sides seemed to indicate that the reply in question came too late, as I heard that they were already arranging with the Scots, and all appearances tended to confirm it, especially that the whole army was returning. I heard, moreover, that the Scottish deputies were not coming to London after all, and would not pass the Newcastle border. As I had been unable to learn anything except what was publicly talked about, and they (the English Councillors) had communicated nothing to me, I had written to the Emperor the letter abovementioned in accordance with what I had heard.

Paget replied to this: "You have not done well; for your know perfectly, and are also aware of our fixed determination never to depart in the slightest degree from the terms of our treaty with the Emperor, and not to admit anything which may in any respect whatever be an infraction of it. You ought not to have changed your opinion of us in that way, and above all you ought not to have given to the Emperor any reason for entertaining the least suspicion of us. The reason why you have not been kept informed of anything fresh was that there was nothing fresh to tell, except that pending the arrival of the Emperor's acquiescence in the negotiations, which in accordance with the treaty should properly come to us by his Majesty's own letter, we have agreed that the Scottish peace deputies might come to Berwick or Newcastle. They are, however, now staying behind; and the Regent has sent to say that we are not to expect them there. So that you see that Scotsmen always will remain Scotsmen with neither loyalty nor law. Nevertheless the earl of Huntly who is a prisoner promises to do wonders for our advantage if we will allow him to return to his own country to carry on the negotiation with the nobles, amongst whom he possesses great authority. But warned, as we have been, by so many examples of the unreliability and vanity of such promises, we are nevertheless disposed to prove Huntly's good faith in the matter on condition that he leaves here as hostages his three sons and his wife. The latter we are insisting upon because he holds her in such high esteem, and the Scots are naturally little regardful of their children. We are also stipulating that if we let him go he is to leave here some of his nearest kinsmen, who must consent before they leave Scottish soil to the extreme penalty being inflicted upon them in case the earl of Huntly fails to return to London on the day fixed beforehand."

I asked Paget whether the earl of Huntly had accepted these conditions, and he replied. "No: not yet, but they will be

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proposed to him to-day. But in any case we are sure to keep the upper hand in Scotland, as we have fortified three places and have there a strong garrison." I said that I had no doubt of it if the French did not meddle and interfere with them. To this Paget replied: "They have not up to the present shown any appearance of doing so: the only thing being that when the English ambassador in France had given the King an account of the victory they had gained, the King seemed much grieved that the matter had gone so far, and that some pacific agreement had not been arrived at without such a terrible effusion of blood. He expressed this in very courteous words."

In order to sound Paget as to how far they still trusted the French, I remarked that I had not been in a hurry to show myself at Court since their return, as I knew they were so busy with the gentleman who had come from France to negotiate with them. Nevertheless, I said, I was not over jealous of this. Paget replied that the gentleman from France who was here is M. des Cordes, and he came simply about raising the embargo on the ships seized on both sides by the English and the French. They had been fully pre-advised of this gentleman's coming by their ambassador in France, who had seen all his instructions, as they had given notice to the French that they would not in future negotiate with any French Commissioner whatever, unless they could inspect his instructions. They had been moved to this course by what had happened in the past in respect to Paulin's mission; the present King of France having repudiated the arrangement he had made with them on the ground that Paulin had exceeded his instructions. When des Cordes had left here, therefore, he had lodged with them in writing the instructions he had received, and they gave him in writing their reply, which was to the effect that the embargoes on both sides should be raised.

I remarked that it was a wise course whilst banishing such occasions for misunderstandings to guard oneself against the French. Paget replied to this. "They will never deceive us, for we never have any trust in them: and, as for the menaces they have favoured us with, they are not nearly so threatening as they were, since the confederacy that the Pope has entered into with the King of France, in which the Venetians also had something to say, as an ambassador from France to the Seigniory of Venice and had been very honourably received there. He had, moreover, negotiated so very secretly with the Council of Ten that not a soul had been able to glean the least intelligence of what had passed between them. From Venice this ambassador had proceeded to Rome, where the Pope had received him even with more marked favour than the others. From all this talk of Paget I gathered that they (the English) entertain the opinion that the King of France is less likely to meddle with them than with the Emperor.

After much more conversation of this sort, Paget reverted to the subject of Scotland, and asked me what it was that your Majesty had written to me. I repeated this to him, following the words employed in your Majesty's own letter. After I had very

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clearly laid down to him the form in which the dominions and territories of the Emperor must be included in any arrangement they made with the Scots, especially and specifically the realms of the crown of Spain, I came to the satisfaction of the subjects of the Emperor for the injuries inflicted upon them, whereupon Paget asked me how that would be possible, seeing that those who had committed the piracies and pillage complained of, were peradventure Scottish pirates, or a certain Beton or others of the same sort, who at the present time are quite insolvent. We fell into long dispute on this point, Madam, although without bitterness, during which Paget remarked to me. "You ought to know that, even if we had no obligation nor treaty with the Emperor, we should still, out of regard for our good and ancient amity, not neglect in our negotiations with the Scots to insist to the utmost that they should surrender to the Emperor's subjects what they have unjustly taken from them. But, nevertheless, if in consequence of their poverty they were quite unable to make such restitution, it is worth while for you to consider whether it would not be better for the interests of the Emperor and of England to separate the Scots from their adherence to the French and have them on our side, rather than to maintain the present state of hostility solely on account of the question of the restitution, and thus serve the advantage of others rather than our own."

I replied to this that I was pretty sure that they (the English) would never make any arrangement with the Scots that did not leave them a perfectly free hand in the country, in accordance with their previous treaties; and considering that the English would thus gain the accession of an entire kingdom from the common enemy of England and the Emperor, surely the very least that the latter could be expected to demand for his share was the indemnification of his subjects for the outrages and losses they had suffered at the hands of the Scots, with whom the Emperor had only been at war and had rejected all their advances for peace, out of loyalty to his English allies.

"I am not disputing our obligation," said Paget, "for we will never make any agreement with the Scots in any case without the acquiescence of the Emperor. I am only saying what may be advisable, if it be found that owing to difficulties that will be evident to everyone the Scots may be unable to make the restitution demanded." After much argument on my part to the effect that if the private persons responsible were incapable of making such restitution, the latter should be made by the State, Paget asked me several times if the amount of the damages claimed was a large one; to which I replied that he knew perfectly well what the damages were. It is true, I said, that I had not any great number of claims here as yet; but there were more respecting which I had not received any instructions.

He then changed the subject, and asked me whether I had heard anything of the confederacy they called the Swabian League, which the Emperor was forming, or intended to form, in Germany. I replied that I had heard nothing whatever about it; but that

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it was quite to be expected that his Majesty would take due measures that such conjurations as those of the Protestants and the League of Smalkald should be rendered incapable of doing any more harm against the welfare and tranquility of the Commonwealth. Paget then said. "Well, you may take it from me that his Majesty intends to form such a league or confederacy"; and he continued a long rigmarole about how his Majesty might best consolidate his greatness for all time, giving me clearly to understand in the course of his talk that he was very anxious that the King of England should be included in the Confederacy. He protested throughout, however, that his words on the matter were spoken in the strictest confidence. I well knew, he said how hard and rigorous the laws of England were, and he conveyed to me indirectly that if I communicated what he said to your Majesties I should do so in a manner which should exonerate him from all reproach or evil consequence.

In the course of the conversation I said to him that if any such league as that in question were formed it was likely that the bishops of the Empire would be included in it. It certainly appeared to me, I said, judging from what was going on here, that they (the English) were not much inclined to make common cause with ecclesiastics, or to preserve the authority of their order, since the bishops were being so badly treated here. This remark brought up the subject of the bishop of Winchester's imprisonment. With respect to this, I said that I had no intention whatever of presuming to mix myself up with their affairs; but that between him (Paget) and me I might venture to express my own feelings about the imprisonment. I mentioned my sorrow at the misfortune that had befallen the bishop, the infamy of whose treatment was increased by the injustice and scandal apparent in it; and Paget retorted. "I doubt if there is any man living who is more grieved than I am myself at the bishop of Winchester's misfortune, and I have many good reasons for my sorrow. I have had several long discussions with him, as his friend, to persuade him, or at least to mitigate his attitude. But he is quite intractable, and entirely different from what he used to be: indeed I cannot get over my wonder at the change that has taken place in him. He has not been arrested for the reasons that you say, but because at the time of the introduction of the ordinances drawn up for the services in the churches, which services, by the way are not so new after all, as they were ordered in the lifetime of King Henry, the bishop of Winchester opposed the introduction publicly into the churches of the paraphrases of Erasmus, on the ground that Erasmus was an anabaptist; and the bishop will not to save his life budge from this opinion."

Paget continued in refutation of this that Erasmus being once taken to task by a certain doctor in Paris for some words that occur in the prologue to the paraphrases of the Gospel of St. Matthew dedicated to his Majesty, Erasmus replied in a book written specially, and in various other writings and places in

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his works, emphatically declaring his opinion to the contrary, and saying that baptism ought not and must not, on any account whatever, be repeated.

Paget told me in addition that the bishop of Winchester also objected to certain other articles in the ordinances, which he maintained were heretical, although they were demonstrated to him as being in accord with the doctrines laid down by the principal ancient fathers of the church. And thus, Madam, I do not know how the bishop's affair will end. As for Erasmus, I can quite imagine that he will be abused; for at the very beginning of the sect of anabaptists I was with him, and, in addition to what he has written on the subject, I can testify to having heard him express his detestation of so damnable a sect, which he called new monsters. I made no remark of the sort to Paget, in order not to prejudice the bishop of Winchester. The bishop of London (Bonner) is now entirely free, and his bail discharged. I have thought best to let your Majesty know of these particulars.

Controller Paget told me that the Queen (Dowager) of Scotland had retired from Stirling to a more remote place on an island in a river or large lake very difficult of access.

From the men who have returned from the army I understand that the number of Scots killed was not so great as was at first said here, although they all agree that there were some nine or ten thousand fatalities. I have heard from a person who is believed to know, that they are going to choose for their new Lord Chancellor one Lord Rich, a wealthy person who formerly had the administration and management of the church properties, when they were appropriated for the profit of the King; but he is not famous for any other excellence.*

The Marquis of Exeter (*i.e.* Courtenay), who is of the blood royal, and has always been held prisoner in the Tower since his father was beheaded, was released the day before the Protector returned from Scotland. Some people think that the Protector will marry him to his daughter.

London, 23 October, 1547.

Oct. 23. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the Emperor.

(This letter is practically identical with that of Van der Delft to the Queen Dowager of the same date.)

Oct. 25. Paris K 1487.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER of HUNGARY.

Soon after the arrival of the gentleman who carries this letter I sent him to the Queen of France (*i.e.* the Queen Dowager, widow of Francis I. Eleanor of Austria, sister of the Emperor) who is now living in Paris. I wrote to the Queen what your Majesty enjoined me to do, which I presume will not be divulged as your Majesty desires it to be kept secret.

* Sir Richard Rich (Lord Rich), who had been Solicitor-General, Speaker of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Augmentations, was a man of mean origin and infamous character. He resigned the Great Seal and withdrew from public life on the fall of Somerset.

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I think well to say, however, that the voyage is already public property here, the report of it having come from Antwerp; especially from the Portuguese factor there, who sent the news to the Portuguese ambassador here. Even the Dauphin and his ministers know of it; and I hear that they are much perturbed at it, imagining that things are different from what they are, and thinking that everything will be to their own disadvantage. I will advise your Majesty further as to this in later letters, but I think your Majesty is very well advised to inform the King of it; and the sooner the better, in my opinion.*

By my letter of the 11th instant your Majesty will have learnt what was passing between the Dauphin and the King of England. Since then the Protector and the Council of England, seeing the insistence of the Dauphin and his advisers in their refusal to agree to the prior restitution of the English ship of war seized by force, have sent a reply waiving this demand, and they have agreed that all ships captured on either side shall be simultaneously surrendered on the same day. The Dauphin has readily agreed to this and it was arranged on the 26th of this month, but I have not yet learnt what day has been chosen for the mutual surrender. Before this answer came the Dauphin was extremely angry because the English had captured some fresh ships from Bordeaux, but everything is now cleared up by this new agreement. I have learnt, moreover, that the Constable referring to this matter said that it would pave the way to a general pacification of all their other quarrels; and it has already been agreed between them to appoint Commissioners to settle the pending questions relating to the limits of the Boulognais. All this makes me think that in the course of time it may lead to negotiations on their main affairs, especially with regard to the confirmation of their last treaty, and some expedient may be found to close this dispute. I will advise further from time to time.

Four days since a Scottish gentleman came to this Court sent by the Queen Dowager of Scotland and the Governor of the realm, with news that their losses have been disastrously large in the battle (of Pinkie). They pray for French aid, without which, they say, they will be forced to make what terms they may with the King of England. But at the same time intelligence came here that the English army had withdrawn from Scotland, and the news has caused great rejoicing here, as it gives rise to the hope that Scotland may be succoured, either by diplomacy or otherwise. It was asserted here before the coming of this last news that the Dauphin intended to send a number of Gascons to Scotland, although I did not hear this from a trustworthy source.

I may add to the foregoing that a few days ago the English ambassador complained that over twenty French galleys were lying off the isle of Guernsey, and were trying to enter and capture

* Apparently the voyage of Philip Prince of Spain, who up to this time had acted as Regent for his father, to Germany and Flanders, with the object of forwarding the Emperor's plans for the succession of Philip to the Imperial as well as to the Spanish and Italian domains. Philip eventually started from Valladolid on the 1st October, 1548, leaving his sister Maria and her recently married husband, the Archduke Maximilian, the Emperor's nephew, as Regents of Spain.

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it by surprise. The Council of England had caused enquiries to be made, and had assured themselves that this was true. The English ambassador complained very bitterly of this, and also that the Dauphin was keeping a number of lansquenets on the seacoast opposite England; which were probably intended solely either to invade England, or at least to keep the English in a state of apprehension; neither of these objects was conducive to, or compatible with, friendly relations. The Constable replied to him that these lansquenets had been sent to the place in question to go into winter quarters, as the country thereabouts is very rich in supplies, whereas the Boulognais was stripped. He assured the ambassador that it was not the desire of the Dauphin to offend the English, but to keep the peace with them. The King had been informed by the Prior of Capua that the story told about Guernsey was not true; he even declared on his honour that nothing of the sort had ever entered his head. He (the Constable) begged the ambassador to assure the King of England and his Council of this and that the Dauphin wished to keep reciprocal good friendship with him, and to find some suitable settlement of Scottish affairs.

Oct. 26. Paris 1487.

(In a letter from St. Maurice to Prince Philip of this date, sending him a copy of the aforegoing letter on English affairs, by the hands of an envoy of the King of France to Portugal who is passing through Castile, St. Mauris adds the following paragraph on the same subject.)

I will only add, Sire, that I have learnt that the English fleet still remains in Scotland, where they have fortified a seaport and two castles near the English border which may be very easily succoured. There has consequently been a combat at sea between the two nations, in which the English have lost four ships sunk and the Scots sixteen captured.

(The writer again presses most earnestly for money, without which he says he must retire from his office.)

October. Paris K. 1487.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

On St. Michael's Day the Christian King celebrated a chapter of his Order where there were nine of his knights. The ambassadors were present at the solemnity, summoned by the King; the Queen and Madame Margaret were there. During the ceremony of the decoration and the offering the Dauphin and those present never ceased laughing and criticising those of the knights who did not make their obeisances properly according to custom. The first reverence is made to God, the next to the King, the third and fourth to the Queen and Madam Margaret, the fifth to the ambassadors and the sixth when the tapers are offered. These reverences are made both in coming and going. It is said that three or four days previously the King observed all the details of the ceremonies laid down for the Order, and intends to celebrate it with all solemnity next year. Horatio (Farnese) as the junior knight was the last to make his offering, he being preceded by Peter Strozzi, the Count de Languilara. He has abandoned his

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journey to Rome, as the tumult in Naples has ceased, and he has persuaded the King of France to send for Monsieur de Grignan to reply in person for the damage caused during his imprisonment by his means; President Beltrandi being the commissary for the King in the matter. A portion of Grignan's train has already arrived.

Paulin is now in the Bastille at Paris on the delation of Captain Claude, and this is being used as a pretext for preparing other charges against him. . . . . .

They are making great boast about the recent journey to the Boulognais, although nothing was done except to warn their enemy to be more on the alert. The French army say that the Dauphin could easily have taken Saint Omer if he had wished, for five or six hundred of their horse entered the town without meeting with any resistance, and they might have captured it. They tell other stories here, counting, of course, without their host. They all agree that during the journey the Dauphin ordered that no damage should be done to the Emperor's subjects. The French are complaining bitterly of the injuries and oppressions inflicted by their Lansquenets, of whom the Dauphin has dismissed a portion of those the least fit for war, and the Dauphin wants to make his people believe that he will do the like with the rest.*

The Princess D'Albret (Jeanne Princess of Navarre) remains in a house near Paris feigning to be ill, in order to avoid coming to Court, whither she has been summoned three times. She refuses to come because the Dauphin formerly would not allow her to go and see her mother, the Dauphin being afraid of her marrying our Prince (*i.e.* Philip).†

The report is again purposely spread that Bayard is to be commanded to come and answer in person for the offences imputed to him, and he is in danger of losing the beautiful house he has near to that of Marshal Saint André.

Chatillon is being sent to the fort at Boulogne in order that he may call a muster of soldiers and provide for what is necessary there.‡

Four new ambassadors have arrived here from the four Cantons of the Protestant league. They are to be received shortly, and will be much caressed. The Pope's new ambassador has been very favourably received.

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* The German and Swiss mercenary troops in the French service.

† Jeanne d'Albret was at this time nineteen years old, and active negotiations were being secretly carried on for her marriage with the Emperor's heir, Prince Philip, already a widower although only 20 years of age. The mother to whom reference is made was the famous Margaret of Angouleme, sister of Francis I., who had married the titular King of Navarre, whose Spanish territories had been usurped by the King of Spain under papal sanction. Margaret of Angouleme died two years later, in 1549, and Jeanne d'Albret married Anthony de Bourbon, Duke of Vendome, first prince of the blood after the reigning house of Valois.

‡ The fort in question, on the South side of Boulogne Harbour, opposite the old tower called the Tower d'Ordre or the Old Man, came afterwards to be called Chatillon's Garden, and is so marked on the old maps. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that the Chatillon in question was the afterwards famous Huguenot Admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny, who was murdered at the Saint Bartholomew.

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Nov. 3.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

The Flemish Council of State to Van der Delft.

The representatives of the town of Antwerp have informed us that one of the burgesses of the said town named Peter Bawens has been arrested in England, and all his goods taken from him, he being at the present time detained at Dover, it is not known on what charge as no one is permitted to communicate with him. We are writing this to you for the purpose of requesting you to make representations to the members of the English Council, in order that this man may either be at once released or be brought to justice: that you should be made acquainted with the accusations brought against him. You should require that he shall have a proper opportunity for defending himself, and that they should do the same justice to this man as they desire should be administered to English subjects on this side. Every day complaints are made to us from the subjects of the Emperor in this country of the treatment they receive in England, and you will consequently do well to assist such complainants to the best of your ability when they request you to do so, as the English ambassador here does for his countrymen. He indeed mainly occupies himself in negotiating private claims, etc., on behalf of English merchants.

Brussels, 3 November, 1547.

Nov. 3.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

The Flemish Council of State to Van der Delft.

The Queen Dowager having ordered us to open and examine all packets addressed to the Emperor or her Majesty from France and England, we have read what you wrote to the Queen Dowager under date of 23rd of last month. By the said letter we learn what had passed between Secretary Paget and yourself, with regard to the proposed treaty of peace with the Scots.

We fully recognise that it will be very difficult to recover everything that the Scots have plundered from the Flemish subjects of the Emperor, and that some of the pirates may be insolvent, as is alleged by Paget, but nevertheless the widowed Queen (Mary of Lorraine), the Regent and the other members of the Scottish Council, etc., who as we are given to understand, shared in the proceeds of the pillage and robberies committed by the pirates, are perfectly able to return it all. Indeed, the realm itself could do so, as it is notorious that the merchandise and other property captured was taken to Scotland and sold there: in fact it is asserted that the money proceeding from the sale of some of the merchandise was sequestrated, and probably is so still if they have not taken it for the purposes of their war. It would appear, moreover, from Paget's expressions to you that the English Government have an idea that they may negotiate with the Scots, and, with the consent of his imperial Majesty, cancel the damages committed on the Emperor's subjects by the Scots, or at all events a part of such damages, which idea we consider to be marvellously unreasonable. It would be, in our opinion, in the highest degree derogatory to the prestige and reputation of the Emperor for his Majesty, for the sake of obtaining peace with the

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Scots, to allow the English to negotiate for him to his own and his subjects' prejudice, so that the English might make their profit by it.

For this reason, in the event of the Protector or the members of the English Council or Paget again addressing you on the subject, you must persist in carrying out the instructions sent to you by the Emperor and the Queen Dowager, namely that his Majesty will consent to the proposed treaty on the conditions laid down in the letter from the Queen Dowager dated the 2nd of last month. You will also make them understand very clearly that his imperial Majesty has been extremely considerate of the welfare of the young King and of the realm of England in consenting so readily as he has done to their treating at all before the Scots had humiliated themselves to him. It is, indeed, according to all right and reason that the Scots should also seek to make peace with his Majesty; but, nevertheless, the latter, desirous that so good an opportunity for negotiating should not be missed as that offered by the English victory, has been ready to put aside his own views, and has consented to their (the English) discussing peace, on condition that the treaty which may result shall have regard to the interests of his Majesty's subjects, as well as to the advantage of the English. To concede anything further than this would be out of the question, for the reasons set forth above; and if it is suggested to you, you may say that you cannot undertake to write any such suggestion, as you fear it would give offence.

If the Scots themselves are desirous of obtaining an abatement in the amount of their liabilities for the damage they have inflicted upon the subjects of the Emperor, which you may say, in your opinion, would be extremely difficult to obtain, they should address their petition to that effect directly to his imperial Majesty or to the Queen Dowager, as Governess of the Netherlands. You may say with reference to this that the English, having regard to their friendship with the Emperor, ought not to solicit or advocate this cutting down of his Majesty's claims, but on the contrary they should assist in every possible way to bring pressure upon the Scots to redress the injury they have inflicted. They (the English) must bear in mind that no matter what treaty they may conclude with the Scots, even if the latter should surrender to them the entire country, the Scottish people will still remain their ancient enemies, in whom no trust can be placed. There would always be the fear that, if they were able, the Scots would employ their power against the English, and the poorer they were the less likely would they be to rebel or commence war. Besides this, the English ought to consider that if it is their intention greatly to benefit themselves by means of the treaty they expect to conclude with the Scots, as indeed they will easily do, it is only reasonable and fair that his imperial Majesty, who entered into the war solely on account of the English, should have his interests and those of his subjects recognised, and compensation given to the latter. The object of all this will be for you to persuade the English ministers that you can see no

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means of entering into negotiations for the abatement of the claims for damages sustained by the Emperor's subjects, unless the English send to his Majesty or the Queen Dowager specially on the subject. You will follow this course pending the receipt by you of fresh instructions from her Majesty, to whom we have forwarded your letters, she being at present at Thionville. As the Protector has now returned from Scotland, you will do well to request him to give you the warrant for the restitution of their estates in the Boulognais to his Majesty's subjects, of which we made mention in our previous letters of the 21st of last month.

We are also sending you herewith the deposition of a Spaniard, who has, according to his own account, come hither by way of England, and there frequented your apartments. We shall be glad if you will inform us what knowledge you have of this man, and if you were told of his imprisonment and know the cause of it. This is to enable us to discover whether he is such as he says.

Brussels, 13 November, 1547.

Nov. 9. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

On the last day of October I received two letters from your Majesty and three from the gentleman of the Council of State, with the letters of the Emperor. With regard to the first, which bears date of the 1st October, in which your Majesty forwards me certain writings and records supporting the complaints made generally by the merchants of undue impositions and exactions from them in England, to the detriment of the international intercourse, I have considered it advisable to present these complaints immediately, as Parliament was just about to commence its sittings. I therefore submitted them at once to the Protector, who referred them for consideration to the first Secretary, Dr. Petre, who was one of the Commissioners at Bourbourg;* he being instructed by the Protector to communicate with me on the matter.

I likewise addressed the Protector on the spoliations and robberies inflicted upon our people, and he replied that he had for his part done his duty fully to everyone, he had caused justice to be administered impartially, and if there was anyone who sought justice he would take care that it was obtained promptly. I made great demur at this, whereupon he did not fail to cite some persons to whom the King had, in order to satisfy them, given very largely out of his own resources. I made no mention of a desire that judges beyond suspicion should be appointed to deal with the outstanding claims on the part of private persons, although it is true that the path of justice in this country is a long one, because I am not sure that we should gain any advantage in England by the choice of any other judge for the purpose than the present one. I will however insist that the present judge shall be ordered to administer prompt and summary justice in the matter, leaving until I receive some fresh instructions from

* By reference to Vol. 8 of this Calendar it will be seen that a Commission had sat for some time at Bourbourg to settle pending mercantile claims.

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your Majesty the question of asking for a change in the person of the judge. I may say, however, that I have not received the schedule of claims that your Majesty says was enclosed in the letter.

In the same letter your Majesty mentions that the commercial treaty of 1522, which was for a fixed term, will expire very shortly, and that I am to sound the inclination of the Council as to their consenting to negotiations with the object of remedying all the abuses that now exist, either by means of a new treaty or by some other arrangement. I have not yet been able to do this, as I have not up to the present entered into communication with Secretary Petre. I am also somewhat perplexed in the matter as I do not know how I can gather a knowledge of their inclinations towards a new treaty, in view of the directions contained in the last letters of the gentlemen of the Council of State, dated 21st October, in which I am ordered to say nothing about it, and to take no steps at all until further instructions reach me from your Majesties. I will, however, not fail to set forth the just reasons for the complaints made by the deputies of the towns of Haarlem, Delft and Leyden, of the obstacles placed in their way by the English at the wool staple at Calais, as I am also instructed to do by another letter from the Privy Council.

In order that all the troubles may be remedied, and especially to provide for the indemnity of Flemish subjects after the expiration of the Commercial Treaty, the Council of State has ordered me to furnish them with a report setting forth my opinion as to the best course to pursue. In this matter, Madam, I must confess I know not what to say, as I understand nothing of the conduct or progress of the Calais wool trade, and there is no one available here who can give me information on the subject. I well recollect that when Master Adrian Van der Burch was here on the business of the same complaints the English Commissioners rejected them on the ground that they were accumulated without reason, alleging that the fault was more on the side of our merchants than on theirs. But they said if there were any fault on their side they would send letters to the merchants of the Calais staple, ordering them in no way to contravene the said commercial treaty. I therefore feel unable to excogitate any better way of remedying the evils complained of in the wool market than to obtain a prolongation or renewal of the existing commercial treaties. Very little time for deliberation exists if this is to be done, as I hear that the English merchants are desirous of obtaining in the present Parliament the abolition of the Calais staple, so that they may employ their wools in England itself, the wool being now, as everyone asserts, extremely dear in this country.

In accordance also with the instructions contained in the letter from the Council of State, I have explained to the Protector what had taken place on the other side respecting the claims of Madame de Egmont and the Sieur de Mourbeke to be restored to the possession of the properties in the Boulognais; and that both the English ambassador (in Flanders) and the Governors in the Boulognais had replied with great rudeness that the King

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their master would never listen to such a demand. The Protector did not appear very much shocked at this, saying: "They are ignorant of what was granted to you. Besides you recollect very well the decision that I announced to you just as I was leaving London for Scotland; namely, that it would be necessary for us to have a specification or schedule of the properties of which the restitution was claimed. You then told me that no properties would be claimed for restitution but such as had been enjoyed by subjects of the Emperor previous to the war, and that the Queen Dowager would take care that such should be the case. In view of this promise I referred to her Majesty the cognisance of the claims, assuring you that the various claimants should be put into possession of their properties immediately, in accordance with the specification or schedule which the Queen Dowager should have certified."

I perceive, Madam, that without the said specification they will not consent to grant any letters of restitution nor surrender the properties, and I therefore consider it useless to insist upon the particular claims of Madam de Egmont and the Sieur de Mourbeke; besides which if I were to do so it would undoubtedly make more difficult the pursuit of the claims of others who would thus be prejudiced. My reason for saying this is that I always find these people (the English ministers) after they have satisfied one demand pay very little attention to any others that follow, thinking apparently that by settling one case they have settled all. Under correction therefore, your Majesty, it seems to me that it would be less trouble and more advantage to those persons who benefit by the Protector's concession, if they would furnish your Majesty with a specification of the properties they claim, so that they may all be dealt with together and at once. This really would be a much better way than to make long solicitations for separate letters for particular claimants, which will prove too tedious and difficult for each separate demand. So far as I can see there will be no excuse or delay in effecting the complete restitution of the properties in queston as soon as the specification vouched for by your Majesty is produced here.

The Protector described fully to me the underlying intrigue of the war in Scotland; which he confessed that he had not previously understood so well as he did at present; although he had been in the country during the lifetime of the late King. God had, however, aided him to gain this great victory, and they had been thus able to win, not a battle alone, but a country. They had occupied, and held, he said, three strong places there, all well provided with munitions; and he hoped at another time to push further forward, as he saw no appearance now of any arrangement being made with the Scots, the Regent, who had previously solicited the appointment of commissioners to treat for peace having now changed his mind as soon as the English army had marched out of the country.

Intrigues, continued the Protector, were being carried on between the Regent and the French, as he had been informed, with the object of placing into the hands of the latter the strongest

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fortresses of Scotland. Notwithstanding this, however, the Scots in the neighbourhood of the three strongholds held by the English were coming in every day in numbers to give their adhesion; and other chiefs with their followers in more distant parts of the country were offering their services to the English, who were not desirous of receiving them until he (the Protector) was in a position to aid and support them better than he could at present. He had no wish to lead them into danger, and he had therefore sent them instructions to keep their attachment to the English secret until a more convenient opportunity.

Being desirous of discovering something about the reasons for the convocation of this Parliament I mentioned the matter to the Protector, and after much conversation he told me that they had decided to abolish and to modify several of their laws which at present were too severe, and to give to the subjects a little more reasonable liberty, without in any way releasing them from the restraints of proper order and obedience. I fear nevertheless that the ecclesiastics will be made to suffer.

The earl of Huntly still remains here and goes about the town accompanied by a guard.

The bishop of Winchester still remains in prison and very little is said about him.

The earl of Southampton, the late Lord Chancellor has also come to London, and attends the sittings of Parliament every day. He bears his fate patiently.

Lord Rich was recently created Lord Chancellor.

Madam Mary has returned from the country and is now staying at a place near London, some seven miles away. She is to come to London shortly.

London, 9 November, 1547.

Nov. 10. Simancas Estado 644.

The Emperor to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

Since the last letter the Legate Sfondrato and the Nuncio Mirañuelo came to us saying that they had letters from Cardinal Farnese and the Duke of Camarino, and begged us, that since the Cardinal of Trent* was going to Rome we would give him some instructions relative to the business of Piacenza, in order to console his Holiness, who, we would readily understand, was sorely in need of consolation.† They had, they said, entire confidence in our goodness and justice, and they saw that by this matter the Pope might be induced more easily to give way on other points. We replied suitably, and the Legate then harking back to the beginning set forth once more the reason of his having come from Rome, and repeated the arguments he had submitted to us at Bamberg on the English matter, which was, he said, one of the principal objects of his mission.

* Cardinal von Madrutz, Archbishop of Trent, a strong partisan of the Emperor.

† That is to say for the murder of his son the Duke Pier Luigi, and the occupation of his territory of Piacenza by the imperial troops from Milan under Gonzaga, to the apparent detriment of Ottavio Farnese Duke of Camarino, Pier Luigi's eldest son and the husband of the Emperor's daughter Margaret.

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He then entered upon the question of the Council and the urgent instance he had made to us on behalf of his Holiness that we should endeavour to get these States of Germany to submit to the Council. He reminded us that he had not said at that time that if they did submit the Council should return to Trent, and it would, he said, therefore be well, now that the Cardinal of Trent was to proceed to Rome to endeavour to obtain this promise from the Pope, and that he should carry with him such decision with regard to Piacenza, in order to bring his Holiness to agree to the rest. We replied to his remarks about England by referring him to what we had said on the previous occasion, to which at present we had nothing to add; and with respect to the Council, we told him it was true, as he said, that he had urged us to endeavour to bring the States of Germany to submit, but so far as his present assertion went that he had not promised the return of the Council to Trent if they did, we could only say that we should not have been at all surprised if he had made such a promise, inasmuch as the Pope thought that these States would never submit to the Council, even if he promised the return to Trent and very much besides.

Now, however, that our Lord had been pleased to inspire them to such a good and salutary work,* we were persuaded that his Holiness, in fulfilment of the duty he owed to his dignity and office, and to the interests of our Holy faith, could not fail to consent to the re-assembly of the Council of Trent; especially as he had always promised to do so. There was, we said, no necessity to mix up this point with the business of Piacenza. It was not in accordance with his Holiness's dignity that it should appear that for the promotion of his private interests he had been brought to agree to so necessary a proceeding as the return of the Council to Trent; which indeed was demanded by his high office. It had never been our custom, we said, to mix our private affairs with public negotiations. We had repeatedly said this and we believed that his Holiness would be guided by this principle in the matter of the Council.

With regard to the Piacenza affair we would look into the rights of the case, as we had already promised to do. The Legate again returned to the subject, urging us to give his Holiness some hopes, so that he might be induced the more easily to agree on the other points; as he (the Legate) said that up to the present nothing but vague answers had been given to him. To this we replied that we would think the matter over further, and with this the conversation ended without any promise having been given that Cardinal Trent should be commissioned to refer to the Piacenza affair.

We have thought well to give you an account of all this for your guidance and information. In addition to the written instructions given to the Cardinal (of Trent), of which a copy is

* As the result of endless intrigue and effort on the part of Charles, the Lutheran electors at the Diet of Augsburg had just consented to accept the famous compromise on religious affairs called the Interim. The principal opposition to it was offered by the Catholics, and particularly by Bavaria; but a few months afterwards the interim was formally accepted by all Germany.

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enclosed, he has been instructed verbally to deal with the question of Piacenza, as if of his own accord. He is to say, in as conciliatory a way as possible, that few would advise us to surrender the place again, seeing its importance to the general interests of Italy, and especially to those of the State of Milan, apart from our well-founded claims to Piacenza and Parma. In view of this he (the Cardinal of Trent) is to endeavour to persuade the Pope and his friends to request us to grant some recompense for the two cities, in order that they may the sooner get out of the hole. Having regard to our own claims and rights he is to try and persuade them to be satisfied with the smallest possible recompense, in order not to give us a pretext for drawing back altogether by his asking too much of us, and so deferring the matter indefinitely.

These matters being so important it will be necessary for you to act with the Cardinal; co-operating with him in the matter of the return of the Council to Trent, and fresh letters of credence are enclosed for the purpose. You will leave affairs there (Piacenza) in good hands and go to Rome to meet Cardinal Trent, as the matter is urgent and important.

Nov. 12. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

After I had written my other letters I received a message from Controller Paget, saying that the Great Master of the Household (Lord St. John) he, himself, and Secretary Petre would come and dine with me on the following day. They accordingly came, and after dinner they announced to me that the Protector had commissioned them to communicate with me respecting my complaints about the customs and tallies.

We then entered into the discussion of this question and great disputes ensued, some of the disputants growing quite heated in their arguments. I alleged all the reasons that I could think of in support of our contentions; but they (the English Councillors) persisted in the attitude they have always assumed; namely, that the subsidy of tonnage and poundage with the schawage (?) was paid by us previously, at the time of the commercial convention of 1495 and ever since, as they demonstrated by the production and exhibition to us of their books and registers. As I clearly perceived that the extracts and documents contained in the statement that your Majesty sent to me and submitted by me to them supported by my own advocacy were powerless to persuade them (the English Councillors) to the contrary, or indeed to produce any effect upon them, I finally told them that doubtless they would further consider the arguments I had adduced and would, on studying also their own acts of Parliament, of which I requested copies, arrive at a true knowledge of the case.

I continued, however, that in order to provide against the grievances which are still constantly arising, it would be necessary for them to give us letters patent guaranteeing the observance of the declaration and confession exhibited by their Commissioners at Bourbourg in answer to our allegations. This, I said, would, at all events, do away with the opportunities afforded to the

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officers on this side to continue their iniquitous exactions. To this they replied that they had not at hand for inspection the answer we referred to, as it was at present in the hands of the Dean of London who had been the Commissioner in the last Conference.* In consequence of the Dean's absence they must defer the reply on that point until his return, which was expected in a week or so. Notwithstanding all my persistence I was unable to obtain letters patent, the utmost concession that I could get being that I should have a copy certified by one of the principal secretaries of State of the reply given by their Commissioners at Bourbourg. It would be desirable for me to have the original reply, which, however, was not enclosed in your Majesty's letters to me.

London, 12 November, 1547.

Nov. 12. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR'S COUNCIL OF STATE.

I have received the letters from your Lordships dated 21, 23 and 24 ultimo, with those of the Emperor and the Queen Dowager attached: to which latter despatches I reply as you will see by enclosed.

Since then I have received two other letters, **that of the 3rd instant bringing me good definite instructions as to how I am to conduct myself in the event of negotiations being undertaken for an accord with the Scots.** I have always kept the matter in hand, in accordance with the instructions conveyed to me in the Queen Dowager's letter of the 2nd October, saying that her Majesty hoped that the Emperor, having regard to the opportunity offered by the English victory over the Scots and to the welfare of this country, would accept the settlement they might make with the Scots, always on condition that his Majesty and his subjects were fully indemnified. The observations that Paget made to me on the subject, as I wrote fully to the Queen Dowager, with regard to the difficulty which, peradventure, the Scots might make to this, were accompanied always by the declaration that they (the English) would on no account make any agreement with the Scots without the express consent and entire staisfaction of his Majesty. We may therefore rest more assured that the English have no intention of doing anything to our prejudice, although I must say that I see very little appearance of any settlement between them, as I wrote to the Queen.

Touching your Lordship's second letter, in which you instruct me to assist a certain burgess of Antwerp named Pierre Bauwens, now a prisoner at Dover, and also to help all other subjects of the Emperor who appeal to me for aid, in the same way that the English ambassador in Flanders aids English subjects, I may reply that if I had known before of the imprisonment of this Pierre Bauwens, or of the wrong done to him, your Lordships would not have been troubled with the matter, and I would have

* The principal Commissioners for the English who endeavoured with very small success to settle the commercial differences and claims in 1545 were Sir William Petre, Dr. Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, Dr. Carne, the English ambassador in Flanders, and Dr. Trigway, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.

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assisted him, as I constantly and daily do in the case of all the Emperor's subjects, no matter from what part of the dominions they may come, whose property, being returned to them, no more is said about it. Many of those who press their complaints and claims there (in Flanders) have never made them known here at all. I am quite aware that some of them complain with perfectly good reason of affairs in the past, both on account of the wrongs they have suffered and of the long delays and procrastination in the decision of their claims, to their great expense and damage. But I am bound to say also that there is no lack of complainants who come over here constantly to present all manner of ill-founded claims and demands, of which I have to bear the shame and discredit, after I have believed their representations and supported their unreasonable claims. Nevertheless I do not fail to help to the best of my ability all those who appeal to me, so that in good truth, I am not only the advocate, host, creditor and pleader, to my great expense and detriment, but I must needs be also the solicitor for them all. Thus it happens every day, that for some trifling thing or other, one complainant employs me at the Admiralty, another sends me to the Chancery Court, and a third to the Mayor's Court, without speaking of the continual prosecution of the claims which I carry on with the Council.

In pursuance of this duty I sent word yesterday that I was about to wait upon the Council, and Paget, the controller came to see me instead, as the French ambassador had already made an appointment with the Council for that day. Before my communication with Paget in this interview he began to make a long prologue, to the general effect that I was a very estimable person and a worthy man but too ready to give easy credence to the merchants and other claimants who came to me with their tales. He added that the indemnities and compensations that had already been granted, many of which had really not been due, had been conceded for the sake of the Emperor and with a desire to satisfy the requests that I had put forward so zealously. He (Paget) was, however, he said, of opinion that I ought to re-consider the whole question, and allow each plaintiff to prosecute his claim before the ordinary Courts of Justice, as was done in Spain, Flanders, and elsewhere, instead of myself pushing them with so much vehemence and daily persistence before the Council.

After making several complaints of the way they administer justice here, I said that if there was any undue importunity on my part they had only themselves to blame by reason of the wrong and injury they suffered to be done to us, and I then showed him your said letter, which, as your Lordships will understand, came in most opportunely and could not have served my turn better than at that moment. I humbly thank your Lordships for the admonition, although I hope that it will be found on consideration that it was not altogether necessary.

Touching the deposition of the Spaniard which your Lordships send to me, really, to tell your Lordships the truth, I can assure you that there is not a single word of truth in it, except that I

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am subject to attacks of gout which sometimes trouble me for four or five days, from which, however, no one suffers but myself. In order that your Lordships may be thoroughly informed of what passed here with this Spaniard, I enclose herewith extracts of what I wrote to his Majesty on the subject, and the replies of the Emperor to me. Since his Majesty wrote to me I continued to insist that the man should not be released without his Majesty's consent, and I was promised that he should not be. But for the celebration of the King of England's coronation all the prisoners and malefactors of the realm were granted their pardon and I could not prevent the liberation of this Spaniard, who remained here detained for the costs. For some reason unknown to me, he wished during this period to come often to my house, which I would not permit him to do, both on account of the displeasure he had done to the Emperor, and for the suspicion I entertained that he wanted to ask me to give him pecuniary assistance, as all the other subjects of his Majesty do here, whereby I am grievously burdened and annoyed.

I also bore in mind that on a previous occasion a similar *Comendador* had been here, and had greatly deceived me by the complaints he made, to the effect that the English had taken away from him I know not how many horses and a trunk of double ducats. He had come hither to inform the King of England of this, but seeing that the Council only offered him four or five hundred crowns he refused to accept the sum, and showed me letters from the Queen of France* to the Queen Regent. On the strength of this he requested me to let him have some hundred pounds sterling, so that he might go over to Flanders and fulfil the mission entrusted to him and there make his complaints. The whole thing, however, was false: and I have since understood that he would not have escaped your hands if he had stayed any longer in Gueldres pushing his case with the Queen Dowager. Nevertheless I hope that her Majesty will have pity upon me for having assisted the bearer of her letters, and will make good the bond the man left me for the money I advanced him.

There was, moreover, no reason to admit the first named Spaniard (to my house) as the Duke of Alburquerque, from whom he presented a letter here, wrote to me saying that he had not given nor signed any such letter, and did not even know such a person. Spain, he said, was a large place, and there were many scoundrels in it, as there were in other countries. The Duke also wrote to the King (Henry) to the same effect, and to all the gentlemen of his acquaintance here, as the letters themselves will prove.†

London, 12 November, 1547.

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* Eleanor of Austria, sister of the Emperor.

† The Comendador, so called, in question had come to England in the previous year calling himself Portocarrero, and claiming to be related to the families of Cueva and Herrera. It will be seen by the last volume of this Calendar that the Emperor surmised that he was really a certain adventurer named Pedro Pacheco, and as he had appeared in England for the ostensible purpose of forwarding some French aims against the Emperor, he was lodged in the Tower at the instance of Van der Delft on the orders of the Emperor. The letter of the Duke of Alburquerque about him is in Vol. 8 of this Calendar, p. 405.

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Vienna Imp. Arch.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have duly received your letters of the 18th and 23rd of last month, and by them have learnt the details of your conversations with Controller Paget respecting the proposed treaty with the Scots. He positively assured you that they (the English government) on their part would never come to any understanding with the Scots except with our consent, in conformity with the mutual obligation we have contracted by treaty, and he was anxious to learn our intentions with regard to the matter. The English ambassador resident with us has also addressed us to a similar effect. The answer you gave to Paget was a very proper one, that we had no desire to stand in the way of an agreement between them, on condition that we and all our states and dominions were comprised in any treaty that might be made, and also that we and our subjects should be indemnified and compensated for the injuries, losses and detriments that we have suffered at the hands of the Scots, with whom we went to war solely on account of the English.

We send our consent to the negotiations herewith, in order that you may use it as you find convenient, and you will follow the same course in respect to the question of obtaining the above-mentioned indemnity and compensation for the injuries sustained, in accordance with the instructions that have been sent to you by our sister the Queen Dowager of Hungary, or by the members of our (Flemish) Council of State, whom she has left there in charge of the affairs of the Netherlands, etc., during her absence from the seat of government.

In addition to the aforegoing the Bishop of Westminster has again addressed us a day or two ago, by virtue of a letter of credence that he had received from the King, his master, saying that the Duchess of Saxony, the wife of John Frederick, and her children had begged the King (Edward VI), as also had the Duchess of Cleves, to be good enough to intercede with us for the deliverance of the said John Frederick of Saxony. The King of England, being desirous of complying with the request of the Duchess, and also because he likewise desired the liberation of John Frederick, had instructed his ambassador here to submit the request to us very earnestly, in the hope that, out of consideration for the King of England, we would display clemency towards the person in question. He (the King of England) felt quite certain that we would willingly do more for him than that, and the ambassador expressed his regret that he was unable to express himself in the French language so eloquently and earnestly as his instructions enjoined him in presenting this request to us. He assured us that the King of England was extremely desirous of obtaining the favour he craved, and he prayed us sincerely that we would please him in this.

We replied to this, first praising very highly the action taken by the King of England in this matter. Being a young prince as he was, it was quite right and proper that he should incline to clemency, and should be easily persuaded to accede to the prayers and requisitions of other princes and princesses to gain

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and preserve their friendship. But, we continued, the imprisonment of John Frederick of Saxony was of such grave importance and concern for the public welfare of the whole of Germany that at present we were unable to decide touching the disposal of the person of John Frederick. Nevertheless, we said, the King of England might rest assured that the affection we felt towards him was such that if the matter was in such a position that we could decide to liberate John Frederick we would rather do it on the intercession of the King than of anyone else. You will seek an opportunity of making a similar declaration to the King of England himself and to the Protector. We are much obliged to you for the other advices and particulars contained in your letters, and we request you always to let us know everything that is going on as often as possible, especially with regard to the state of Scottish affairs.

Augsburg, 15 November, 1547.

Nov. 15. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since the receipt of your Majesty's last letters, dated the 18th ultimo, I have been to visit the Protector for the purpose of fulfilling the mission with which I had been entrusted by the Queen Dowager and the Council of State, acting for her during her absence, concerning the long pending general and particular claims and complaints of your Majesty's subjects.

It appeared to me that the opening of the Parliament here afforded a favourable opportunity for presenting to the Protector your Majesty's letter for him, as I thought this might lead him to have greater regard during the sessions to prevent parliament from carrying matters too unreasonably. After some talk, therefore, I delivered the letter to him with a courteous address in accordance with the contents.

He very humbly thanked your Majesty for the honour you had done him, and for the good will you bore him, which he said he desired to reciprocate with his utmost service for the whole course of his life. He was bound thereto also for a long time past by reason of the favour he had received from your Majesty: "as," continued he, "I have assured you on former occasions, and I am confident of the friendship between the Emperor and the King my master. As the Emperor has always kept his word to everyone I cannot believe that we alone shall be singled out as an unfortunate exception to the contrary." On his part he said there never had been and never should be, the slightest misgiving in the matter, and there would be no failure on the part of the King with regard to the entire fulfilment of all the alliances and treaties existing between them. There was some talk, he said, about war in Italy, and he might say that if any necessity existed they (the English) would do not only that to which they were bound by treaty but more in your Majesty's favour. As I thought that perhaps this mention of Italy might indicate an idea on his part that the letter I had given him was intended to make more sure of him in that respect, I repeated with greater emphasis than before that his good words to me, and

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the suspicion he had expressed of the French, had moved your Majesty, in view of what I had written to you, to express your thanks and gratification for his affection towards you, and at the same time to assure him of your friendship towards the King his master, and your intention to maintain the treaties between you. This message, I said, was sent by your Majesty at the time when they (the English) were distrustful of the French, as he would see by the date of your Majesty's letter. He recognised this.

The Protector afterwards asked me upon what terms we stood with the French, and I replied that, so far as I was aware, there was no change in the friendship. "But still," said he, "the French would have had possession of Parma and Piacenza if Pier Liugi had lived only a little longer." In reply to a similar question that I addressed to him, namely, how they stood with the French, he replied "One day they are overhanging us and the next day overhanging you. Just now they have ceased their threatening attitude toward us. I do not know whether this means that they are casting their thoughts elsewhere." I asked him whether the French had in the meantime paid their pension, to which he replied. "Not yet, but they will pay it."

After some more conversation I referred to the abuses and innovations in the matter of religion that were going on here constantly; and admonished him in my private capacity, and as a true friend and well wisher of England, to beware against all novelties of that sort, from which only confusion and disobedience can arise; as had been already proved. However such changes might be relished by the common people, they were to an equal extent pernicious to the public welfare, which consists of just and honourable limitations being maintained. I had no doubt, I said, that he, who had in his hands the administration of religious affairs here, would maintain the established order without scandal or offence, and I could not therefore believe in the truth of the public rumour now current that the mass was to be abolished. To this he replied: "It is true that it is proposed in this parliament to modify, and in some cases abrogate, some of our laws, which are at present extremely rigorous, and indeed almost iniquitous in their severity; but so far as regards religion I can assure you that nothing will be done against Almighty God. The new ordinances recently promulgated were not introduced by me, but by the late King, who conceived them before his death."

As if to satisfy me on the point, he alleged that the King (Edward) had that very day attended mass, but in the absence of any further assurance that no religious innovations were to be made, I remain more suspicious than ever as to their intentions in this respect. In the circumstances I could not avoid dwelling at greater length upon the many objectionable effects that had been seen in the past to result from these sects, giving him a sketch of the life and end of the authors of them, as I myself had to some extent witnessed. They had, I said, simply been influenced by their own inclinations, being ambitious and

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disloyal, as indeed their latter end had proved ; and I endeavoured thus to warn him how important it was for him for his own sake to have careful regard for all these things.

He passed it over, saying : "I know very well that whatever is done ill will be laid on my shoulders, and consequently I shall strive my utmost in all things to do what is best for God's service." But, Sire, from what I can learn from others, they intend to allow the celebration of the mass in English ; and it is to be feared that the ecclesiastics will have reason to deplore this parliament, notwithstanding the proclamation recently made in London by heralds with the sound of trumpets, that the King commands the lieges to treat the clergy with the same respect as formerly, and not to insult them either by word or deed, under pain of the gallows.

(The rest of this letter is in substance the same as that from Van der Delft to the Queen Dowager of 9th November.)

Nov. 20.
Paris
K. 1485.

ADVICES from MELUN (from ST. MAURIS ?).

I have already reported the voyage of Peter Strozzi to Piedmont. Since then it is said here that Dux (*i.e.* Henry II) is sending him shortly on a voyage to the East, in fulfilment of Stozzi's wish to see the country. But if suspicions here are well founded the real reason of the voyage will be to carry on some very doubtful negotiations. It is reported here that Strozzi has ordered the equipments he had here to be sent to Turin, in order that they may be nearer if necessary next year for a war against the Emperor. It is also said that the Prior of Capua (Leone Strozzi) has been to Nantes and has brought the galleys from there to be newly fitted, as is now being done in the new Arsenal which has been established here. *Olsacius* has discovered that Dux (Henry II) has requested the four Protestant Swiss Cantons and those attached to them to help him in Piedmont if necessary. He seems anxious to prove to them that he wishes to maintain his friendship with the Emperor ; but he says that Piedmont belongs to this crown, and he sends them copies of his titles by means of which he hopes the better to move them (the Swiss), and to extend the present alliance. He speaks only of the defence of his own realm. He urges the delegates (of the Cantons) to enter into an agreement to help him, though he does not wish to assume the offensive, or to give any reason for war.

They have done their best to persuade the Pope to join in these alliances to recover Genoa, it being given out that Cardinal de Sion had in the past helped the holy See considerably by means of the said nation (*i.e.* the Swiss ?), but Olsacius says that the Holy Father displays much reluctance to allying himself with the Protestant Cantons, although he has not yet given a definite reply.

Recently *Dux* gave permission to certain Genoese merchants to bring to Lyons a good number of cases of velvet without paying any duties, which he did at the request of some of the Tregoses, who persuaded him that it would be very advisable for him to

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please the Genoese, in that and similar things, the idea being that in the course of time they might even be drawn to favour his influence in case of the Emperor's death, this last event being the starting point of most of their designs for the future. . . . .

Cardinal Bellay wrote recently to *Dux* that he saw that Italy would be utterly ruined unless he looked to it and took measures. The only way he saw to prevent it, he said, was to press to the extreme the alliance with the Venetians, and to find some means to bring the Turk down next year. He thought it would be easy if the Turk came to Naples, and the victory would be the more assured by the recent revolt in that place, the wounds of which were still bleeding, and the Neapolitan people all in revolt against the Emperor, however fair things may look at present.

I hear from a good source that a few days ago Dux informed the confederates of the knowledge the Emperor had obtained of the proposals made against him from this side, avowing to them that his only object had been to bring them into good accord, not to injure anyone. The assertion that they (the Swiss Cantons) were to be invaded was publicly current, and he (Henry II) could not avoid mentioning it to them; and he trusted that they would not attribute to him the things laid to his charge, or misinterpret his intentions, which he assured them were sincere in regard to them.

The Constable talking of Piacenza the other day said that in the life of the late King (Francis I) the Piacenza people had offered the place to him if he would consent to their assasinating Pier Luigi; but that he (Francis) would not agree to so disgraceful a thing. It is believed that the Constable said this only to raise the question of the manner of the late Duke's death, for his assertion is not believed to be true. It is, however, a matter of common talk amongst well informed people here that but for the recent events there *Dux* was to have entered Piacenza immediately and give to Horatio (Farnese) the dukedom of Bourbon. It is asserted that the marriage of Dux (*i.e.* with Catherine de Medici) had for its principal object to assure to the King (of France) the possession of Piacenza. They find here that the accord agreed upon between Don Fernando (Gonzaga, Governor of Milan) and Ottavio (Farnese) is advantageous to the Emperor. They say that it is quite clear from the terms of this agreement that it is his Majesty's intention to dominate the principality of Parma, and that this is a strong and convincing argument that the murder of Pier Luigi had been effected for the express purpose of at once occupying the two States. To this they add that Don Fernando gave to one of the conspirators one of Fiesco's castles, and that he is treating with equal favour the other conspirators. This they say is an undeniable proof of Don Fernando's complicity, their hatred of Don Fernando being extreme, and their evil stories of him being endless.

The ambassador of Mantua resident here writes frequently to the Cardinal of Mantua, saying that they ought to keep in well with *Dux* and gain the friendship of the Constable, who he says they will find very well affected towards their house (*i.e.* that of

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Gonzaga). They should, he says, receive with attention all Frenchmen of position who pass through or visit Mantua, and he recommends him (*i.e.* Cardinal Gonzaga) to make presents of hunting birds to Dux. He has also pressed the said Cardinal to endeavour to negotiate here through him for the re-incorporation of the portion of the State of Montferrat now occupied by the French, giving him to understand that good conditions might be obtained. The Cardinal, however, has been unwilling to agree to such negotiations, and replied that the whole question would be referred to the Emperor, and that he would not touch the matter without his Majesty, although he approved of the proposal to send Dux a present of birds, and to welcome Frenchmen who came to Mantua. The said ambassador is of course a thorough Frenchman, having a life pension from this king granted to him by Francis I, and he is desirous of doing something notable in favour of the French with the Cardinal, who, notwithstanding his affection for the ambassador, will not depart a hair's breadth from his firm attachment to the Emperor. He, indeed frequently instructs the ambassador to keep in touch with the imperial ambassador here, and to communicate to him anything that occurs touching his Majesty's interests. The ambassador does this as well as he can, underhand. They publish here as coming from their ambassador in England that . . . . is to marry in England to Madam Mary, and the King of England to one of the daughters of the said . . . .* It is also reported that Madam de Lorraine made the journey to Augsburg in order to marry the Prince of Piedmont. They say, moreover, that the Prince of Spain (Philip) is to go immediately to Italy, and this is generally believed, so credulous are these people.

It is asserted here that Maraillac sends word that after the Diet his Majesty (the Emperor) took his road towards the Franche Comté, and that he would reside at Besançon, with the sole object of moving war next year against France in the duchy of Burgundy and against the protestant leaguers. Under this pretext they have sent commissioners to despatch four hundred men at arms to Burgundy; whilst, with the object of assuring their frontiers, they are sending a similar force to Champagne and another to Picardy, as well as six hundred to Piedmont. These will, however, remain in Savoy and the Dauphiné. They say that these men for Piedmont are sent because the Emperor is placing his 250 lances in the State of Milan, whereat they are far from pleased, whilst the force for Picardy they excuse by saying that his Majesty has proclaimed on the Artois and Hainault borders that all reserve and supernumerary men at arms are to hold themselves ready. They are thus trying to find excuses to arm their forces gradually. Their troops are, it is true, very badly equipped as they are not kept in the field as

* The names are left blank in the decipher but there is no doubt but that the rumour refers to the great fear entertained by the French that the Emperor might obtain control of English policy by marrying his cousin, the Princess Mary whilst his daughter Juana might marry King Edward. Such an alliance was of course really out of the question at this time.

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formerly. The Constable has recently revived some old ordinances in this respect, and has made some new ones, all tending to avoid the burdening of the people, which Dux will on no account allow. This has been carried so far that the bodies of troops when they march have been given the list of lodgings they are to go to from day to day, and they are not to stay in one place longer than another.

Dux is doing his utmost to get new cannon forged and powder made and other munitions of war prepared. He is spending money liberally in this. His plan is to supply Piedmont as well as he can, sending from Lyons by land and from Marseilles by water. He is specially sending certain double cannons for bombarding, and he foretells that he will have six of his legions supplied with these cannon, a hundred great pieces for each one, such as in Burgundy, Champagne, Languedoe, Guyenne, Normandy and Brittany, so that these countries may be no longer defenceless. With this view he has made arrangements with several Germans and Lorrainers to get him some cannon from Germany, by way of Lorraine, through Fontenoy and the Vosges. The Fleming Orpheure has advised that Dux intends to raise more lansquenets, of whom Marshal Mants, a German, is to take charge. I have learnt this from no other source; but the Fleming asserts that he has heard it, and that the intention arises from the great fear of Dux that the Emperor may begin war against him from Piedmont next year. It is certain that the French people have much suspicion of this, and it is a subject of public discussion.

M. de Vendome* is at present in high favour with Dux; to the extreme that Vendome's return to Court was hastened, and he usually dines with Dux, which he would not formerly have been allowed to do. The reason for this favour is said by some of these courtiers to be that if the negotiations for the marriage of Madam Margaret with the Prince of Spain or the Prince of Piedmont hang fire they may be taken in hand for her marriage with M. de Vendome, but I have not heard this from any trustworthy quarter.

The King has not hitherto consented to confirm the privileges of the city of Paris, as he intends to reform matters, and to deprive the city of an infinitude of little offices formerly in its gift. He has even compelled the payment from private citizens and the city, of the money they were in the past liable to pay, the principal sum having amounted to over 300,000 francs, by which the King will profit greatly, so they say, although the people of Paris are in desperation and assert that the city will be desolated and unable in future to help Dux, against whom and his principal ministers they are much incensed. The city of Orleans is in similar case, as the King also refuses to confirm their privileges. Dux, indeed, is reducing that city to such extremity, in order that in future it may not have the means of fortifying itself; this to avoid occasion for future trouble.

* Anthony de Bourbon Duke of Vendome, who married Jeanne d'Albret, titular Queen of Navarre, in October of the following year, 1548.

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The new Queen (Catherine de Medici) being in travail, a lady of her chamber asked M. de Vendome which he would like best, whether that a son should be born to the Queen or one born to M. d'Albret. This is regarded as being rather an adroit dilemma.* He replied that he would be glad if the Queen had not only one son but twelve, rather than that Albret should have any at all, inasmuch as from the former nothing but advantage could come to him, whereas in the other case the Princess (Jeanne) d'Albret would not be so rich as he should like to see her. This reply has been written and circulated and greatly praised, especially as the question was specially devised to draw from the Duke of Vendome an avowal whether he would be vexed if another son of France was born. As fate has decreed otherwise he is in higher authority than ever, and they introduce him into their most secret councils. The Constable does his best also to please him, as also does *Silvius*, although rumour says that he is not over well affected towards the Constable, as the latter monopolises all the credit.

A certain Don Francisco, a Portuguese, is making great efforts here to prevent the French from navigating in future to Brasil or to other Indies belonging to the King of Portugal. He has, however, completely failed to get any such promise. They (the French) tell him that sea navigation is free to everyone, but especially to them in this case, as they have been in the habit of sailing to Brasil for many years past. The same Don Francisco has, it is said, been pressing for a judgment also in the matter of the captures at sea by French and Portuguese, and praying for a suspension of the letters of marque and reprisals. This he has obtained, and an assurance given to him by the Privy Council that strict justice shall be administered in France in future. As for the past, he asserts, that he has not heard of a single pirate having been hanged or otherwise executed here, their crimes in fact having been winked at, which is quite true. At the same time they summoned before the Council and Don Francisco one Pacquelou, who is pressing for a letter of marque. Much talk took place between them, in the course of which Don Francisco charged Pacquelou with having carried arms to the Moors and having sold some Portuguese to them. Pacquelou denied this, and said that Don Francisco was telling an untruth. He said that he (Pacquelou) had in fact only done in this matter what he had been ordered to do by the late King (Francis I). Don Francisco considered himself aggrieved by this answer, saying that he had been given the lie direct, and demanded reparation for the insult. He was told by the Council that in this country it was not considered insulting to rebut an assertion by saying that it was untrue and that the opposite was the fact.

It is now reported that a ship has arrived in a port of Brittany with gold and pearls, there being on board no foreigner, but only

* It must not be forgotten that Anthony de Bourbon Duke de Vendome was first prince of the blood of France after the King and his son, and the talk of his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of the feudatory crown of Navarre. was already rife. In either of the two cases supposed Vendôme's chance of a regal crown was diminished.

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some French pilots. Enquiries have been made as to where this vessel has come from, and it is believed that she has been captured and robbed and the sailors drowned at sea. It is also said that Jean Longovis, count of Dieppe, is arming and provisioning four war ships for two years, with the intention of sending them to Brasil: but the real intention is doubtless to plunder the ships on their voyage home from the Indies, as usual. It is certain that Dux is beginning to give permission to several of his subjects, especially in Normandy, to fit out ships for voyages. The Normans have declared here that if they are not allowed to do this the trade of Normandy must perish, this being their pretext. Notice is being sent to Spain that a watch may be kept . . . .

It is said by members of the Constable's household that the King has certain information that Duke Maurice (of Saxony) is discontented with the Emperor in consequence of the detention of the Landgrave (Philip of Hesse) and the suit of Katzenellenbogen and they (the French) think that in consequence of this the said Duke Maurice may at a future time traverse his Majesty's (the Emperor's) interests. They speak as they wish! *

The new Queen (Catherine) sent lately to the Florentine ambassador and complained bitterly to him of the order given by the Duke of Florence that none of his subjects should leave his dominions to take service under any other prince, without his permission, on pain of death. This looked as if he desired to stop his subjects from crossing into Piedmont for the King of France; and the latter was much offended at it, as was also the Constable. The Florentine ambassador, who seems to be a good servant of the Emperor, replied that the prohibition was a general one. They had greatly regretted that any annoyance should have been felt by the King of France in the matter, but the order had been given by the Duke in the interest of the conservation of his dominions, and it was common for all potentates to take such a step. But they (the French) still persist in pressing the ambassador warmly to request his master to suspend the prohibition, and to allow his subjects to go where they please to serve. It is also reported that the new Queen exhorted the same ambassador, as if of his own accord, to urge his master to come to terms with Dux; not that it was needful for the present, but that at least he should give an assurance that at the death of the Emperor he should be on their side. The Queen pointed out that when his Majesty died the position of affairs in Italy would change, and there would be less stability, so that the Duke (of Florence) would have need of the help of Dux (the King of France), whom he would find faithful to him and a good ally. He (the

* It must be recollected that the Landgrave was the father-in-law of Maurice of Saxony, by means of whose adherence the Emperor had succeeded in crushing the Lutherans for a time. Maurice took the continued detention of the Landgrave after his submission as one of the pretexts for his defection from the imperial cause shortly afterwards, a defection which practically secured religious toleration in the Empire. The other subject of discontent mentioned, the suit of Katzenellenbogen, was a territorial dispute between the rulers of Hesse and Nassau, which had been decided in preceding August, by the Emperor at Augsburg, in favour of Nassau.

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King of France) would also influence the Strozzis to be friendly, and would pacify the complaints now made by the Strozzis with regard to Florentine freedom.* By these means he (the Duke) and his people would be assured. The Queen confessed that for the present the Duke had no good reason for deserting the Emperor, who had been so good to him; but he would be doing him no wrong by changing sides after the Emperor's death. She swore that she would rather see the state of Florence in the Duke's possession than in that of any other prince,† and Dux was of the same opinion. We have learnt this from one who had it from the ambassador's secretary, who added that the ambassador replied that he would be very sorry to stand in the way of such an understanding, but he knew well that his master would flatly reject the proposal, his entire devotion being towards the Emperor. It has been thought well to give this information to show the ardent wish of Dux and his friends to get the lordship of Italy and to stir up trouble there if they can get the chance.

On the 28 November last a proclamation was made in this place of Melun summoning all the gendarmerie of France, and it is said that Dux intends even to increase their number by a third; and that he will send them to their garrisons, all the frontiers being prepared for defence. It is said, moreover, that the legionaries are being made ready for when they are wanted. The excuse for all this is that they fear the Emperor and Germany on account of Piedmont, and they wish to be strong and ready. It may be feared, however, that the preparations may be for other ends, inasmuch as the Pope and the States of Venice, it is said, may league with him (Henry II). Without this the French are hopeless of effecting anything. It is impossible to speak confidently of their future plans, but it is certain that they are in great fear of the Emperor here; although they are loth to confess it and are as blustering and insolent as ever since the beginning of this new reign, during which they think to subdue all the world. All this they expect from the greatness of *Dux* (Henry II) with whom *Silvius*, and the Cardinal of Ferrara, solemnly feasted at Fontainebleau lately; and it is said that the matter in hand was the marriage of M. d'Aumale with the second daughter of Ferrara, which affair is now looked upon as settled.

Well informed people say that Aumale will go to Piedmont as Lieutenant General for the King, and that the Prince of Amalfi will still not budge from his command. The appointment, however, seems only in case the Emperor sends troops to Italy, and Dux wishes to have Aumale there, owing to the great confidence he reposes in him to hold Piedmont to the very end.

The belief here is general that the King will make a journey to Burgundy at the beginning of March, and will thence go to Lyons, though there is some talk of his going by Touraine. The decision

* See note page 181.

† Catharine being daughter of Lorenzo de'Medici, Duke of Urbino, and consequently the reputed sister of the murdered Duke of Florence, Alessandro de'Medici, the predecessor of Cosimo, had naturally not been friendly with the latter, to whom, moreover, the Strozzi and other Florentines in the service of France were bitterly opposed.

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was only taken a week ago, but the particular road he will follow depends upon the progress of affairs. If Dux can be satisfied about the Emperor, and learns for certain that his Majesty is not going to Italy, he (Henry II) will go to Normandy and temporise with the English and keep them in hand for the solace of the Scots.

Messengers are constantly arriving in this Court from the confederated Protestants. They come post and return at once. It is reported that the Protestants fear the Emperor, and Dux increases their alarm, urging them to stand firm and join for mutual defence. Some men from Geneva have been here saying that the Emperor was coming to attack them, and so to seize Lyons, then closing the road to Italy. They came to beg for aid in money to arm and fortify their city.

Dux is assembling the States of his realm who grant him supplies, and he demands of them money for the necessities of his government. He is grabbing as much money as he can, and he has ordered his treasurer to pay nobody without his express command. The truth is that he has not just now much ready cash. He has brought from the Louvre most of the money his father left him, which amounted to less than 800,000 crowns. He has paid this money away for debts secured on his domain, to the leaguers, etc. Necessity, therefore, makes him hoard money, spending very little from day to day, much less than his late father did. He is very sparing, too, in giving presents to the foreigners who visit him; and altogether he is as stingy as his father was liberal. He would not even allow what he owed at Lyons to be paid, determined to have ready money at any cost for the needs of his realm. We shall see whether the new taxes will be increased. If they do it will be suspicious.

November ? St. Mauris to the Queen Dowager of Hungary.

Paris
K. 1485.

A week since the Scottish ambassador named Paniter came to see me at my lodgings. After some personal chat he told me that the principal reason of his coming was to learn from me whether your Majesty would be willing to enter into negotiations for peace with Scotland without referring the matter to the consent of the King of England. He said that he was confident that if your Majesty would consent thus to treat with them direct and without the condition aforesaid the Queen of Scotland and the Regent wished for nothing more ardently than to win the friendship of the Emperor.

He dwelt upon the old alliance and confederation that had existed for so many years between the houses of Burgundy and Scotland, which had only been broken when his Majesty the Emperor declared against them during the last war. This, they knew, had been done at the instance of the King of England (Henry VIII). Even then, if matters had not been so hurried, and the Emperor had well understood the position, he would have seen many reasons for not acceding to the King of England's demand, at all events without hearing the parties concerned. Paniter professed the highest esteem for the friendship of the Emperor, and greatly praised an answer which he says the

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Emperor gave him on one occasion; to the effect that he would maintain, and even increase, the friendship, and would never be instrumental in handing over Scotland to be the prey of her enemies. He enlarged much, Madam, upon the present unfortunate calamity of Scotland, owing to the inequality of her forces in battle with those of her enemy. The King of England, he said, had treated them cruelly and unjustly, and the injury inflicted upon them by him would for ever rankle in the mind of the Scots, until they could be revenged with God's help. He trusted that this might be soon, as the Scots were burning to avenge the ignominy they had suffered. Heaven and earth and all the elements of nature, he said, cried aloud for redress, and he prayed that all good princes and Christians and friends of the Catholic faith would assist his country against the oppression which they had cast off. Even, he continued, if Scotland, was deserted and abandoned by all the world, the King of England could never bring her to his rule: all he could do would only embitter and anger her the more. If some of the Scottish lords had temporised with the King of England, it was only done out of sheer necessity and to gain time. Brute force was for the moment on the side of the King of England, but Scottish hearts were as far as ever from being subdued.

I heard all he had to say without interruption, and when he had finished I asked him what had moved him to come to me to learn the intentions of your Majesty. He replied that, as I was the ambassador here representing the Emperor, and he being very anxious to see his country reconciled and friendly with his Majesty, he had conceived the idea of approaching me and speaking as he had done. He therefore took the opportunity, he said, of begging for enlightenment on the above point, in order that it might not be said that Scotland had suffered the shame of asking for peace and had been repulsed, or at least denied, unless with the consent of the English, which would be to make peace impossible, as the English only sought their entire ruin. The matter therefore turned upon one point alone; namely whether your Majesty would make peace with them without referring them to the present King of England. He added that he spoke thus because he thought it possible that the treaty of close alliance which had been made (*i.e* by the Emperor) with the late King of England had not been renewed with his son.

I took special note of the last point, Madam, believing that it was mentioned in order to sound me and discover whether I knew anything as to the renewal or otherwise of the said treaty, convinced also that this proceeded from someone higher than the speaker and from a French source. Madam, I therefore repeated to him in substance what I had represented here to the King of France respecting the continued depredations committed at sea by the Scots, against the subjects of the Emperor, in violation of the safe conducts on both sides. I set forth to him in detail these outrages, committed notwithstanding all the remonstrances that we had been able to make. Your Majesty, I said, had even appealed directly to the Council of Scotland, but without

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any good result, for no restitution had ever been obtained of the plunder taken so unjustly. The Emperor and your Majesty, I said, nevertheless persisted in demanding this, that the goods seized should be restored and the injury redressed. This I had on several occasions repeated here when I had been spoken to on the subject of the advisability of his Majesty's making peace with the Scots. I could not therefore understand how they could expect us to listen to peace proposals direct from them until, at least, they had restored our property and made some reparation for the injury inflicted. I said that he (Adam Paniter) must understand that I said this on my own account alone, and as arising from my own experience and observation of how these affairs were dealt with. I would, however, write to your Majesty an account of what had passed between us, without adding anything of my own. I praised his goodwill and desire to secure peace in Scotland.

I asked him in the course of conversation whether all hope had disappeared of their being able to come to terms with the King of England. This was for the purpose of hinting that unless they did this it would be difficult for them to arrange with the Emperor, as well as to sound him on the subject and see whether any negotiations had been opened with the English. He replied that it would be more difficult now than ever it had been to bring them together. He said that if they (the English) had been content to do nothing more after the Castle of St. Andrews had been taken, affairs might easily have been arranged and a favourable peace made; but that all chance of this had been destroyed by the inhumanity displayed since by the English, which inhumanity was even now continuing every day against the Scots, the principal object being to obtain possession of the young Princess to marry her to the King of England, to which the Scots would never consent. It would, moreover, be most unreasonable in any case to arrange her marriage, she being only five years old; but in the present case it was specially unreasonable, because it would mean placing her realm in the hands of one, who, so far as could be seen, would for the whole of his life be alienated from the Catholic faith, and might well draw Scotland into the same heresy as himself; Scotland being now so firmly Christian as to hate such an idea; and all the more if it came from the hands of the King of England.

Referring further, Madam, to the depredations of the Scots at sea, he said that if Mr. Strick* when he was in Scotland had consented to submit to summary proof any single fact of which proof was necessary, and had produced signed attestations from a Secretary of Scotland, this would have sufficed to secure the condemnation of one of the principal Scottish pirates, and the restitution of what he had plundered, in addition to the severe punishment of the offender. He remarked in reference to this

* Particulars of the mission of Strick sent by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Hungary, to Scotland for the purpose of arranging some commercial *modus vivendi* notwithstanding the existence of a technical state of war between the countries will be found in the last volume of this Calendar.

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that the safe conducts guaranteeing navigation between the subjects of the Emperor and the Scots were in his opinion nothing but a signal fire to attract such robberies; the sea being so large and the corsairs so numerous. He said that he recollected perfectly well pointing this out at the time that the safe conducts were granted; he, at that time, being anxious to bring about peace, which would have been much better for them in every way. He condemned earnestly the doings of their pirates, and confessed that they deserved severe punishment, whilst the restitution of the plunder they had taken was more than reasonable when the facts and the offenders had been ascertained. He tried to excuse the piracies that were at present taking place by assuring me they were the work for the most part of Englishmen and naturalised Scotsmen in England, who retire to certain remote islands the better to hide their misdeeds. He was certain, he said, that this would be found to be the case.

He declared that the Scots felt to their very entrails the small effort made by these people (the French) to get them included in the last peace treaty they had made with the King of England. They had even left them in the lurch, he said, in their negotiations with the Emperor, since on all sides they (the French) were so anxious for their own advantage that they had sought both treaties of peace whilst ignoring their friends and allies the Scots. They (the Scots) had specially sent word to Dux (Henry II) on his accession to the crown to this effect, urging him to send an envoy to England for the purpose of securing their inclusion in the last treaty of peace, which had been flatly refused by the King of England. For this reason poor deserted Scotland found herself now afflicted as she was. What grieved him (Panitor) most, he said, was that they had lost the favour of your Majesty; and he concluded his discourse by assuring me that Scotland was anxious to return to peace with the Emperor of its own accord, without any mystery or the intervention of others between them, in order that your Majesty might recognise the more clearly their sincerity. He declared that in the past he had always advocated this course, and he adapted this to his previous observations by repeating to me that he would have been willing for the question to be referred to the English for the sake of arriving at a peaceful solution; but that they had been haughtily repulsed. I said I would submit the whole question to your Majesty; but I always kept before him the matter of the piracies, with the need for restitution and redress.

He asked whether in my opinion they on their part should send an envoy to your Majesty in order to discuss the matter of the restitution of the plunder, which envoy might at the same time broach the principal question of a separate peace. I replied that the late King (of France), and even the present one, had often held out hopes that he would cause to be sent to your Majesty Scottish ambassadors to bring about the restitution in question. This, however, had never been done; and I felt certain, in any case, that they (the Scots), could not fail eventually

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I was only speaking for myself, and must leave the answer to his question to your Majesty. This is all that passed between us at the time.

I have no doubt that this step is taken with a desire to bring about peace, and it may be observed that one of the reasons why these people (the French) may wish to arrive at it by these means is that it may introduce division between the Emperor and the King of England. From this, and from what I have said above, Madam, I infer that Scotland is at present very hard pressed; because the country is naturally insolent and haughty in matters of arms, she would otherwise be unwilling to humble herself, and would prefer to continue the depredations.

Apropos of this, Madam, on the last day of September the ordinary French ambassador resident in Scotland arrived in this Court, and also a Scottish gentleman specially sent to demand aid from the King of France. He reported that the King of England dominated a castle, near to a harbour, where an entire fleet could easily lie, and they considered that unless this fortress were conquered the entire ruin and loss of Scotland would ensue. The whole Court was much troubled at the coming of these men with this news, and *Dux* was three days closeted, and it was said conferring as to sending the help demanded.* It is now asserted that he will give it in the form of money, whilst others say that in the spring he will send expressly to Scotland the prior of Capua, and it is also considered certain that the Pope will contribute funds to the Scots. He is sending a Legate to Scotland with money, who will come here to visit the King (of France) on his way thither.

There is therefore, Madam, little appearance that any accord is being negotiated between the English and the Scots, but if things change I will keep your Majesty well informed as promptly as possible.

I have no doubt that your Majesty will have learnt the truth of the occurrences that have taken place near Ardres, between Dux and the English, of which people here think so much. In order, indeed, to encourage their people they announce that their army under the command of Chatillon had demolished three English forts and hold prisoners all those who were inside. They say that the forts were bravely and smartly assailed. On the other hand, the English ambassador affirms that there was no resistance at all on their side nor gallantry on the other, there having only been a few men in the demolished chapel, solely for the purpose of continuing their ancient possession of it. It is the custom here to make flies into elephants, and these Frenchmen will never abandon this habit of theirs or cease to talk vainly as they do. This (English) ambassador is greatly suspicious of such behaviour, but the Constable endeavoured to justify the

* The envoy in question was Sir Walter Ogilvie, and it need hardly be said that his real mission was to arrange the deportation of the infant Queen of Scots to France to be betrothed to the Dauphin. Late in December the embassy returned to Scotland from Brittany "with a hundred French gentlemen, captains for the war sent by the King with a great sum of money. Grey de Wilton to Somerset. *Scottish State Papers*, Bain. Vol. I.

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affair by saying that the violence began on the English side. He has tried, indeed, to minimise and palliate the affair in every way, saying that it is not their desire to enter into dispute with the English, but rather to avoid all question between them. He declares that Dux wishes to observe the last treaty of good friendship and neighbourhood, and if he undertook anything against the said treaty he hoped that he himself would be repelled. In short, Madam, after doing their worst these people are trying to smooth it all over with fair words, though they have to deal with people who understand them perfectly.

Dec. 2. The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

Vienna Imp. Arch.

We have received your letters of 15th of last month, and also those you have written to the members of our Flemish Council of State with the answers they have sent to you. We approve of all you have done, and also of the terms in which you expressed yourself to the Protector when you recited our letters to him, and of your conversation with the Councillors who were deputed to confer with you in the matter of the commercial convention. We have nothing more to write to you on this point, beyond what is contained in the letter from the Council of State; and we request you to follow the instructions therein contained, and to obey all other directions the Council may give you in furtherance of our service and the affairs of our Flemish dominions. With this object we enclose a letter of credence for the King of England, another for the Protector, and others in blank to which you may add the superscriptions that you think will be most convenient. The other details contained in your letters to our sister the Queen Dowager will be dealt with in her replies to you.

Augsburg, 2 December, 1547.

Dec. 5. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch.

I was recently with the Protector on behalf of some private claims of your Majesty's subjects; and in the course of our conversation he expressed great gratification at the reply that your Majesty had given to their (the English) ambassador, touching the request and intercession they had made to you in the name of the King of England in favour of the Duke of Saxony (John Frederick) and his children.

The Protector did not dissemble his desire to see all Germans in complete devotion to your Majesty, and said that he had no doubt that by the aid of your prudence, clemency and magnanimity, your Majesty would be able so to order matters as to have all Germany ready at your bidding to serve you and injure your enemies, whereby the stability, greatness and pre-eminence of your Majesty would be the more firmly established. It would cause envious rivals to dissemble their enmity, and the Turk to be more afraid than ever

Sire, as I was very anxious to learn what resolution they were likely to arrive at in this parliament in the matter of religion, which is the first and principal point with which they have to

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deal, the sessions of parliament still continuing, I broached the subject to the Protector. I was also moved to do this by seeing that, not only have they taken away from the churches the images of the saints, but they have since removed the crucifix, which, according to the new regulations recently published, was to have been allowed to remain, as, indeed, they assured me it should be. I therefore could not refrain from addressing the Protector on the matter; giving him my opinion of what was going on, unofficially and in the strictest confidence. I told him that I did not know whether your Majesty would approve of my interfering so far in the matter, but I could not fail to see that the acts now being committed were not at all in accordance with the published regulations, and the ordinances which provided for the removal of the images, since the crucifix itself was not allowed to remain in its place, whilst there was a rumour that even the mass was to be abolished, and at the present time, indeed, was no longer celebrated in certain places. I therefore, could not so far forget the affection I bore him and my anxiety for the welfare of England, as to avoid addressing him on the subject, although I had intended not to trouble him any more with my remonstrances. But once more, I said, I would admonish him to consider very carefully what innovations he introduced into the realm during the time of his government as he had witnessed by the example of those who have the gospel only for ever in their mouths, that they are the very men who refuse to obey anyone, wronging the whole world in order that they may live according to their own inclinations, which is quite contrary to the Gospel of which they professed to be so fond. They had, I said, never come to a good end; and I then cited many examples and instances in support of my remonstrance.

The Protector replied to me that the Cross would not have been taken down from the altars but for the superstitious simplicity of the people, who constantly continued still to come and offer out of their poverty both wheat and bread, all of which of course was appropriated to the profit of the priests, who already had enough to live upon. With regard to the mass, he continued, the King had attended its public celebration on the day of the opening of parliament. I said I recollected very well that he had told me so before, but that I had heard that the service of the mass had not been continued before the King since then. To this the Protector answered: "Believe me that it has always been celebrated in his chamber; and I affirm that to you on my honour." I expressed my perfect willingness to believe him, but desired greatly some further assurance that no additional innovations should be introduced. He extricated himself, however, from the subject, repeating the expression that I have already quoted above, to the effect that he would never permit anything whatever to be done against the service of God.

Many persons who still persevere in the holy ancient faith murmur greatly at the casting down of the images from the altars, and consequently a sermon was preached in the cathedral by a bishop, who explained to the people the reasons for the abolition

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of the images: and in order the better to persuade them he produced and exhibited to them publicly certain artificial figures which moved their heads, arms and legs, these figures having formerly been visited and venerated as miraculous.

A rumour has come hither from Scotland to the effect that the Scots have laid seige to one of the forts held by the English in their country, and that great hopes are entertained of capturing it. Some ships have been sent from here by the King's government with provisions and supplies for their fortresses in Scotland. The Protector did not seem in the least concerned. On the contrary, he told me that Scotsmen were constantly coming in and offering their services to the King. The Earl of Huntly still remains here a prisoner, and I asked the Protector if he (Huntly) had accepted the conditions that had been proposed to him, which conditions I mentioned in a former letter to your Majesty. To this the Protector answered: "We are very strongly warned, both by those who are on our side in Scotland and by our friends in France, that it will be imprudent to let Huntly go to Scotland, having regard to his authority and power amongst his people; he being, moreover, strongly opposed to this country (England) and a good soldier for his age."

The Protector also said that the French had captured Fiennes, and he did not know whether they were casting their eyes towards your Majesty or themselves (*i.e.* the English), although, he continued, the French ambassador had informed him that the Christian King (Henry II) had sent all his principal officers to Piedmont, where he had fortified and thoroughly provided all his strong places. I took the opportunity of asking him upon what terms he stood with the French; and he replied that he knew of no change in their relations, although he had heard that the French were in negotiations to assist the Scots. I heard to-day that the French ambassador has been to Court, and the Protector and he came to rather warm words. I will discover what was the reason for this, and will inform your Majesty in my next letter.

As Madam Mary has been very ill, as the physicians tell me of melancholy, I sent to visit her. She was extremely gratified at this attention, as she was living so far from London* and she especially desired that she might be humbly remembered to the kind favour of your Majesty, after whose health she most scrupulously enquired. I understand that she will not return to London this winter.

The Bishop of Winchester keeps up his usual state in the Fleet prison, which is usually regarded here as the Civil prison. Two other bishops have also been sent thither for incarceration as I am informed,† one of them being the Bishop of Colchester (*sic*) the reason for their imprisonment being that they remain firm partisans of the position taken up by the Bishop of Winchester, against which some of the other bishops are preaching publicly.

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* Probably at New Hall, near Chelmsford, Essex.

† This was not true at the time.

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As I am writing this, Sire, I am informed that mass is no longer celebrated either in the house of the Protector nor in those of the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Admiral (Seymour) who is married to the Queen Dowager (Katharine Parr). I am therefore the less surprised at the cool tone adopted by the Protector when I spoke to him on the matter. Unless Parliament in general prevents it, I greatly fear that everything will fall into confusion, notwithstanding the Protector's assurance to me that he will always hold in profound reverence the holy Sacrament, and will pay all due respect to the whole ecclesiastical order. God grant that this intention may increase in him, for I see it daily declining here.*

London, 5 December.

Dec. 5. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR'S COUNCIL OF STATE.

Since my last letter to your Lordships under date of 12th ultimo, I have made several attempts to get into communication with the Council on the subject of the tallies (customs dues); but they excuse themselves from entering into it by reason of the absence of the Dean of London† who had not yet returned, though he is expected from one day to another. I will use all diligence in the matter.

With respect to the burgess named Pierre Bauwers, and the complaint made to your Lordships by the Antwerp people that he had been arrested at Dover, the Protector has sent to me the communications forwarded to him by the officers at Dover in reply to his enquiries. They report that there is no person of that name, and no subject of the Emperor at all imprisoned under their jurisdiction. They promise, however, to have further enquiries made, to see if such a man is held prisoner in any neighbouring place, and will duly report. The Protector sent word to me that if I liked to send my own people down there to make their own investigations he will pay all their expenses in case the man in question is found to be detained. But as I have no particulars of the person referred to but his simple name I do not know how I can discover him. I must say also that it very often happens that the complaints that are laid before your Lordships are remedied before I receive any instructions, and many letters reach me in favour of claims in support of which no plaintiff appears. I therefore have not considered it advisable to incur any great expense in the investigation now referred to, until I receive further instructions from your Lordships or some information from the party interested.

When I was with the Protector I carefully brought before his notice various claims and cases of his Majesty's subjects, and

* The Bill for repealing the Statutes of the Six Articles and others restraining the use of the Scriptures was finally passed by this parliament on the 24th December, after much opposition by the Catholic bishops, especially Bonner, Tunstall, Goodrich, Skip and Day. All fear of prosecution for denying catholicism was thenceforward removed. The catholics did not benefit by this extension of religious liberty, as all opposition to the King's supremacy in religious as well as civil matters was to be considered high treason.

† Dr. William May, who had been one of the English Commissioners at the trade Conference at Bourbourg in 1546.

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pressed him urgently to cause prompt justice to be done in them. He received my representations favourably, and promised to have the cases dealt with promptly; and he asked me to be good enough to put into writing the complaints and grievances of which I spoke, in order that he might be able to redress them the better. I have done this.

He then went on to say: "Now I have a case that I wish to recommend to you, concerning a woman belonging to Calais, who after having taken more drink than she should have done, at Saint Omer, said certain words against the images of the saints, and is now a prisoner in consequence." With that he showed me the letter from the officers of the law at Saint Omer addressed to the Deputy of Calais, saying that they were awaiting the instructions of the Queen Dowager as to the decision of the case, the woman in question having contravened her Majesty's ordinances. The Protector requested me to write to your Lordships, begging that the woman might be released.

Parliament is still in session daily here, but I understand that they continue to debate the first and principal question before them: namely, that of religion. It is asserted that all the chantries are unconditionally appropriated to the King, for him to dispose of them as he may please. All the gentry, large and small, are therefore on the look out to receive rewards and benefits from the King.

The great crucifix which was on the altar in Saint Paul's Church was a few days ago cast down by force of instruments, several men being wounded in the process and one killed. There is not a single crucifix now remaining in the other churches, which is quite contrary to the regulations published and to the assurances which these people have made to me. As there is, of course, no lack of people who complain of these proceedings, a bishop has recently preached a sermon explaining the reasons that have moved them to abolish the images. In order to persuade the people he produced and showed them certain figures artificially made to move their heads, arms and legs, these, he said, having been visited and venerated as miraculous.

Mass is still celebrated here, but the common people are beginning to sing psalms in their own language in the churches. I do not know what will come of it eventually, since before even the religious question is decided by Parliament these innovations are being carried out.

I learn that during this session of Parliament the English merchants will present a petition praying for the abolition of the wool staple at Calais, which it is alleged, benefits no one but certain wealthy merchants who exercise their power in buying and keeping in their hands all the wool, which they thus monopolise, causing, as these merchants in England aver, great dearness in the price of the article. I will take care to make no mention of the staple, in accordance with your lordships' last letters, until I receive further instructions from you on the subject.

News has come here from Scotland that the Scots were besieging one of the forts held by the English, and they have great hopes

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of capturing it. Some of the King's ships are being sent from here with all the supplies needful to provision their forts in Scotland. The Protector did not appear to me to be at all anxious. He even said that Scots were coming in constantly to offer their services to the King of England. The earl of Huntly still remains here a prisoner.

(The rest of this letter is textually the same as that of Van der Delft to the Emperor of the same date.)

London, 5 December, 1547.

Dec. 5. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to PRESIDENT LOYS SCORS (LOIS DE SCHORE).

The Protector informed me the other day that the French had taken Fiennes,* and he said he did not know whether they were aiming at us or at them (the English). As you will be better informed than I am as to what is occurring I have not mentioned this in my letters to your lordships. I hear that the Protector grew somewhat heated yesterday in his talk with the French ambassador. I will do my best to discover the cause of this.

I am writing now also to M. de Praet, in order that I may remain in his kind and long standing remembrance, and also to M. de Roeulx, at the request of the Protector, in favour of the woman arrested at St. Omer of whom I spoke in the accompanying letter to your lordships. I recently wrote to M. de Granvelle touching my own affairs and the necessity in which I am for means. I should not have ventured to do this until I had obtained your lordship's opinion on the matter, only that I was uncertain whether or not you had perchance departed with the Queen Dowager. Perhaps for an affair of importance that I think ought not to be further delayed I may have to make a tour through Flanders this winter, during which season I shall be less needed here; and I am begging M. de Granvelle in any case to obtain from his Majesty leave of absence for me for two months or six weeks.

London, 5 December, 1547.

Dec. 9. Vienna Imp. Arch.

The FLEMISH COUNCIL OF STATE to VAN DER DELFT.

We have just received letters from his Majesty the Emperor dated 2nd instant, by which his Majesty orders us to send you the enclosed letters from him with the letters of credence which accompany it, from his Majesty, addressed to the King of England, the Protector and Controller Paget, and other similar letters without any superscription to enable you to forward and solicit in the name of the Emperor the continuance of the commercial convention of 1522, touching the wool trade and the Calais staple, as you will see by the letters themselves.

* Fiennes is a small place within the County of Boulogne and consequently in ostensible English occupation at the time. It is near the Flemish frontier, and belonged to the Dowager Countess of Egmont, a subject of the Emperor. It was one of the estates of which the restoration to their respective Flemish owners was so persistently demanded by the Emperor and his sister.

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The letter addressed to Controller Paget bears the superscription only of knight as his title, whereas we understand that he is now a Knight of the Order (*i.e.* the Garter), and you will consider whether it will be well for you to present this letter to him as it is, or whether it will be better to write the proper superscription with his full new title upon one of the blank letters.

These letters without superscription are all simply letters of credence, and you can address all the rest of them to whomever you think will be most useful, giving the style of: "*Our very dear and well beloved,*" with the name of the individual. For the rest you will follow, according to his Majesty's orders, the instructions contained in our letters to you dated 26th of last month. If you require any further instructions and will inform us we will duly furnish you with the same.

We have trustworthy information that Secretary Alexander (Adam ?) Paniter, who has hitherto sojourned in France, has been despatched from there, and has returned to Scotland, with the special mission to exhort the Queen (Mary of Lorraine) and the Regent, to stand stoutly against the English, and the King of France will not abandon them, but will have French and Italian captains sent to them for their guidance, and also armour and other munitions of war.

It appears that the King of France with this object has caused some ships to be made ready at Brest, and we have thought well to let you know this in order that you may use the knowledge profitably with Controller Paget or otherwise, showing by it the small hope that exists of their (the English) being able to be friendly with the French, their ancient enemies and ours, but you must say this with such discretion that it may not be repeated against you.

You are already informed that the French are holding the castle of Fiennes, which belongs to the Lady d'Egmont, and was under the control of the English. The English are holding the church of the place, but neither side is trying to expel the other, although as we are given to understand neither of the places in question is capable of resisting artillery fire. We cannot understand what dissimulation there may be under this. This is all we can write to you at present pending the receipt of a reply to our letter of the 22nd of last month.

Brussels, 9 December, 1547.

Dec. 12. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR'S COUNCIL.

In accordance with your lordships' letters, dated 31st ultimo, which I received with those of the Emperor, I waited upon the Protector and laid before him the two subjects as directed by you; namely, first, that his Majesty had no wish by delaying or witholding his acquiescence to stand in the way of a good understanding between them (the English) and the Scots, it being understood that in any arrangement that might be concluded his Majesty's States and dominions should be included, and also that the subjects of his Majesty should be indemnified

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for damages and interests that they had suffered at the hands of the Scots, with whom the Emperor had been at war solely on account of the English; the Emperor having sent me such instructions as would satisfy them (the English) if matters proceeded so far.

The Protector replied that they had already received from their ambassador information to the same effect; but that at present they were not in such a position towards the Scots as to make negotiations practicable, the Scots instead of seeking an accord with them, being now trying to obtain the assistance of the French against them, as plainly appeared by an instruction that had been sent to the Scottish ambassador resident in France. The effect of this instruction was to urge very forcibly upon the King of France the great necessity in which the Scots found themselves, their condition being such that they would be obliged to deliver themselves into the hands of their enemies unless they were promptly succoured by a large force of troops, a grant of money, and aid in the form of victuals, the amount needed being specified in the instructions sent. The Protector said that this document had fallen into his hands, and that some day he would show it to me that I might see the great number of men and the large sum of money the Scots demanded. The King of France, he had been informed, in any case had appointed M. de la Chapelle to go to Scotland with a certain number of Captains to inspect their fortresses and put the Scots in better order to carry on the war.

I asked the Protector whether it was true, as I had been assured, that one of their (the English) forts had been beseiged by the Scots, and he replied that it was quite true that the Governor (Regent) had sent a certain number of troops with three pieces of artillery before the fort of Broughty Crag, which fort had been hastily constructed in a sandy position, by which it might easily be understood that it could not be considered very safe. Nevertheless, their (the English) garrison had been reinforced by some of the English ships, and had twice sallied and inflicted damage upon the enemy, without any loss on their own side. On one occasion, indeed, they had driven the enemy back and had spiked their two best pieces. He had not received any later news than this. Under your lordships' correction this appears to me to indicate that there is less cause for suspicion than ever of an agreement being made between them and the Scots; in addition to which the Protector, referring to the conditions laid down in my instructions upon which the Emperor's acquiescence would be granted, declared that they would never make any arrangement with the Scots without the entire satisfaction of his Majesty. He believed that the Emperor would act thus towards them, and they would not do otherwise: neither in this respect nor any other would they violate the treaty of close friendship and alliance.

After many more courteous words to this effect, he reverted to the point of the indemnity to his Majesty's subjects, repeating what Paget had said to me in a former interview, about the

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difficulty which might occur in this respect. I repeated in substance the same observations that I had made to Paget when he had raised the question, adding also the remarks contained in the Queen Dowager's letter to me respecting it, namely that the poverty of the people (*i.e.* the Scots) ought not to be advanced as an excuse for not making due compensation, since the Queen (of Scots), the Regent (Arran), the Council and the nobility had all received their share of the plunder, and they, at all events, were perfectly solvent; and in any case that the realm itself ought to assume the responsibility. To this the Protector replied: "You may be quite sure that the Scots will never seek to make an arrangement with us so long as any one of them can find a penny"; and then, laughing, he continued: "But there is no need to talk about this now, seeing the present condition of affairs between us and the Scots: but we will not do otherwise than I have told you with regard to satisfying the Emperor."

The second point of my instructions referred to the intercession of the King of England in favour of the Duke of Saxony, which the Protector had proposed to me some fourteen or fifteen days ago. The Protector humbly thanked his Majesty (the Emperor) for the reply I gave him in this respect.

I then opened to him the affair of the properties of his Majesty's subjects in the Boulognais, in accordance with the directions contained in your lordships' letters, without raising any question or doubt with regard to the verbal promise he had given to me, or showing any bitterness on account of the delays that had taken place in carrying out the promised restitution. I assumed an appearance of perfect confidence that he really wished to effect the restitution, and that his insistence upon a schedule or specification of the claimants and their properties being furnished to him was made in good faith. I said that, as he well knew, I had not opposed this demand of his strongly at the time, because it appeared to me that it was not very prejudicial to the settlement we desired; but in view, now, of what your lordships (*i.e.* the Emperor's Flemish Council of State) had written to me, to the effect that such a specification could not be compiled without public announcements being made in Artois, Picardy, Flanders and Hainault, to discover those who were deprived of their properties in the Boulognais, which public announcement was in your lordships' opinion inadvisable from the English point of view, the matter had assumed a different aspect. It must also be considered, I said, that the particular requests I had recently made to him for the restitution of the properties of Madame d'Egmont and the Seigneur de Mourbecque was of itself a sufficient specification, so far as their cases were concerned, the claimants being persons of high rank and well known. There was no possible exception to be taken to their domicile or the services they had rendered, and their possessions in the Boulognais were famous, such, for instance, as the barony of Fiennes, with its appurtenances, and the territory of Souverain Moulin.

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I said I would give him my personal opinion on the matter; namely that for his own sake it would be inadvisable that more delay should take place in effecting the restitution to these two claimants, or that any further specification should be demanded in regard to them. To this he answered: "Well, these two properties shall be restored, but I must discuss the matter with the Council," and then, reverting to my words about "public announcement," he continued: "We did not intend when we promised the concession that the King should return everything taken in the Boulognais and keep nothing for himself." This gave me the key to their meaning in insisting upon the specification of claims, and I replied that the agreement had extended, as we understood, to all subjects of the Emperor who had not been in opposition to the King of England. The King, I said, would in any case retain a great deal of territory in the Boulognais, as the subjects of the Emperor had possessed the least part of it; adding that it certainly appeared to me that it would be good policy in their own interests to place the gentry and other surrounding inhabitants under obligation to them, in order that they might always count upon their co-operation. It was, I said, of the greatest importance to them in case of hostilities occurring between them (the English) and France, to have in their favour the people on the frontiers, both in regard to the supply of stores and other services and commodity which they would receive from them, services which could not be obtained for money if these people on the borders were left in despair of ever recovering their properties until the French again became masters of the country. "Well," replied the Protector, "I will discuss the subject with the Council, in order that the two special claims presented by you may be despatched and restitution in those cases made.

Entering then upon the question of the tallies (customs dues) in order to open that of the Calais wool staple, I informed the Protector what had passed between the Grand Master (Lord St. John), Controller Paget, Dr. Petre and myself, and that the excuse they had given for the delay was that the Dean of London was absent. I had since, I said, endeavoured to pursue the matter with Dr. Petre, but he had declined to enter further into it until the return of the Dean; and it was easy to understand by this that they had no desire to come to any agreement on this point, whereby the subjects of the Emperor were very heavily burdened, contrary to all alliances, intercourse and reason. I made a discourse to him, setting forth that no nation in Christendom enjoyed so many privileges in the Netherlands dominions of the Emperor as the English, and no nation was so heavily burdened and harassed in this country as his subjects, who were, I said, better treated in every part of the world than here. In this country, which was so closely bound in friendship with the Emperor, his subjects were more thwarted and troubled in their business than anywhere else.

The Protector broke in upon my words here, and said: "We do you no wrong with regard to the tallies. They are of long standing, as has been proved to you by the Act which speaks of

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the subsidy of poundage which was granted by it to the King for life. The Act being of so recent a date we were unquestionably bound to discharge the obligation." He then proceeded to restate all the arguments previously adduced in their favour, which arguments have already been answered; and continued that the said subsidy of tonnage and poundage was paid at the time of and comprised in the treaty of intercourse,* as it had also been paid previously. And although this subsidy had been continued by the Act of Parliament in question for the life of the King, that fact could not relieve us of the obligation we were already under to pay it, since we were not burdened by any fresh charge beyond what we were liable to pay before and during the time comprehended by the treaty of intercourse.†

I repeated all that I thought necessary on the matter, but I could get nothing further; and consequently I insisted upon his giving me letters patent, containing a declaration in accordance with the confession made by the English Commissioners at the Commercial Conference at Bourbourg‡ in answer to us, that the subsidy was unduly exacted from us, in order that the matter may be remedied for the future. He (Somerset) wished to deal with the matter not as Protector but as Treasurer General, who is responsible for the Custom dues, and said that if he were furnished with a written statement, giving him the name of any officer who had exacted a payment unduly he would see that the offender was punished in an exemplary way. I told him that that would be of no use. Everyone, I said, put up with the injustice rather than involve himself in lawsuits and prosecutions to clear up such things. I said such a procedure as that would never come to an end, and would cause a hundred times more trouble than the original grievance, whereas if there were letters patent given, laying down the just regulations, the officers on the one hand would be afraid to demand more than what was right, and on the other the parties aggrieved, if there were any, would get their complaints promptly attended to, whilst he, in his capacity of Treasurer General, might the more easily remedy the evil that exists.

It will be recollected that the English Commissioners recently in their reply here in London touching the complaints of the Flemish merchants regarding the wool staple at Calais, referred us entirely to the commercial convention of 1522 on the subject, and said that matters on both sides must be regulated by the clauses therein contained. They considered that no fault had

* The Commercial Convention of 1495 and its renewals.

† It may be explained that the Flemings complained that they were charged tonnage and poundage by the English Custom House for goods imported, although the Act authorising the levy had been passed after their last treaty with England, their contention being that any change of duties could only be made by mutual consent. The English argument was that the act under which the duty was now levied did not create but merely continued a burden already existing.

‡ The declaration made by the English Commissioners at Bourbourg in answer to the Flemish complaints was to the effect that any new duties imposed upon goods from Flanders since the signing of the original treaty were *ultra vires*. The Flemings, as will be seen, rested their claim for exemption from the *renewed* duties upon this declaration.

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been committed on their side, but, nevertheless, if any had been they were ready to grant letters to remedy the matter. They considered, however, that such a course would be unnecessary, because the said treaty would expire at the end of the year, owing to the late King's death; and they were of opinion that it would be desirable either to negotiate a fresh commercial convention or to renew the existing one.

In order therefore to anticipate those here who are desirous of abolishing the Calais staple altogether, I opened the matter to the Protector by saying that these commercial conventions had been concluded between the sovereigns with the object of increasing the trade of their subjects, and that the trade of the wool staple at Calais was mainly directed to the advantage of the subjects of the King of England, since it was always carried on in the King's dominions. It was true, I said, that we also gained some convenience from it, and I had learnt that certain persons, for considerations of their personal profit, were desirous of abolishing the staple, whilst others were as anxious to maintain it; and doubtless both parties would appeal to him (the Protector) to forward their respective objects. I therefore begged him to bear in mind when the matter was before him that both of these parties were English and subjects of the King; and that the abolition of the staple would not only be necessarily against the interest of one of them, but would mean a restraint of trade generally, which was established for the convenience and amity and good neighbourship between peoples, and should be fostered and promoted rather than diminished, having regard to the close alliance and friendship between the Emperor and the King of England.

For this reason, I said, I considered it advisable to let him know what I thought about it, and what, in my opinion, was the best course he could adopt in the matter. This was that after he had heard both the English parties, each one of which, of course, was aiming at its own advantage without considering that of the King and the general welfare, he should, if he did not wish to take the responsibilty of negotiating a fresh commercial treaty, renew or prorogue the existing one, until the King came of age. This would be for the satisfaction of all parties, and would avoid the introduction of any novelties. To this he replied; "Well yes, it must be continued; but I have not meddled much with such matters hitherto, and I must speak to the council about it."

I mentioned in passing that I had written to your lordships about his request touching the Calais woman arrested at Saint Omer; but that before my letters had reached you, the intercession of the English ambassador in Flanders and good neighbourship had caused the woman to be spared the full severity of the Emperor's ordinances, according to which she had deserved death. It seemed to me that the Protector was not over pleased at this, for he had ready the minutes of the charges and evidence that your lordships had sent me; but I did not fail to point out to him that the correction was very favourable, and requested

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him to use his best endeavours to prevent their subjects from committing in future any similar scandal; to which he replied: "That is quite right."

As I was taking leave of him I asked him when I should return for the answer to the various points upon which we had conferred. "I will," he replied, "speak to the Council about them, and will then send you the answer." I immediately offered to come myself for it, as I thought that much the better course, since it would afford me an opportunity of further reply and persuasion if any fresh difficulty arose; but he made no other remark, dismissing me with very courteous words.

In my last letter to your lordships I informed you that two bishops were in prison with the Bishop of Winchester, this being the current rumour, though it turns out to be untrue. The common people, indeed, are so ill affected towards the clergy that they set afloat the news about the ecclesiastics as they wish it were rather than as it is. The Bishop of Winchester, however, still remains in prison. I am informed that they are discussing in Parliament whether priests should be allowed to marry or not. The chantries, as I wrote recently to your lordships, have been granted to the use of the King, but not so absolutely; because Parliament is petitioning the King to grant half of them for the maintenance of the poor. The representatives of the towns of Haarlem and Leyden have arrived here, and I will use all possible diligence to obtain a favourable reply on both points, giving the earliest information thereon to your lordships.

London, 12 December, 1547.

Dec. 12.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to PRESIDENT LOYS SCORS (LOIS DE SCHORE).

The hasty departure of the last courier deprived me of the opportunity of thanking your lordship for your kind letter of the 27th ultimo, concerning the matter of the restitution of the property of the Emperor's subjects situated in the Boulognais, which letter I received at the last moment. I humbly thank you for it now, as the instructions it brings me are very apposite. I will be guided by them, and will write more fully on the subject in my general letters to the Council.

As I was writing this one of the secretaries of the (English) Council came to me, sent by the Protector to advise me that they had caused the King's ships to be fitted out, for the purpose of surprising certain pirates who had entered the mouth of the Thames and were despoiling all the vessels that passed. He requested that I would give due notice of this to Flanders, in order that any ships in those ports that might be ready to sail for England should be delayed in their departure, as quite four or five days would elapse before they (the English Council) could remedy the evil. They are using every effort to do this, but, nevertheless, it may be feared that several of our ships, for which the wind is now favourable, will have an evil time. Two of them (*i.e.* Flemish ships) arrived here yesterday; one of them

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having escaped out of their (the pirates') hands, and the other left them some of its cargo, which mostly belonged to Englishmen.

London, 12 December, 1547.

Dec. 12. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

(The greater part of the letter is identical in substance with that of Van der Delft to the Flemish Council of State of the same date, but the following paragraphs are different.)

I waited on the Protector with your Majesty's instructions as to your consent being given as requested by the English to the treaty of peace with the Scots. . . . . .

In conversation with me respecting the indemnity to be granted to your subjects who had been despoiled by the Scots, the Protector repeated the remark that Paget had previously made to me, about the difficulty that might arise in this owing to those who had committed the robberies being insolvent and unable to make compensation, saying that Scotland was extremely poor and bare of money. I made a similar reply to him as I had previously done to Paget; namely, that of two partners in a common war one (England) was to take from the enemy the whole or the greater part of his country for his share of the spoil of victory, and that being so it was surely the least that we could expect that your Majesty for your share should obtain satisfaction for your subjects for the pillage and spoliation to which they had been subjected to by the enemy, and particularly bearing in mind that you had entered into the war with the Scots solely on account of the English, and had consistently refused all overtures on the part of the Scots to make a separate peace with them. I added also what the Queen Dowager wrote to me, to the effect that the poverty and insolvency of the people ought not to be adduced as a reason since the Queen (of Scotland), the Regent and the nobility had all had their share of the plunder. . . . . .

After this I told the Protector that your Majesty had written to me to the same effect as the English ambassador had informed them, respecting the intercession made in their name to your Majesty in favour of Duke John Frederick (of Saxony), and I gave him (the Protector) the message with which you had intrusted me for him, and if he thought well also for the King. He took it in very good part, and said I need not trouble to convey it to the King, as he himself would inform him of it, thanking your Majesty very humbly for your gracious response.

I then passed to the subject of the restitution of the properties of the Countess of Egmont and the Seigneur de Morbecque, situated in the Boulognais, in accordance with his verbal promise to me, although he had always insisted that he must first have a schedule of the particulars of all the claims to be made for restitution.

Afterwards we discussed the expiration of the Commercial Convention of 1522, respecting the wool staple at Calais; and I pointed out to him why for many good reasons and for the advantage of England the staple should be preserved, and also

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that the Commercial Convention with us should be renewed, if he did not wish to take the responsibility of negotiating a fresh one. After very long discussion, of which I have given a full account in my letter to the Council, the Protector promised me that the two claimants mentioned should have their properties in the Boulognais restored to them, but that it must be done by the Council, with whom he would consult on the matter, and also on that of the maintenance of the Calais staple. I am in daily expectation of replies on both points.

The wrangle that took place between the Protector and the French ambassador here, as I wrote to your Majesty, appears to have originated in the seizure by the French of the town of Fiennes. I see that there is very little confidence in the French here, and the English are not without fear that they may attempt something else.

London, 12 December, 1547.

Dec. 15. Paris K. 1485.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER of HUNGARY.

I have from time to time reported to your Majesty what I have been able to learn of the progress of affairs between *Dux* (Henry II) and the King of England; the last news begin the publication in France that it had been agreed to surrender the ships captured on both sides and simultaneously.

Dux says that the English ambassador has complained to him on behalf of his King that proclamations have been made by sound of trumpet in various towns of Normandy, Brittany and Guienne, to the effect that no intercourse is to take place with the English. The King of England expresses his surprise at such a proclamation, as no prohibition of a similar character had been agreed to or had been published in England. Seeing, moreover, that the two countries were at peace, the proceeding was considered a most unreasonable one. There had been no rupture of the peace, and all that had been done was to embargo certain vessels on both sides at the request of private merchants.

The English ambassador was told in reply to his representation that the King (of France) had ordered no such proclamation to be made, and enquiries should be made how and why it was done. It was possible that the Admiralty officers learning of the embargo of French ships in England, had on their own authority warned the subjects to sail on their guard. Since, however, the principal matter had now been settled in effect, all the other questions of a secondary character should now be arranged, and the two peoples live henceforward in peace and amity.

This reply, Madam, is in entire conformity with their usual fashion of procedure when they have done wrong, namely, to disavow their officers, whom the English ambassador himself knows, were specially ordered by the King (of France) to make the proclamation in question.

At the same time, Madam, the English ambassador complained to Dux that great warlike preparations of stores were being made

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on this side, and great ships of war kept in several harbours being fitted ready for hostilities. The King of England could only conclude that they were with the object of carrying help to the Scots, seeing that the French were not at war with the Emperor. If, remonstrated the English, the intention was to go to the aid of the Scots in any way that would entirely alter the peace and friendship now existing. The ambassador added that it was well known that several captains, both Italian and French, had gone from here to Scotland, and it was asserted that their object was to reinforce the Scots in their defence, and to encourage and help them to recover the country they had lost since the last great English victory. They were also to teach the Scots how to demolish the forts that were being constructed against them. It was even openly asserted by people here that Dux intended to send to the Scots forces and munitions from Brest, where a large number of ships were already collecting. The ambassador complained greatly of these preparations, adding that the French still kept their lansquenets in arms opposite the English coast, the sole object evidently being to keep them (the English) in fear or to indicate to them that their friendship was doubted.

The Constable replied to these points that no fresh preparations for war were being made on this side. They had only carried out such operations as had long ago been ordered, and such as had always been customary in France, and indeed in England and elsewhere, for the maintenance and defence of the State. It is true that stores and ships were being sent to Brest, but that fact should cause no surprise, since the ports of Normandy were inadequate to receive such large vessels or harbour them so safely as Brest. With regard of the going of captains hence to Scotland, he said that the King could not prevent his own subjects or others in his service from going and seeing the world; but he had not sent them to Scotland. If, however, he did decide to help the Scots it would not be to the violation of the last treaty (with the English), in which the Scots were included in the peace with the King of England, although the latter was not observing it towards them. Referring to the lansquenets, he replied that they were stationed where they were as being the most convenient winter quarters, adding that the English might consider that they were not the only people in the world, and that they (the French) were not by any means sure how they stood with the Emperor.

Madam, I learnt all these details from the English ambassador, who still asserts that the French have disavowed Paulin's last act, by saying that the latter exceeded his instructions, although they did not object to negotiate sincerely with them (the English). He (the English ambassador) told me also that the French ambassador in England had very nearly got into trouble here on the same matter, but he had been able to justify himself by exhibiting a letter written to him by the late King (Francis), ordering him to help Paulin in his negotiations and accept Paulin's statements with regard to the King's intentions. For this and

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other reasons Paulin is now a prisoner in Paris, where he weeps for his miserable sins and the wrongs he has committed against the subjects of the Emperor.*

Whilst the conferences I have spoken of with the English ambassador were in progress, it was reported here that some negotiations were going on for an arrangement between the King of England and the Scots; and that *Dux* (Henry II) wished the Queen and Governor (Regent Arran) of Scotland to consent to the new marriage of the little Princess of Scotland, but with the condition that she should not be taken out of the country, and that the forts constructed by the English in Scotland should be dismantled.† I tried to draw from the English ambassador some information as to the truth of this, but he replied on several occasions that he had no knowledge whatever of it: but that he was quite sure that the Protector would never come to terms with the Scots, unless the Princess' marriage to the King (Edward VI) was effected, and the last treaty (with the French) fully recognised and solemnly ratified on oath. The Protector, he said, would no longer allow himself to be beguiled by the French and Scots with mere words; and he assured me that several Scots gentlemen were now with him (the Protector); the one who had been taken prisoner (Huntly) was exerting his best influence to forward the said marriage and the submission of Scotland to obedience to England. They have the assurance that if they can conveniently prepare for war next year, all other matters may be dealt with successfully, and they (*i.e.* the English) will then have little fear of France.

With regard to this, Madam, I told the (English) ambassador what I had heard here; namely that *Dux* and his friends were anxious to make the restoration of Boulogne a condition of their support of the marriage (*i.e.* between Mary of Scotland and Edward VI), to which he replied that he could not believe that the Protector would surrender Boulogne on any account until the expiration of the period fixed by the last treaty, as if he did the King of England might at some future time impeach him, besides which neither the Council nor the English people would consent to such a thing. The King of England, he said, could draw from his subjects all that was necessary for the defence of Boulogne; and he (the ambassador) hoped that the place would be well supplied and a good guard kept upon it; and that they would not fail to carry on negotiations for an agreement with Scotland, unless the King of France openly aided the latter.

I do not know, Madam, whether he was deceiving me with regard to this affair, but it is certain that there is much talk of the settlement referred to; and it is even reported that *Dux* (Henry II) has recalled Secretary Paniter from Brest, in order to confer with him on the matter, and instruct him to tell the

* In the murder of Fregoso and Rincon (see note page 174) Paulin had arranged with the Turk the alliance against the Emperor, and he was for this reason and others particularly disliked by the imperial party.

† This rumour spread by the French and Scots was of course only to cover the active negotiations that were then in progress for the sudden deportation of the child Queen of Scots to France and her betrothal to the Dauphin.

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Queen of Scotland that it will be advisable for her to dissemble the affair in order to gain time. The long and short of this is that he (Henry II) desires that nothing shall be done to his prejudice, recommending the Queen to keep her daughter in her hands, and assuring her positively that if the worst comes to the worst he will stand by her.

As the King of France becomes less hopeful of being able to come to terms with the Emperor I suspect he will become more anxious to agree with the King of England, whilst pacifying the Scottish trouble. It is reported that when Des Cordes went recently to England, which was before the restitution of the ships seized had been agreed to, he asked the English Council in the name of the King of France whether they wanted peace or war, and the Council after some deliberation had replied that it was indifferent to the King of England which he had. It was, said the Council, the English who ought to complain and put that question to the King of France rather than otherwise, as they were being troubled by him.

I am not sure whether this is really what passed, but from what I can perceive on all sides there is no sign of the slightest friendly feeling at present between *Dux* and the King of England, but on the other hand much distrust and unpleasantness, as the English are quite aware that the King of France is assisting the Scots. If they do not come to some agreement about Scotland I am of opinion that the enmity will grow. *Dux* professes to be willing to fulfil the last treaty of peace, including in it the settlement of all outstanding questions where any change or innovation has been made against the Scots.* These are matters, however, very difficult of digestion.

Whilst this letter was being written there came news that a fight had taken place between the English and French near the fort (*i.e.* at Boulogne) on account of the attempt of the English to re-victual Boulogne. The French, it appears, lost two standards, but they succeeded in preventing the victuals from being introduced into the place. M. de Chatillon was accordingly ordered to go thither with all speed with his lansquenets and the Picardy garrisons to break the wall constructed at Boulogne. This is quite publicly reported here, although I have had no certain intelligence of it. It is possible that under cover of this talk they may aim at quite a different enterprise. I will learn all I can of it for your Majesty's information.

(There are several paragraphs of the above letter referring to the affairs of the Prince of Orange, and other subjects, of no present interest and unconnected with England and the Reformation. These are consequently omitted.)

After the above letter was written, Madam, I learnt certainly from Olsacius that recently Dux and the Constable gave instructions to a gentleman of the Court, whose name he could not give me, to go to London and find some means to confer with Paget, in order to tell him, as if of his own accord, that he had positive information that there would be no objection here to consent

* That is to say reverting to the *Status quo ante* with regard to Scotland.

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to the marriage of the Princess of Scotland to the King of England if at the same time the latter would give up Boulogne and all the forts adjacent to it, without any further talk of the money, which by the terms of the last treaty has to be paid when the place is surrendered. The envoy is to exhort Paget to seize this opportunity, for the great advantage it offers to England, by thus effecting a union between the latter country and Scotland.

The envoy had been over to England in fulfilment of these instructions, and had spoken with Paget and the Protector, who had asked him whether he had any authority to make such a proposal, and whether he intended at once to place in their hands the Princess of Scotland. He replied that what he had said was simply on his own account, and he had gone as far as he had done in his anxiety to see good peace and amity established between *Dux*, the King of England and the Scots. To this Paget and the Protector replied that there was no reason why they should proceed further in the matter with him, as he had no authority to treat; and they dismissed him with a present of three hundred crowns. He returned hither and reported what had passed, whereupon after some deliberation they decided to send him back to England to continue the negotiations. In the meanwhile, however, the discord at the Boulogne forts took place, and the despatch of the envoy was consequently suspended. But he (the informant) believed that this squabble would easily be pacified, and that the said personage would proceed to England on his mission; the object being the further to ensure them (the French) against any action on the part of the Emperor. In any case, however, the French would not allow the Princess of Scotland to be taken out of her own country, even if they consent to the marriage. Olsacius says that they do this merely to gain time and keep the English friendly, with the object of counteracting the designs of the Emperor, and with the intention of helping the Pope in case his Majesty should give him any trouble about the Council. He assures me that *Dux* has decided to do this, and in any case he has already given a promise to the Pope to that effect through the Cardinal of Guise.

I learnt also for certain, Madam, from Cardinal Ferrara's secretary, who is resident here, that a settlement had been arrived at between *Dux* and the King of England, but he gave me no further particulars. I think therefore that there must be something in it, and that these people are doing their utmost to arrange matters for the sole purpose of opposing the Emperor.

With regard to the recent squabble near the fort at Boulogne, the Secretary of Ferrara and others tell me for certain that the affair happened much as was related in my letter, but that the English had succeeded in getting their victuals inside the town, the French having provoked the contest by insisting upon examining the victuals.

1547.
Dec. 27.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since writing my letters of the 12th instant I have received your Majesty's despatches of the 2nd, with letters of credence for the King, the Protector, Controller Paget and others. I had previously found the Protector very favourably inclined towards my arguments for the continuance of the Commercial Treaty of 1522, touching the wool staple at Calais, and consequently I considered it sufficient to deliver only the letters directed to him and to the King. He accepted it with great courtesy, and listened kindly to the considerations I laid before him to the end in view.

When I had finished my address he said: "I quite approve of what you say with regard to continuing the treaty in question, in order that no innovation should be made between our two sovereigns who are now in such close amity. Indeed, I am in favour of maintaining all the existing treaties." He said that, with this object, he would at once write to their ambassador, instructing him to address your Majesty on the subject, and to beg me to send you powers to settle with them here for a prolongation of the said commercial treaty for a period of ten years, by which time the King will be out of his tutelage.

I fell into conversation with the Protector about the action of the French in having knocked down some structures that their people (the English) had put up in the Boulognais, but so far as I can perceive, they are still in doubt whether they will go to war with them or not. The Protector told me that Monsieur de Chatillon had sent a gentleman to the English commander at Boulogne, to tell him that he had razed the places constructed by evil disposed Englishmen, in violation of the treaty between the King of France and their master, the King of England.* The King of France, he said, intended to comply with and observe the treaty in all amity and good faith, so that if the English liked he (Chatillon) would also demolish the castle or fort of Fiennes, which was in his possession.

A reply to this message was drafted here, to the effect that the French had no right to do as they had done, but if they wished to make partial amends for their past proceedings they might do so by retiring from Fiennes without demolishing or disturbing any thing that they (the English) had constructed, and leaving the place as they had found it. Your Majesty will understand better than I can to what end the message and offer of Chatillon are directed.

With regard to Scotland, the Protector told me that the troops of the Governor (Regent Arran), who had been before one of their forts called Broughty Craig in Scotland, had all withdrawn after having lost a large number of men and their little artillery;

* The terms of the treaty of peace between England and France provided that no fresh fortifications should be erected by the English at Boulogne and the territory to be held by them pending the payment of the indemnity, and the French were similarly bound. A fort, however, had been erected by the latter on the South of Boulogne Harbour, and the English had masked it with a new earthwork. Several other defensive works had also been constructed elsewhere, as at Fiennes etc.

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their principal commander having been killed. He said that every day numbers of Scotsmen came in from a hundred miles round to offer their services to the King of England. He had no news of the arrival in Scotland of M. de la Chapelle. He was much surprised at this, because he had received letters from France saying that de la Chapelle had sailed three weeks before the date of the letters, and, as the Protector said, he could not be in Scotland for three days without his knowing of it.

I have understood that they have sent to Captain Court Penninck (Conrad Penninck) instructions to raise troops for them, but the matter is kept strictly secret, and I have not been able to discover yet how many are to be raised or where they are to serve. Colonel Gamboa* has been also commissioned to raise two companies of Spaniards, and they are coming over every day from France.

Parliament has just been prorogued until the month of April, and up to the last they have been disputing hotly about religion. So far as I can understand, they will hold to the disorder professed by the men of Wittemberg; but nevertheless Mass is still celebrated; although I know not how long it will last.

The Bishop of Winchester has been twice to see the Protector, and it is believed that he will shortly be released. A few days ago there arrived here Friar Bernardino de Siena, Peter Martyr the Florentine, and a German who is said to be a relative of Dr. Jonas. They have been well lodged by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

London, 27 December, 1547.

Dec. 27. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the COUNCIL.

Following my last letters of the 12th instant I have been pressing diligently for a definite reply from the Protector to my representations about the continuance of the commercial convention of 1522 concerning the wool staple, and also on the questions of the customs tallies and the restitution to Madame d'Egmont and the Seigneur de Morbecque of their estates situated in the Boulognais. But these people have been so constantly occupied with their Parliament that they have been prevented from attending to the business referred to; and I have consequently been unable to obtain audience, except for a time on Christmas day, although I had previously sent word to the Protector that I had a letter of credence from the Emperor addressed to him. When I saw him on Christmas day I delivered the letter and repeated to him in substance what I had said to him previously about the three points in question as I have written to your lordships. . . . . .

(The details of the writer's interview with the Protector are substantially the same as those contained in the letter to the Emperor of the same date.)

* A full account of this Spanish soldier of fortune Sir Pedro Gamboa and of the mercenary Spanish troops he commanded in England will be found in the present writer's *Espanoles é Ingleses en el siglo XVI*, and in *The Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII*, edited also by Martin Hume.

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He would, he said, consult with the Council with regard to the continuance of the commercial treaty, but he would send and tell me later for how long a period it should be prolonged. This he did yesterday evening, when the first Secretary, Dr. Petre, came and said that the renewal should be for ten years. He handed me letters to this effect that they had written to their ambassador resident with the Emperor, asking me to forward them with my own despatches, which I promised to by this courier. Your lordships will doubtless recognise the desirability of expediting the power as much as possible, in order that the affair may be carried through before these people alter their minds, the price of wool being as high here as ever it was. The common people are strongly opposed to the wool being sent out of the country, and attempts are being made to induce some Spaniards to bring wool hither from Spain.

I also spoke to the Protector on the subject of the abuses which are being committed in this wool trade; that the fleeces were picked (*comme l'on espluchoit les peaulx*) whereby their merchants of the staple were benefited, as he (the Protector) must have heard from the complaints made to Parliament by their own people. He assured me that he had heard nothing about it, but it was probable that this point had been postponed with several others for consideration when Parliament re-assembles in the month of April.

With regard to the Customs tallies the Protector said he had instructed the principal officers of the exchequer to send him detailed reports of them. He had, he said, received these reports, and since I had entered the house he had caused them to be searched for everywhere amongst his papers; but had been unable to find them, so he was obliged to defer the discussion of the matter for the present.

Dealing then with the subject of the restitution of the estates of Madame d'Egmont and the Signeur de Morbecque, he said that he would see that the restitution was duly made; where-upon I remarked that I hoped that this time it would be done effectually, and not as it was on the other occasion, when their officers at Boulogne said they knew nothing about it and refused to carry out the restitution. To this the Protector replied: "No! no! we will write to them, and there will be no hitch, but the conditions laid down for the concession must be fulfilled." To this I answered that he would find that everything I had undertaken by instruction of the Queen Dowager would be strictly fulfilled, and her Majesty also would take the most scrupulous care not to write in support of any claimants unless she was quite satisfied as to the justice of their claims. I gave the full names of Madame d'Egmont and S. de Morbecque to Secretary Petre that he might make out the documents.

In the course of my conversation with the Protector I learnt about the French having knocked down some structures the English had built in the Boulognais. (The letter continues and concludes in similar terms to those in the letter to the Emperor of the same date.)

**London, 27 December, 1547.**

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Paris
K. 1487.

Paper headed (in French) "COPY OF WHAT THEY WRITE FROM PARIS TO THE ABBÉ DE SAINT VINCENT RESPECTING CANADA."

Most honoured Sir,—In accordance with your letters I have made enquiries respecting these new lands, but have been unable to discover any letter specially from them. Yesterday after the lesson on the sphere which is given by a Spaniard very learned in mathematics named Jo. Martinez the great Latinist whom you may know as the Queen's physician, I had a long conversation with him whilst we walked together to the Sorbonne, where he was going to sup. He had in the course of his lesson mentioned the torrid zone, and I seized upon this opportunity for introducing the subject that interests us, by saying that the ancients appeared to have been greatly in error in believing that the said land (*i.e.* Canada) was not inhabited; whereas the Spaniards had now found it perfectly habitable.

He replied that not only the Spaniards, but the French, the Germans and many others had found it so. I then asked him whether he had heard if this Strait by which Roberbal intended to sail was open and navigable to pass through to the other side, and so to reach the Moluccas or to Peru; and if the latitude and longitude of these new lands had been fixed. He replied that there was nothing certain known about it yet, as the men who had gone thither were not mathematicians, and were consequently not capable of giving a good description of the situation of these places. With regard to this Northern Strait about which I enquired especially, everything almost depended upon it. He said that a pupil of his had been there since; but they saw when they looked inside the Strait that the sea was like great mountains of ice, and consequently they were afraid to penetrate any further. It might be deduced from this that the sea would be completely frozen in the winter, and that when the warm weather comes the ice breaks up, the floes being piled one upon another by the action of the storms.

To-day I went to visit M. Oronce in his lodging, and asked him if it would be possible to obtain any charts of the new lands, and whether he had heard anything interesting in his conversations with Roberbal. He said that the intended voyage of Roberbal had been suspended for the present, and he had not time to busy himself with the matter just now. With regard to the Strait, however, he could say that it was not at all navigable; and it would be necessary to go by land, as they could not reach the Moluccas by the way they intended. As to the situation of the Strait, according to the description given by Gema Phrisins (?) in the mappemonde recently made at Louvain, he said it was about 328 longitude and 66 north latitude.*

On the other side towards the south, after passing the equinoxial there is another Strait called by the name of Magellan, which is said on the Louvain chart (for the German charts which

* The "Strait" in question would appear from the latitude to have been the entrance to Hudson's Strait or perhaps the inlet afterwards called Frobisher's Bay.

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resemble that of Louvain do not give the degrees of latitude and longitude) to be in longitude 310 and in south latitude about 53. I understand that this Strait is navigable, and that the Castilians go by it to Peru ; and Molucca can also be reached that way.*

Termislitan is on land contiguous between these two Straits towards the west, and in longitude 274, and in south latitude 20.† From there sailing south and turning towards the east is Peru in longitude 290 and 300 or thereabouts, and in south latitude about 5, 8, or 10. All these lands join ; and Canada, which I understand is near the said northern Strait, continues far beyond from Temislitan, and still further from Peru. It thus appears that if they cannot get through this Northern Strait, which is said to be as yet unexplored, but which Oronce says is not navigable, they will not hinder or trouble the Castilians. From Peru sailing a long way towards the west lies Molucca, situated on the equinoxial in longtiude 180-182 or thereabouts. I take the longitude in the usual way, counting from the Fortunate Isles in the Atlantic,‡ towards the East and returning to the Fortunate Isles on the equinoxial. This is all I have been able to discover up to the present. If I can obtain any more good information I will send it to you by the earliest opportunity.

1548.
Jan. 4.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the FLEMISH COUNCIL OF STATE.

Since writing to your Lordships on the 27th ultimo I have endeavoured to obtain the official letter addressed to the King's authorities in the Boulognais directing them to restore to the Dowager Countess of Egmont her barony of Fiennes and its appurtenances, and to the Seigneur de Mourbecque his manor of Souverain Moulin. This letter has now been sent to me, and I have the pleasure to forward it to your Lordships herewith, in order that you may utilise it as you think proper.

The King with the whole of the Council are now residing at Hampton Court. On New Year's day the King went publicly to mass, which was celebrated with the accustomed solemnity. It appears that the resolutions that they have adopted and ordered in this Parliament will not be carried into effect until next May, this being set forth in the rolls of their ordinances on the Holy Sacrament which they have had printed. I have obtained a copy of these, and the conclusion to be drawn from it is that they will administer the Communion *sub utraque specie*.§

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* It is extremely curious that the cosmographer whose account is here given was far more advanced in his knowledge of the geography of the American continent than the cartographers of many years later appear to have been ; for instance, the Zeno chart of 1558, the Frobisher map of 1576 and 1577-8, and others somewhat earlier show no signs of so clear a notion as this of the real configuration of the whole continent.

† *i.e.* Mexico. The name given to the country here is probably a corruption of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec name for Mexico.

‡ The Canaries, from which the longitude was always reckoned by the Spanish seamen.

§ The resolution referred to had been unanimously adopted by Convocation on the 2 December, the Ordinance to administer the Eucharist in both kinds to all Communicants having been proposed by Cranmer.

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There is no fresh news of the Scots, or from France, beyond what I wrote to your Lordships recently.

London, 4 January, 1548.

Jan. 22. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the FLEMISH COUNCIL OF STATE.

On the 4th instant I forwarded to your Lordships a letter from the King of England's Council, accompanied by letters of my own, authorising the restitution to the Countess of Egmont and to the Seigneur de Mourbecque of their respective estates in the Boulognais. Since then nothing has happened here specially worthy of mention. The King is still staying at Hampton Court, and it is said that he may be expected back here in London next week.

The bishop of Winchester is now out of prison, and I am informed that he has to declare his opinion of a certain book that has been handed to him.* To judge from appearances he will conform with the others as he sees he is out of favour. A few days ago all the foreign captains were summoned to Court, in order to learn from them what troops they would be able to muster; but as subsequently news was received here of the reply given by the Pope to the Cardinal of Trent, the matter was dropped and no more was said about it.† Nevertheless these people (the English) are providing their ports and strong places with stores and munitions, so as to be prepared against the French in any case, as they repose very little confidence in the latter people.

They (the English) have received news that the Seigneur de la Chapelle had arrived in Scotland with his company where he was swaggering bravely, assuring the Queen (Dowager Mary of Lorraine) and the Regent (Arran) that the King of France, his master, would send them all the contributions of men and money that they needed against the English. Nevertheless there is no lack of Scotsmen who are coming in to join the English. There is, indeed, one who has come in on the same pretext, who they say was an admiral; but I understand that they do not trust him over much, and will not be very ready to let him go when

* Bishop Stephen Gardiner had been released from prison on the 8 January and brought before the Council; the occasion for his liberation being, he was told, the general pardon that had been granted when Parliament was prorogued. He was, however, admonished on the subject of his former contumacy and required to state plainly whether he would undertake to receive the royal injunctions, the homilies and such other points of doctrine or discipline as the King and clergy might ordain. Whilst professing readiness to obey generally he protested against certain articles of the homilies, and requested a short time to consider these before giving a complete acceptance of them. The "book" mentioned in the text was apparently the homilies. Gardiner returned to his diocese with this incomplete acceptance.

† The reason for the summons of the mercenary captains was really with a view of raising a force to capture Haddington. Particulars of this meeting of mercenaries and what came of it will be found in *The Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII.* (p. 199), edited by the present writer. The conciliatory answer given by the Pope to the Emperor's envoy the Cardinal of Trent in the matters of the Council and the question of Italy seemed to make for European peace. Van der Delft was however wrong in his suggestion that it [illegible]

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he wants to do so.* The earl of Huntly still remains here under respectful guard but a prisoner. I am writing at present to his Majesty (the Emperor) about the agreement arrived at in Renegat's affair, in order that the embargo in Spain may be raised.

London, 22 January, 1548.

Jan. 22. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since my last despatches nothing has happened here worthy of writing to your Majesty, except that I have continued incessantly to urge for the restitution of the property that Renegat had plundered from some of your Majesty's subjects, at whose instance the embargo of English property in Spain was decreed. The Great Master of the Household, Lord St. John, Controller Paget and myself have met several times to arrive at some satisfactory settlement, and at length the representatives here of the parties who have been plundered, having full powers to act in their name, have agreed with Renegat himself.

By this arrangement Renegat undertakes to surrender what he confesses to have taken, of which a part is in being here, the rest to be restored in the form of money in Spain. The entire value will reach six thousand ducats. With regard to the balance which was claimed by those who had been despoiled, reaching a sum of about fourteen thousand ducats, Renegat persists in his assertion that he has never captured anything at all beyond the property represented by the six thousand ducats abovementioned. In order, therefore, to avoid the lawsuit which Renegat was anxious to provoke, and which he continued to declare would result in the evidence of the complainants themselves proving his case, the representatives of the complainants have made a further compromise with him. He declares that he can bring forward at least two hundred witnesses to prove that in the coffer or chest he took there was no more than he confesses and is willing to restore; and it has been settled that Renegat shall at the expiration of eight years pay a further sum of five thousand eight hundred ducats, providing at once sufficient security for the payment.

We have thought on the whole that it would be best to accept this offer, having regard to Renegat's insufficiency, be being unable even to furnish the first sum of six thousand ducats, representing what he confesses to have taken, except by means of subscriptions from the English merchants who are anxious to get the embargo on their property raised in Spain. He would be even less able to provide security for the payment of the second amount without the assistance of the King, who has consented to letting him have a certain quantity of lead at a reasonable price and on long credit. The Protector and the members of the Council say that they never would have acceded

* Probably Lord Bothwell, who was in London at the time, and who, Lord Grey wrote to Somerset on the 9 January, 1548, was playing false and should be

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to this if it had not been out of friendship for your Majesty, which has also led them to make Renegat pay the 5,800 ducats abovementioned which he still persists in saying are demanded of him unjustly, and that he ought to be heard in his own justification.

Having regard to the first decision of the Council in the matter, namely, to deliver into our hands all Renegat's possessions, and also his person, in order that we might proceed against him in any way or country we pleased, the Council declaring to me that if Renegat's goods had been sufficient to meet our claims they should all have been confiscated to us. I cannot help believing in the truth of what the Protector and Council say, as above mentioned. So far as I could perceive, Sire, also I think that the Protector would have been well pleased if we had taken the person of Renegat with his goods, in order that the merchants might not have been burdened with the contribution they have undertaken to pay, and that he himself might have made a more advantageous bargain with the lead. I do not think, moreover, the Protector is very well disposed towards Renegat, who has always been a servitor of the former Lord Chancellor.*

The settlement is, however, made conditional upon the English property in Spain being freely released, otherwise all parties are to remain exactly as at present. It seems to me, Sire, that, if your Majesty pleases, it would not be a bad thing to order this release, for, in good truth, if the business is brought finally to the issue of a lawsuit here, the master of the Spanish ship will not escape suspicion. Your Majesty will please therefore consider if it will not be advisable to release at once the English property now embargoed. The owners say that they have suffered great injury in loss of capital and interest for a matter in which they themselves are quite blameless. Great complaints have continued to be made on this subject, and the late King Henry and the members of the Council have frequently reproached me about it, especially after I had assured them by your Majesty's orders that the seizures should be released on bail being given. This, they say, has not yet been done, in violation of the treaty of close alliance. I have always replied to these representations as well as I could to exonerate your Majesty, but really your subjects have been much hampered in getting their claims attended to in consequence of these embargoes.

In these affairs, as in all others, I have invariably found Controller Paget very reasonable. I will also fully inform his Highness the Prince (Philip) of this business by means of the attorneys of the Spanish claimants, who are going to Spain to petition for the raising of the embargoes there. In the meanwhile the property surrendered by Renegat here is deposited in the hands of an Italian. Your Majesty ordered me formerly to claim as confiscated to your Majesty the gold or silver that came

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from the Indies* ; and I shall be grateful if your Majesty will instruct me as to your pleasure in the matter. I am moved to crave for this guidance, because the Spanish merchants emphatically affirm that my own instructions show that your Majesty has no right of confiscation in the case.

The King is still at Hampton Court, but it is said that he will come to London next week. There have been published here certain "rolls," containing the printed ordinances on the Holy Sacrament. They prohibit under very heavy punishment all disputes or discussions questioning these decisions, the object being that every person should remain firm in the conviction that the sacrament is the true *Corpus Domini*. But the conclusion of it all is that they will allow the administration of the holy Communion *sub utraque specie*. On New Year's Day the young King attended mass publicly, the sacrifice being celebrated as usual. The bishop of Winchester has been released from prison. He is giving it to be understood that he will conform with the others. They (the English) are not yet entirely reassured of the French, and the Controller Paget went so far as to say in conversation with me, that he was not sure whether the French were casting their eyes upon your Majesty's dominions or upon theirs. They (the English) would therefore be prepared in any event and would take care to provide for their ports and strong places. Paget also told me that the Sieur de la Chapelle had arrived in Scotland with as many as fifty or sixty gentlemen and captains. He was, said Paget, swaggering bravely and assuring the Queen and the Regent that the King of France, his master, would send them all the supplies of men and money that they needed against the English. There is, however, no lack of Scotsmen who are coming to join the English. One such man, who is said to have been an admiral, has come hither on a like pretence, but I am told they do not trust him over much, and he will have a difficulty in getting back when he wants to. The earl of Huntly is still here a prisoner but kept in respectful custody.

Four or five days ago the foreign captains who are here were summoned to Court and were asked what number of men they could raise. Since then news of the answer that the Pope gave to the Cardinal of Trent has been received here, and there has been no more talk about raising troops. Yesterday the muster was called here of two standards of foreign troops, who were to be all Spaniards. They did not muster two hundred head between them, and even with that, not half of them were

* It should be explained that the treasure (or some of it) seized by Renegat from the Spanish ship he despoiled in retaliation for an injury done to him, was alleged to have been shipped in America surreptitiously without declaration to the authorities, in order to escape the payment of the proportion due to the Government. On this account the Emperor set up a claim to the whole amount. The contraband shipment of bullion from the Spanish possessions in America was of constant occurrence, the exactions of the Spanish Government, as will have been seen by the correspondence in the last volume of this Calendar, being very capricious and ruinous.

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Spaniards.* I write these details to your Majesty in order that you may see by them that the bounty and the pay of these soldiers are not so liberal in England as they used to be, but on the contrary so narrow that no foreigners will come here in search of them whilst they can find service elsewhere. So far as I understand the councillors themselves are discontented at the meanness of the Protector and those who have served under him in Scotland complain of it publicly.†

London, 22 January, 1548.

Feb. 5. Simancas Estado, 806. A patent in Latin signed by James earl of Arran as Regent of Scotland, in the name of Mary the Queen, dated in Dumbarton, reciting that Henry II, King of France, the constant friend and ally of Scotland against the English, had sent to Scotland the famous Italian soldier Captain Ubaldino to perfect the Scots in the knowledge of arms and to organise the defence of the realm. He is hereby appointed to the supreme command for this purpose of all the Scottish forces by land and sea, and to have access to all the fortresses, munitions, etc.

Feb. 14. Vienna Imp. Arch. EXTRACTS of LETTERS from the FLEMISH COUNCIL OF STATE to the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

We have been recently informed that the Court Master‡ and the merchants of English nationality in Antwerp had retired from that city, and that the Court Master had issued certain ordinances, amongst which was one prohibiting any merchant of English nationality from buying or selling merchandise in the city of Antwerp or sojourning there for more than one night. Being desirous of discovering the truth of this we have caused enquiries to be made, and we have ascertained that the prohibition in question is such as to be not only a violation of the written law, but against all treaties and conventions, especially against the treaty of close alliance, the second clause of which

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* This was probably the company brought from Flanders for Colonel Sir Pedro Gamboa by one Pedro Salcedo. He is said to have enlisted 120 men. Gamboa's adjutant, Captain Carlos de Guevara, enlisted 130 men in Flanders at the same time. There were great complaints and dissensions amongst the captains on this matter of the nationality of the recruits they brought, and especially as to the honesty of their musters. Many of the men instead of being Spanish veterans as stipulated turned out to be Burgundians who were unreliable when opposed to the French, and the captains invariably excused any defeat or slackness of their men by alleging that they were not Spaniards but Burgundians. Full account of these happenings will be found in "*Mercenarios españoles al servicio de Inglaterra*" in the present writer's "*Españoles é Ingleses en el Siglo XVI.*"

† According to *The Chronicle of Henry VIII*, which reflects the opinions of the Spanish mercenaries in England, Henry VIII was very lavish with these soldiers, upon whom he piled pensions and honours. The meanness of Somerset towards them was one of the principal levers employed by Warwick (John Dudley Duke of Northumberland) to gain the mercenaries to his side when he was planning the ruin of Somerset.

‡ He was the president of the Guild of English merchants in Flanders, or as he would now be called English Consul. His name appears to have been Thomas Chamberlain, and it will be seen in page 558 of the last volume of this Calendar that he had already made himself extremely obnoxious to the Flemish government, who demanded his dismissal.

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expressly stipulates that the subjects of the two sovereigns may freely, frankly and safely, use and frequent their respective dominions and transact business in them, converse and reside in them as long as it pleases them to do so, in such towns or places as they may choose. It is also laid down that the subjects must mutually favour each other, and deal honestly together.

The prohibition referred to not only enjoins the English merchants not to do this, by forbidding them from staying over a night in Antwerp, but further restrains them by ordering them to remain in the town of Bruges, even though they may have business elsewhere. This, it will be seen, is not "mutually favouring" the Antwerp people in accordance with the clause quoted above, but appears rather to hold them as enemies to be avoided. In the interests of the due fulfilment of the treaty his Majesty the Emperor cannot allow this.

The prohibition referred to is, moreover, a distinct infraction of the commercial convention of 1485, in which the tenth clause is so worded as to give to the subjects of both contracting princes the right to frequent and use their respective dominions, to reside in them and remain as long as they please without any hindrance or obstacle whatever. It is also stipulated in this convention that for thus residing or remaining abroad the respective subjects may not be accused, indicted or punished by their own rulers or authorities. By the first clause in the commercial convention of the year 1520 it is also laid down that this liberty on both sides should be freely enjoyed, and it is again repeated in the eleventh clause of the treaty of close alliance which repeats the wording of the already quoted clause in the commercial treaty of 1485.

If the terms of the treaty be fulfilled, therefore, it is evident that the King of England himself cannot compel his subjects to confine themselves to any particular town, but must allow each one full liberty to carry on his business in such place as may best suit him. If this be the case, as it is, much less can a mere Court Master do such a thing, and especially here in the dominions of the Emperor, where he has neither footing nor jurisdiction to interdict one of the cities and compel the merchants to remain in another city at his good pleasure, under the threat of pains and penalties.

In fulfilment, therefore, of our duty in safeguarding the rights and prerogatives of his imperial Majesty as Duke of Brabant, we have resolved to commence proceedings against the said Court Master, as may appear desirable. We have nevertheless thought best to defer doing so until we had informed you of the matter; and we desire that you will take the earliest opportunity possible of requesting audience of the Protector and the members of the Council, for the purpose of remonstrating with them on the abuse and insolence of the said Court Master.

You may say that it is impossible for us to pass the matter over, as it is altogether too injurious to the rights and dignity of his imperial Majesty as Duke of Brabant, recognising no superior.

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Majesty the Emperor and the King of England, and we hope sincerely that, in the interests of the fulfilment of the treaties and of the continuance of the friendship between the two sovereigns, they (the English Government) will not favour or support the Court Master in his proceedings, but will give orders for him to abstain from any similar action for the future.

You may say that they (the members of the English Council) will recognise with their usual wisdom what view neighbouring nations will take of the friendship between his Majesty the Emperor and the King of England, when they see that a mere Court Master dares to take the liberty in his Majesty's dominions of forbidding English merchants to frequent and reside in the cities. You may also point out to them, that if his Majesty, who certainly in his own dominions has not less authority than a Court Master, were to take upon himself to order the English merchants under heavy pains and penalties to confine themselves to certain cities, and forbid them from doing business in others, or to stay in a place for only a limited time it would certainly be said that his action was a violation of the treaties in force. Even though his imperial Majesty is a sovereign prince, he cannot in his dominions as a just ruler prohibit his own subjects from frequenting the city of Antwerp.

It is not the intention of his Majesty to compel the English merchants to frequent or reside in the city of Antwerp or to exclude them from that of Bruges; but only to insist upon their freedom to frequent and stay in whatever towns or places they please, in accordance with the treaties and conventions in force, and without any pains or penalties being inflicted upon them for exercising their undoubted rights in this respect.

You may say to the members of the Council that they will recognise at once, that, having regard to the continuance of the friendship between his imperial Majesty and the King of England, we have every reason to resent very strongly the action of this Court Master in presuming to forbid the English merchants from frequenting any of his Majesty's cities, which certainly does not look like favouring the subjects of his Majesty, as they (the English) are bound to do by the treaty of close alliance.

It may possibly be objected to you by the Council that in accordance with the commercial convention of 1520, the English are not allowed to make any statute against any towns or private persons in his Majesty's dominions *unless the burgesses of such towns, or the private persons referred to have unfairly or fraudulently dealt with or otherwise injured the English merchants;* and it may perhaps be alleged that the Antwerp people have treated them in a way which displeases them.*

* There is in the Archives Royales at Brussels (*Papiers d'Audience*, 1547) an official copy in English of the minutes of the meeting of the Court of English Merchants at Antwerp, 21 October, 1547. The minutes recite that the City of Bruges had petitioned the English merchants to hold their next year's mart there instead of at Antwerp; and, having regard to the unjust and oppressive treatment which the merchants had suffered for so long notwithstanding their

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We have no knowledge of anything of the sort; but if the Court Master should seek to defend himself by advancing such an assertion, you may tell the Council that we do not believe that the burgesses of Antwerp have treated the English merchants otherwise than they are bound to do, as true allies of his Majesty in accordance with the treaty made between the citizens of Antwerp and the English subjects in the year 1538.

We enclose herewith a duplicate of this treaty. You may point out that, even in the event of the Antwerp people having acted otherwise the treaty in question itself lays down the procedure by which the matter should be settled. If the Court Master had given notice of any such complaint steps would have been taken to remedy what he complained of to his satisfaction, even in the case of the procedure enjoined by clause twelve of the treaty of close alliance being rejected. Even so, the Court Master cannot advance any such defence in this case, nor is it possible for him to do so by the tenour of the commercial convention of 1520, as will be clearly seen by an examination of the clauses of the convention itself.

Feb. 23. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

I have received your Majesty's letter of the 31st January, containing the warrant giving me authority to act in the business of the wool staple. I will be guided in the matter by the instructions that have been sent to me by the Gentlemen of the Council of State. In pursuance of these negotiations I visited the Protector and informed him that I had been commissioned to treat with him for the prolongation of the agreement with regard to the staple. I took this step somewhat hurriedly because the Protector was leaving London the next day, in order to inspect the ports, the isle of Wight and other portions of the coast opposite France.

I also laid before the Protector the complaint sent to me by the members of your Majesty's Flemish Council respecting a certain order issued by the Court Master of the English merchants prohibiting the latter from sojourning for more than one night in the city of Antwerp, and enjoining them to remain in that of Bruges, where they now are. This, I pointed out to him, was not only a violation of all the treaties and conventions but was an encroachment upon the prerogatives of your Majesty, as sovereign Duke of Brabant, especially as the said order is to be enforced by pains and penalties.

With regard to the wool staple the Protector replied that personages should be appointed to arrange with me for the continuance of the commercial convention of 1523.

In the matter of the Court Master, however, the Protector maintained that the prohibition was not an infraction of any of the treaties or conventions between your Majesties. The English merchants, he said, had been granted permission by your Majesties to choose any of the towns of your Majesty's Low Countries that they might like, in which to sell their merchandise. The merchants had from time immemorial been subject to the

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control of their Court Master, and had voluntarily submitted to his rule. The Court Master might therefore command and regulate according to his discretion the English merchants, subjects of his King. The Protector added that he had no doubt the Court Master had good reason to resent the action of the Antwerp people, for he (the Protector) recollected that from the time that he was at Brussels with the bishop of Winchester to wait upon your Majesty there were frequent complaints of the bad treatment of the English merchants by them.

I replied to the best of my ability, in accordance with the information sent to me by the Flemish Council of State, and am writing more fully to the Council on this business, in order not to trouble your Majesty unduly with it. I may say, however, in short, that so far as I can see the Protector is disposed to support the Court Master in his action, although he said that he did not wish to do anything to displease your Majesty.

In order to discover how they stood with the French I asked the Protector whether it was true that the King of France had a force of cavalry ready to ship and send to the assistance of the Scots. He replied that he had been informed that such was the case, though the King of France was at the present time displaying more amiability towards them than previously, expressing his desire to comply with the treaty he had with them (the English), though he said he was bound also in reason to keep the promise he had made to the Scots to help them in their need. Nevertheless he (the King of France) offered to employ his best endeavours to bring about some satisfactory settlement between them and the Scots. If, however, they would not come to any agreement he could not avoid fulfilling his promise and aiding the Scots, though he would do so without infringing the treaty in force between him and the King of England. The latter he (the King of France) said, had in like manner reserved in the treaty referred to, the treaties with the Emperor.

It is evident, Sire, that they have no doubt that the King of France will help the Scots, but they are still sanguine of being able to gain more of the country by means of the fortresses that they have taken care to hold, and by the help of the principal people of the country, who are inclined to think that they will fare better under the treatment of the English than under that of the French, since they have come so low as to be inevitably subject either to one or the other.

They have, for the second time, attempted the siege of Broughty Craig some two miles from Dundee, which is a good harbour and a handsome place, though without a wall. Inside the place there was a Scotsman named Lord Gray, who took the side of the King of England so zealously that he was able to convert all the inhabitants to his way of thinking. He thus held Dundee for the English awaiting re-inforcements from here, until the earl of Argyle came against him with a considerable force of Scotsmen accompanied by M. de la Chapelle and his company of Frenchmen. Lord Gray, seeing that no succour was likely

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to reach him from here, thereupon abandoned the town. Before the earl of Argyle had arrived at Dundee he sent to the fortress of Broughty Craig for the purpose of seeking a parley with the commander. The latter, however, distrusting Argyle, sent in his place a certain sea captain, who after he had parleyed with Argyle and was passing through the town of Dundee with a number of troops took the artillery and bells (*cloces*) that were there and carried them off to Broughty Craig.*

The earl of Argyle afterwards entered Dundee and issued a proclamation ordering all the burgesses to return to their own homes under pain of the gallows. This they did on condition that they were pardoned for all they had done in the past.

With this Argyle and his men appeared before Broughty Craig, from which place the English sallied and in the ensuing engagement the Scots and French were defeated. In the fight a Frenchman very richly accoutered was shot, and the English observing the great pains taken by the Scots to find the body, made such efforts that it remained in their hands. The English afterwards learnt from the prisoners they had taken that the corpse was that of M. de la Chapelle himself and although the news of this was spread through this city (London) the lords of the Council have refrained from publishing it as a fact until they were quite certain of it.† It is, however, now believed by everybody to be true and the Protector himself told me so. The earl of Argyle thereupon retired, on the pretext that he was going to obtain heavier artillery and a larger number of troops, but it is generally believed that he has forgotten to return. The English had sent thither one of the best officers they have in their service, named Palmer,‡ in order for him to see what will be necessary for the security of Broughty Craig and the fortification of the town of Dundee. He decided that if a mountain about half a mile distant from Broughty Craig were occupied and some slight defensive works constructed it might be held with little trouble or expense against all the force of Scotland, and would effectually prevent any siege of Broughty Craig.

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* The Commander of Broughty Craig was Sir Andrew Dudley, who in his letters to Somerset (*Scottish Calendar*, Bain, Vol. I.) gives a spirited account of these proceedings. Argyll seems to have summoned Dudley to confer with him at Perth at the request of the people of Dundee who dreaded a siege by Argyll's highlanders. Dudley sent Wyndham in his stead: who was received by Argyll in a chapel outside of Perth. Argyll demanded the immediate surrendor of Dundee, under threat of fire and sword. Wyndham said that as the people had all run away the place should be delivered to him "but bare enough." Wyndham then took "all the town ordnance, bells, copper and brass that was in the church, and burnt the steeple, but not the town of Dundee in case we got it again."

† Dudley describes this man as one chief French captain with a tuft of black and white feathers in his morion. It was not, as here stated, the French commander M. de la Chapelle who was killed in the engagement.

‡ Sir Thomas Palmer. An account of his plan for strengthening Broughty by fortifying a hill within 2,000 feet of the castle is given in a letter from Lord Grey de Wilton to Somerset on the 1st February (*Scottish Calendar*, Bain). Palmer left instructions with an Italian called "Captain John" how he was to proceed when Argyle's force appeared before the Craig. This plan was enthusiastically endorsed by Lord Grey de Wilton, the English Commander in Chief.

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The Protector has therefore sent thither with all speed men and money and everything else necessary to execute Palmer's plan. It is believed that they will have arrived there ere this, but no news to that effect has been received.

They also think of fortifying another mountain near Edinburgh, which will also be of great use to them, and thus they will gradually win the country bit by bit, much as the French may try to prevent them.

I asked the Protector what was the talk I heard about the King of France having been made protector of Scotland, and that the whole of the fortresses had been placed in his hands by the Scots. He replied that he also had heard this said, but how true it might be he did not know. He then recounted to me all that had passed that same day between him and the earl of Huntly, who, as your Majesty knows, is a prisoner here. The Protector said that he (Huntly) seemed an honest man, but that he hardly liked to trust him in the offer he now made; namely, that he should be allowed to go to Scotland in order to induce the Queen and the Regent Arran to come to terms with the English. If he failed in these efforts Huntly promised to resign all his offices and authority in Scotland, and to return hither as a prisoner again, thus keeping his faith. He could not, he said, endure to see his country brought to utter ruin and destruction by being handed over to the French, as would inevitably be the case if the King of France gave them great assistance; for he would then naturally make himself their master. Their country would be equally destroyed by the English, who would certainly not desist from continuing the war upon them now that they had gained so advantageous a footing in the country; so that the poor Scots would be under the yoke of both of them and harried and ruined on every side.

Before this the Protector had sent Controller Paget to me, for the purpose of informing me of their intention of taking the mountain in Scotland to which I have referred, and also to say that they had sent to Lubeck, Hamburg and other towns of Germany in consequence of their having been informed from trustworthy source that the King of France was intriguing there to obtain men and ships from those places, and they (the English) were of opinion that this might be directed against them and especially with the intention of sending succour to Scotland. They had therefore considered it necessary to send to the towns mentioned for the purpose of refreshing their memory as to the good friendship that had always existed between the King of England and them; and to say that they (the English) hoped that the towns on their side would maintain the same, and would not extend favour or assistance to those who were opposed to them, which they (the English) felt assured they would not do. The Controller made great excuses that I had not been informed from the first of this mission to the towns, which he assured me had been entirely his own fault. He had, he said, been instructed to inform me of it before the departure of their commissioners, but out of pure forgetfulness he had neglected to do so.

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The ordinances on religion are rather tending to improvement here just now than otherwise, for orders have been issued that Lent is to be observed and fish days kept. It has also been commanded that service in the churches shall be conducted as formerly.* Mass is celebrated likewise in all the churches, and before the King; but in the private houses of some of the principal men there is nothing but sermonising. Although some most scandalous lampoons upon the ecclesiastics have been played before the King, to the great contentment of the spectators, these things have since been prohibited. It looks to me as if these people did not know what path to take, now that they have separated from the only good one, and that they find themselves in utter confusion.

I am given to understand that the principal bishops and other learned men are in consultation, for the purpose of drawing up the ordinances and declarations which every person will have to follow, and there can be no doubt that these will not be entirely in conformity with our true and ancient faith, since the bishop of Winchester is not of their opinion. He has, indeed, opposed it so strongly that he has been ordered since his release from prison not to leave his own house. It is expected, however, that he will end by giving way to them, and he is to make his declaration shortly.

The two Italians are preaching, one in Latin at the University of Oxford,† and the other, Friar Bernardin, in Italian in this city of London. As this Friar Bernardin had already gained renown in Italy by his preaching all the Italians resident here have been anxious to hear him.‡ But those who had already heard him preach in Italy say that he has lost all the grace and eloquence that he formerly possessed, and they recognise that God has deprived him of his gifts now that he has begun to misuse them. He thus grows daily less and less esteemed, and I sincerely hope that at last he will have no auditors at all, unless it be the Duchess of Suffolk§ and the Marquis of Northampton the brother of the Queen Dowager (Katharine Parr). With regard to the said Marquis, I have been told in strict confidence that by means of his sister the Queen and of the Duchess of Suffolk he recently took for his wife‖ the daughter of the Deputy

* On the 28 January, a circular letter from Bonner as Dean of Canterbury had been sent, by Cranmer's orders, forbidding various superstitious ceremonies during the Lenten season. The effect was that at once the more zealous opponents of the Roman ritual commenced a series of unsparing attacks upon the old observances. In order to check the indiscretion of the reformers, a royal proclamation was issued on the 6 February to the effect stated in the above letter. *See* Burnet, and Heylin.

† This was Peter Martyr.

‡ Bernardino Ochinus.

§ Katharine Lady Willoughby D'Eresby the widow of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. Although her mother was a Spaniard and the devout Catholic friend of Katharine of Aragon the Duchess was a zealous protestant and took refuge in Germany on the accession of Mary.

‖ The Marquis of Northampton's famous divorce case was at this time in question, the first case of the sort since the papal authority had been repudiated. Northampton had married Anne Bourchier daughter of the last earl of Essex of his line, and had been granted a divorce by the ecclesiastical courts shortly before on the ground of her adultery. It was undecided whether this divorce gave him the right to marry again and at his request a commission was appointed by the Council to settle the point in January. Whilst the Commission was

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of Calais, and that eight or nine days afterwards he was obliged by the command of the Council to put her away and never speak to her again on pain of death, in consequence of his having already a wife living, although he has long been separated from her. He is only spoken of secretly and does not show himself at Court, although during this Lent there are here many pastimes where all the ambassadors are invited and where we have been most graciously welcomed by the King.

Sire, I have learnt from a courtier here named Philip Hoby, first master of the Ordnance and Gentleman of the Chamber to the late King Henry and also to the present King, that he has been selected to go as ambassador to your Majesty. The Protector has not, however, yet mentioned the matter to me. This Hoby gained the favour of the late King by his skill in languages, and he was in the habit of serving the King in the entertainment of foreigners. He is much liked by the Protector, as he takes the same view in religious affairs as he does. I have never had much conversation with him, and therefore his qualities are not well known to me. I will nevertheless make enquiries about him, and though he has the reputation of always having been favourable to foreigners it seems to me that he is also very cool and can dissemble well.

London, 23 February, 1548.

Feb. 23. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the FLEMISH COUNCIL OF STATE.

After the receipt of your Lordships' letters, with those of his Majesty the Emperor enclosing me the authority to negotiate for the continuance of the commercial convention of 1523 on the wool staple, I went to visit the Protector, and laid before him the commission that had been entrusted to me for this purpose. He informed me that personages should be deputed with full powers to arrange for the continuance of the Convention referred to, and I will follow the instructions sent to me by your Lordships in this negotiation.

I also informed the Protector that the restitution of their estates to the Countess of Egmont and the Seigneur de Morbecque had not yet been effected, although the letters he had caused to be written giving directions to this end to his officers in the Boulognais had been duly presented to Wallop. I said I had failed in not requesting a copy of these letters. He asked me what difficulty had been raised to the restitution, and I then showed him Wallop's reply. After he had read this the Protector said: "From the very wording of the reply itself it is easy to see what we wrote from here, as it is evident that Wallop would not have dared to write in such a way for a moment if he had not received definite instructions from us to make the restitution of the estates. With regard to the duplicate of the letter I doubt whether the Secretary will have kept it, as it is not our custom

sitting Northampton tired of the delay took the matter into his own hands and married the daughter of Lord Cobham. This step gave great offence and Northampton was summoned before the Council, and ordered to send his wife to live with the Queen Dowager until the decision of the Commission was given. This eventually was favourable to him and his second wife thereafter lived with him.

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to retain copies of such documents as this. But if there be any necessity for a duplicate, which we do not think will be the case, we will write to Boulogne and will obtain a duplicate for you."

I should have accepted this offer at once, only that the period taken by Wallop is about to expire, and I thought it would be better to wait a little, to see whether it would be desirable to obtain some more formal warrant for the restitution than an ordinary letter. I also bore in mind that the Countess of Egmont does not wish to be aided by great solicitation on her behalf. The letter of instruction referred to was written and closed here to be sent direct to the Boulognais, and I undertook the charge of it and sent it to your Lordships, so that it might be presented to the authorities by the parties interested, and a reply might be obtained direct from the English officers to whom it was addressed. Otherwise they might have dissembled the matter, and the authorities here might have been satisfied with having given the orders for the restitution, without caring to concern themselves further, which might have deferred the restitution indefinitely.

Having finished this subject with the Protector I then spoke to him touching what your Lordships conveyed to me respecting the action of the English Court Master in Flanders. He replied to my representations that the order issued by the Court Master prohibiting all English merchants from buying or selling merchandise or sojourning for more than one night in the city of Antwerp, was in no sense an infraction of the treaties and commercial conventions; because, according to the terms of these, the English merchants were allowed to choose any place in the Emperor's dominions in which to carry on their business. The English merchants, he said, had always from remote times submitted voluntarily to the control of their Court Master, and had obeyed and maintained what regulations he considered it necessary to make. This had also been authorised by the Kings of England, and the merchants were therefore in some sense the subjects or servants of the Court Master, and bound to follow the orders he gave at his discretion. I quoted in support of our view the tenth clause of the commercial convention of the year 1485, subsequently confirmed by another convention, and more recently still by the treaty of close alliance: but the Protector continued to protest that the words quoted by me could not be otherwise interpreted than as giving to subjects on both sides full liberty to frequent such places as they chose, without any hindrance from the respective sovereigns or their officers. This, he said, would prevent the Emperor from being able to prohibit the English merchants from frequenting his dominions, and that similarly the King of England could not hinder the Emperor's subjects from staying here. But nevertheless, the authority of each sovereign over his own subjects remained intact wherever they were, especially in cases such as this, where from time immemorial the merchants had quite voluntarily accepted such authority and had obeyed the orders of the Court Master.

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I continued to insist, however, that the action of the latter was not only a violation of the treaties but that it was an imputation upon the sovereign rights of his Majesty the Emperor as Duke of Brabant to impose pains and penalties within the jurisdiction of his courts and without his permission. It was also, I said, opposed to reason and decency that the subjects of the King of England should be forbidden to stay for two nights in succession in the city of Antwerp, but must needs stop outside the gates. I said that in this matter we respected the liberties of the English subjects more than we did our own profit; for I well knew that this interdict was against the desires of the English merchants themselves,* as had been a similar prohibition issued in the year 1537 by another Court Master of theirs named Hutton, who was sent out of the place; the Commissioners of the city of Antwerp of whom I at that time was one, having given him a good lift on the way.† This I told the Protector might be seen by a document drawn up at the time, in which it was set forth that from that time forward the English merchants might frequent Antwerp as they had always been accustomed to do. The Protector, however, still argued that the Court Master had the power to make whatever regulations and orders relating to the merchants of his nation as he might in his discretion consider necessary. Such action, he continued was not by any means now adopted for the first time, but it had been done on many occasions before the year 1537 mentioned by me.

He began thereupon to recite a long statement of the reasons why the English merchants had formerly left the city of Bruges, and he concluded that for similar reasons they had now left Antwerp. They had, he said, done so before on several occasions, and had frequently wished to do so more recently; but they had always been induced to stay by the fine promises of the authorities of the city. These latter, finding themselves at present in such flourishing circumstances, make no account of the English merchants, and these merchants accordingly used the liberty they possess to go elsewhere. To this I replied that what he said supported my contention, that the merchants possessed the liberty he alleged to go and buy and sell whithersoever they chose, and I knew perfectly well that the merchants themselves desired to exercise this right.

The Protector retorted that the master merchants, who were here in London, assured him to the contrary. The men on the other side, he said, were only their clerks and factors; and both they and their masters were subject to the control of their Court Master as they always had been. The action of the Court Master, he maintained, was in no way an infraction of the sovereign rights of the Emperor; and it was of no avail for me

* That this was not the case is seen by the official minutes of the Court referred to on page 248, the resolution to trade in Bruges having been unanimously adopted by the Court of Merchants formally assembled.

† This was John Hutton who was English crown-agent in Antwerp. He died in 1538. He was succeeded in his office by the celebrated Stephen Vaughan. The house of the Guild of English Merchants in Antwerp stood in the Rue des Princes (formerly the Rue Neuve) until quite recent years.

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to tell him that, even if the gentlemen of the law at Antwerp had given offence to the Court Master he need not have resorted in these interdicts and banishments as a retaliation, and there were other and less objectionable means of showing his displeasure and obtaining redress.

"Well," he asked me, "why have not the Antwerp people given such satisfaction, as they have been so frequently requested to do, even by me and the bishop of Winchester when we were over there to see the Emperor?" In fact, I find the Protector so well informed on the matter and so well inclined towards the Court Master, that I think he will support him in his action, although he said he did not wish to drive matters to such extremes. But he always threw the responsibility upon the Antwerp people.

As your Lordships inform me in your letter that you have decided to have proceedings commenced in the courts of justice against the said Court Master, it seems to me that it would be desirable that I should make known to you that on several occasions since I have been here I have heard that the Court Master has visited England and he has always addressed his complaints to me. He has, I have no doubt, also presented similar grievances to the King and the Council, as they have frequently reproached me for the evil treatment dealt out to their subjects in the Low Countries, especially when I had to complain of the sufferings of the subjects of the Emperor at the hands of the English.

Only quite recently when I learnt from the rumours current amongst the merchants of the prohibition now complained of, I laid before Controller Paget the wrong that was being done by the said Court Master, and he replied to me in a joking way by saying "You are an Antwerp man yourself, but we will talk about this business more fully later." Accordingly, after I had received your Lordships letter on the subject I should much have liked to cummunicate with Paget about it, but unfortunately he is absent. I am therefore distinctly under the impression that the Court Master has done nothing without the full knowledge of all the members of the Council; and if the case is to be ventilated in the Courts of Justice I could wish that the Antwerp people had a better justification for their contention than we had in the year 1537, when a very similar interdict was issued. To tell the truth we should have had great difficulty in making out our case on that occasion but for the favour of the Queen Regent, which the President of the Council will no doubt recollect as he was at that time interested in our efforts. Your Lordships will be able to consider whether it will not be better for the Antwerp people to make the best of it, and endeavour to win over the Court Master by sauvity rather than letting matters come to an extremity, which might result in a greater disadvantage and injury to them than at present. It might, indeed, end in the Antwerp people finding themselves after all mistaken in the conviction that I have heard so often expressed by them there: namely that the English would never abandon Antwerp, and that all the talk of their doing so was nothing but vain threats.

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I say this because, as far as I can hear, the merchants are really determined to take up their residence in the town within the Emperor's dominions where they find the best treatment extended to them. I did not mention here that proceedings at law were contemplated against the Court Master, but only the enquiry that had been ordered, of which he (the Protector) made no account.

As the Protector made no mention of the embargoes I thought better that I should not mention them. It is true that three days after the embargo had been decreed there was a rumour here that all the ships and merchandise belonging to English subjects had been detained in Antwerp, and the Council sent to me to learn what truth there was in it. I replied that I had heard nothing whatever about it, and I considered it nothing but empty gossip, which made them less suspicious in the matter.

With regard to the javelins, lances and saddles consigned to the Lord Privy Seal nothing has been said to me on that subject either. He is very influential here and especially in the matter of claims, he being the oldest member of the Council.*

Touching the matter upon which your Lordships instruct me to advise you, namely, the present condition and prospects of the cause of the late Jerome Cricklemans and Gherard Wekemans, I can only say that I am unable to give you a good account of all that has taken place in this cause, or of the present condition in which it stands. After M. Adrien Van der Burch and I had had long discussions on the matter in question with the King of England's Commissioners, the latter asked from whom the attorney appearing in the case held his power of procuration. The attorney was summoned and declared that he held the procuration from the trustees of the widow. The English commissioners thereupon told him that the widow herself would not admit that this was the case, although to us it appeared quite the contrary. They therefore exhibited to us a document which they alleged to be a discharge signed by the widow and also, if I recollect aright, by one of the trustees for, and in the name of, the children. We were extremely astonished at this, but we insisted nevertheless, on behalf of the children, that they had other guardians in Antwerp. To make the case even more pitiable we asserted that the children were almost reduced to beggary. They replied to this that some of the children were here in London, and that if the guardian in Antwerp would not agree to the settlement that the King of England had effected with the widow and the children it would be to the prejudice of the latter. How the matter remained at last and still is, M. Van der Burch can give a much better account than I can, because being a matter of written law he will be able to recall the details better.

After the event just related he had several conferences with the English Commissioners alone, without me, but as he himself told me at the time without any result. He will have already reported this to the Queen. I can only add to this that it

* John, Lord Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford. He had recently been appointed also Lord Steward, having held the Privy Seal since 1542.

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appears to me that the matter is now, even to a greater extent than before, dependent upon the written law; and that these people will continue to persist in the attitude they have assumed, because they are now aware that the real plaintiffs are not the heirs but the creditors of Cricklemans.

During my conversation with the Protector I asked him what news he had from Scotland, and if the rumour I heard was true that the King of France had a force of infantry and cavalry ready to embark and go to the assistance of the Scots. He replied that he had been informed that this was the case.

(The rest of the letter is practically identical with the letter from the writer to the Emperor of the same date.)

London, 23 February, 1548.

Feb. 27. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Since I despatched my letters to your Majesty on the 23rd instant, intelligence has been received here that the King of France had sent four galleons and some other vessels well found and furnished, with men-at-arms, both horse and foot, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and a good amount of money for the help of the Scots.

But what has displeased these people (the English) even more than this news is the information they received from a gentleman on the Scottish Border to the effect that his father Lord Wharton, who is one of the three wardens of the Marches, had entered the western portion of the Scottish border country with great confidence in his men, and in the Scotsmen, who in considerable number had displayed much zeal and anxiety to do good service and prove themselves faithful subjects of the King of England; but that the earl of Angus, who was also in the field, had been able secretly to convert these Scotsmen and had induced them to desert the English side and follow him. The gentleman who sent the news therefore feared that his father and the troops he had with him would suffer much and be unable to escape. But this morning certain news was received from the Warden himself saying that, after all, he had been victorious, having put to flight the said earl of Angus, who left either dead or prisoners in the hands of the English about a thousand Scotsmen.* The Protector, however, has not received any further particulars of this, although he is expecting fresh news from one hour to another. I believe that this is the reason why he has deferred advising me of the matter, but as I heard of it from those who themselves have read the letters, and I have the convenience of the present courier ready to start I have thought well not neglect to inform your Majesty of the occurrence.

The departure of the Protector is again postponed for three or four days.

London, 27 February, 1548.

* A full account of this raid is given by Wharton and Lennox in a letter to Somerset, p. 81, *Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I. Bain.

1548.
March 22.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

My last letters were dated the 27th ultimo, since when the Protector and Controller Paget have been to inspect their frontier ports and the isle of Wight, from which journey they returned to London the day before yesterday.

There has also arrived here Lord Grey (de Wilton), who had been left as general in command on the frontier of Scotland. The ostensible intention was that he should return thither, but, as I understand, they really intend to send him to Boulogne, of which place he had always been the governor.* The reason for this is that they entertain some suspicion, in consequence of the French intrigues that they have discovered for the purpose of surprising and capturing Lower Boulogne. This plot was divulged to them by a Frenchman, who informed them that more than a hundred armed men had entered the place secretly one by one, and that there was a great number of Frenchmen outside ready to be employed in the same business, according to circumstances. The The people in Boulogne having, in effect, made enquiries in consequence of this intimation, found in the town a considerable number of armed Frenchmen, whom they expelled.

It appears that this circumstance has caused them to recall Lord Grey from Scotland, in order to send him to Boulogne again, as they evidently fear now that the French are more likely to attack them than your Majesty. This idea is strengthened by the news current here that your Majesty has dismissed your German troops.

Nothing of importance has happened in Scotland since last advices, except that some twenty Spaniards who were left in garrison at Hume Castle, had entered into some sort of understanding with the Queen (Dowager Mary of Lorraine) and that, in consequence, fourteen or fifteen of them had gone over to the other side. The others were detained and arrested with their Captain by the English, and the leader, having confessed the treachery, was executed after trial with three of his accomplices. This has had the effect of making them less desirous than formerly of having foreigners in their service.†

There have recently come hither flying from justice some French soldiers who had killed their three principal Captains whilst they

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* This probably was the reason for Grey's recall when Lord Shrewsbury went to Scotland in command of the fresh force intended to relieve Haddington. But the progress of events in the North soon rendered his presence there again necessary and he returned.

† The purpose of these Spanish mercenaries to murder Pelham the English captain of Hume Castle and hand the fortress to the French, had been made known before to Grey de Wilton by another mercenary named Captain Tiberio, an Italian, who had been sent with his band to Broughty Craig, and was subsequently in command at Haddington. When, therefore, the attempt was made, a beacon was fired from the walls of the castle, and a body of men whom Grey had forewarned rode to the place and captured the Spanish Lieutenant and twelve of his men. The rest of them fled, pursued by John Carre who took two and killed one. Whilst being conveyed back to Hume to be hanged, after they had been taken for trial elsewhere, the Lieutenant and a companion escaped, but he was subsequently caught and hanged by his own countrymen, who were outraged at his disloyalty. Although his name was Perez, they declared that

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were taking the muster in the Boulognais. The earl of Warwick has had them put into prison, and to-day the French Ambassador went to court, as I understand, for the purpose of demanding their surrender.

They have recently had printed here a certain book respecting the Holy Sacrament, in which it is set forth that the Communion will be administered *sub utraque specie*, the consecration being effected in the customary manner, pending further orders. It is also ordered that every person should in future confess his fault to God, and if he has any scruple of conscience he should declare the same to his clergyman, and after consultation with him obtain his absolution. It also says that those who prefer to confess in the usual way should not be reprehended, nor should they reprehend others who follow the course now laid down. It would seem that they are not yet unanimously agreed as regards their new doctrine, for the ordinances and statutes issued on the subject change from one day to the other. They have also again prorogued the time they had announced for the re-assembling of Parliament.

Sire, I have been requested by some members of the Council and also by the Genoese merchants themselves who are directly interested, to petition your Majesty to grant them your favour in the recovery of their property and friends captured by the Turks and Moors since the truce was declared, the capture having been effected whilst the ship was anchored in a harbour of your Majesty's realm of Sardinia. I am writing fully on the subject to M. de Granvelle by this courier.

London, 22 March, 1548.

April 11. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

In accordance with the authority which your Majesty has sent me and with the instructions received from the Council of State, I have been negotiating with the commissioners appointed by the King of England respecting the prolongation of the Commercial Convention of 1522 touching the wool staple at Calais. The matter has been dragged out somewhat, in consequence of our discovery during the course of the negotiations that our respective copies of the Convention were so different that I considered it advisable to inspect the original document. Having done so I have found that their copy was correct and mine was not. We subsequently agreeed to continue the said Convention, as I am writing more fully to the members of your Majesty's Flemish Council of State. Your Majesty is bound to ratify the agreement for prolongation within six months.

Wool is so dear here at present that this arrangement will be very greatly to the advantage of your Majesty's subjects. To such an extent is this recognised that if I had not have gained over the Protector and Paget beforehand I should never have been able to overcome the strong remonstrances that even now are daily being made by the English merchants against the serious loss to the country and to them which will be caused by the agreement.

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These people (the English) are still in great doubt and distrust of the French, and are sending every day reinforcements to Boulogne, four hundred men being even now sent from the neighbourhood of London, and five hundred from the county of Kent. Lord Grey, who had come hither from Scotland, has after all returned thither. His men, it appears, have suffered, a bad reverse; having attempted to surprise the enemy, whom they found in larger numbers than they had been led to expect. They therefore were defeated and left some four or five hundred men on the field. This is causing them to make greater preparations here than before.

During Holy week and the Easter holidays they have done nothing here but preach, all of course, being directed against the Mass. This is a violation of ordinances made in the last Parliament. They have been administering the Holy Communion *sub utraque specie*, and also according to the ancient rite to those who have desired it thus. At the Mass that is celebrated before the King the elevation is not performed, and a portion of the service is said in English, and this course is also followed in some of the other churches.

Sire, there have recently arrived here two ships from Sicily; which in the course of their voyage encountered two French ships of war called respectively the *Maitresse* and the *Cardinal*. These ships, according to the statements of the masters of the Sicilian ships, forced the latter to lower its sails, and afterwards the French captains entered her and, in addition to taking certain wines, they arrested twenty-five Sicilians who were on board of her, for the purpose of carrying them to France to serve them at sea. I have thought well to inform your Majesty of this outrage on your subjects, although it may be strongly suspected that the captains themselves permitted the Frenchmen to act as they did, so far as was consistent with their making a complaint to your Majesty's ambassador in France. I will write to the latter about it by the next opportunity.

London, 11 April, 1548. After Easter.

April 23. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

The Protector sent to tell me the other day that he had been informed that the French ships intended to go to the help of the Scots were expected to sail towards the end of this month carrying a large number of Gascons. He also heard that the King of Denmark had agreed with the French to assist them, and to send thither (to Scotland) two thousand Lansquenechts and a considerable number of ships. He (the Protector) said he could hardly believe this as it seemed improbable that the King of Denmark would consent to assist your Majesty's enemies and offend you.* But, nevertheless, as the intrigues of the French

* Cristiern III. who held the throne that of right belonged to the Emperor's nieces, the daughters of the infamous Cristiern II. and Isabel of Austria, sister of the Emperor. He was a Lutheran, and notwithstanding the grievances that Charles had against him the Emperor could no more afford to quarrel with him than he could with Henry VIII. or his Protestant successor.

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are always to be distrusted, he begged me to take the earliest opportunity of informing your Majesty of this.

Yesterday the Protector sent to me again, to say that he had since received more trustworthy intelligence to the effect that the French had certainly induced the King of Denmark to afford this assistance, by means of promises to promote the marriage of the widowed Queen of Scotland with one of his brothers; but the Protector still desired that I would not fail to inform your Majesty. So far as I can understand these people do not fear so much the going of these Frenchmen to Scotland as they are distrustful lest the object may be to divert the English forces to so distant a place with other views, since the Germans and other soldiers that the French have in the Boulognais are daily approaching closer to the town of Boulogne.

The people here, however, say that they have provided against every contingency and have decided not to make any effort this year except to stand on the defensive; by which means they hope to hold all the strong places they have besides the one that Lord Grey has gone to fortify during the last eight days near Edinburgh. They say, moreover, that the Scots will find themselves rather plundered than protected (*i.e.*, by the French).

The Camp Master (Colonel) Gamboa with the few Spaniards he has now left for Scotland.*

Religion is getting worse and worse here daily and there is much talk that the Mass will not last longer than this month. But I see these people so variable that it is difficult to understand what they are driving at; the only thing evident being that they are constantly getting worse, not without sorrow of a large number of worthy folk. To such an extent is this so that in the county of Cornwall they have killed the commissioner sent down in the King's name to introduce the new ordinances. There is also much talk to the effect that the bishop of Winchester has been summoned to court to make his declaration. As it is said that he remains firm and constant in his doctrine it may be feared that he will have to suffer. Unfortunately, the bishop has lost one of his principal supporters, Sir Anthony Browne, who died yesterday. He was the King's Master of the Horse.

Sire, I had been informed that Captain Schärtlin had fled from Germany and as I have noted that all fugitives seem to take refuge here, I thought that Schärtlin might be in hiding in this country. In order to find out if this was so I took the opportunity, whilst talking with one of the Secretaries of the Council, to mention the name of Schärtlin; whereupon he, the Secretary, showed me a letter from their ambassador in France saying, amongst other things, that Schärtlin had arrived in that country, although it

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* Sir Pedro Gamboa the commander of the Spanish mercenaries in the English service, of whom many mentions occur in the Scottish Calendars etc., had greatly distinguished himself at Pinkie. Soon after this the jealousy of his compatriots caused him to be superseded, and he was murdered on the 19th January, 1550, by his favourite comrade and Lieutenant, Guevara, in St. Sepulchre's churchyard outside Newgate, London. "Españoles è Ingleses en el Siglo XVI." by Martin Hume.

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was not known whether he was receiving any payment.* The Secretary also told me that Philip Hoby is destined for the post of ambassador to your Majesty, and will leave this week.

London, 23 April, 1548.

May 7. Vienna Imp. Arch.

THE EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have to hand your letters of the twelfth and twenty-third of last month, and it affords us much satisfaction to receive such frequent news from you of what is going on in England. You will be doing us a good service to continue in the same course.

With regard to the continuance of the Commercial Convention, we are glad that it has been arranged, and we thank you for the skill and diligence that you have employed in the matter.

Touching the ship from Sicily mentioned by you, we have instructed our ambassador in France to remonstrate on the matter there, and we have also spoken on the affair to the French ambassador here. You did well to communicate with our ambassador about it, and we recommend you to keep up a good correspondence with him when you consider that it will be advantageous for our service.

Referring to what our cousin the Protector told you about the assistance which he had heard that the King of Denmark had promised to give to the French against the Scots, it is so contrary to the good friendship that exists between the King of Denmark and ourselves that it is difficult for us to believe. You may tell the Protector, however, that in any case he may be assured that we would take care to prevent and hinder such a thing to the best of our ability.

We have been informed from other sources that the Protector has caused letters to be written to the Scots, and has also since had them printed, offering liberty to all those Scots who would adhere to the English and would not oppose the marriage of the King of England and the young Queen of Scots. Such a declaration as this is, as you will see, a direct contravention of the treaty of close alliance between the King of England and ourselves, by the terms of which neither party may negotiate nor come to terms with the common enemy without the consent of the other. We are writing to the Queen Dowager of Hungary, our sister, desiring her to instruct you as to the protests that you are to make on this subject to the Protector. We enjoin you to pay particular attention to this matter, and to let the Queen Dowager and us know as speedily as possible the reply that is given to your remonstrances, as well as all other occurrences . . .

We have been informed of the necessity you have for visiting and making a short stay in your own house to attend to your

* Sebastian Schärtlin von Burtenbach was the famous Lutheran *Condottiere*, who had in the earlier stages of the war of religion in Germany (1546) led the march of the troops of the Schmalkaldic League into Tyrol. He was joined at Augsburg by the Elector of Saxony (John Frederick) and Philip of Hesse. After the collapse of the Lutheran movement owing to the Emperor's activity and the slowness of Philip of Hesse, Schärtlin, always watchful to serve the cause of the Reformation, offered his sword to France for the impending war against the Emperor.

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private affairs, and we are writing to our sister the Queen Dowager, asking her to give you such leave of absence as she may consider possible, having regard for the interests of our service.

Augsburg, 7 May, 1548.

**May 16.** VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

**Vienna Imp. Arch.**

Although I had nothing specially worthy to be conveyed to your Majesty, I intended to have sent a letter by Mr. Philip Hoby, as he requested me to do; but he left here without giving me notice, except that when he was already on the road he sent one of his people back to me to ask whether I had anything that I wished to write your Majesty, making his excuses to me at the same time for having forgotten to come and take leave of me. As he had thus made so light of it I preferred to hold my letter back until the present.

These people have been holding great conferences every day since then. It may be assumed that the reason for this is the news that they have received, to the effect that the French with a strong force of men both by land and sea, are approaching Boulogne, where, as I am assured by a resident of the place, everything is not so well prepared as these people have been making out. But, withal, so far as can be seen, they are troubling themselves about nothing but religious affairs, for every day there is some change or other, either in the form of edicts or in frivolous prints. They had fixed a certain day after which Mass was not to be celebrated, but last week another edict was published by which Mass was to be allowed pending further orders.* But the Mass is mostly said in English. The elevation is now performed, although for some time it was omitted, which gave rise to the committal of terrible sacrilege on the part of some people, in the form of open contempt of the Holy Sacrament. As those who have dared to commit such impiety have not met with the full punishment they deserved it is quite clear to see upon whom the real responsibility should fall, and to deduce from this the tendency of those who govern the country.

In all the acts and ordinances which these men issue concerning religion they exhibit so little discretion that the very Englishmen who have returned hither from Strassburg and elsewhere, where they had taken refuge during the time of the late King Henry VIII. cannot approve of their proceedings, seeing as they do, that greater disorder and confusion exist here than ever was the case in Germany, and a greater vituperation of the Holy Sacrament of the altar than ever the Zwinglians or Œcolampadians

* As a result of protracted sittings of a commission of prelates sitting at Windsor, the new orders for the celebration of the Eucharist in two kinds and with a new rubric had been issued on the 8th March, the prelates being enjoined to institute the new service at Easter. Great objection was raised to the innovations by clerics throughout the country; and the excesses of the more thoughtless of the reformers caused a new order in Council to be issued suspending the enforcement of the new regulations and forbidding any other than preachers licensed by the Protector or by Cranmer to speak publicly on religious matters.

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have been guilty of.* Very few of these returned refugees are Sacramentarians, but there are amongst them some who conform with the ideas of the Italians Friar Bernardin and Peter Martyr, who are the pet children of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The disorder is so great that all those who have anything to lose are beginning to fear what the end of it all will bring to them, although they liked the beginning well enough. There is therefore great dissension amongst them; and for my own part I can only believe that the reason why the Protector is now allowing Mass to be celebrated with the elevation of the Host is that he fears some disturbance. In such case I can see no satisfactory or sufficient remedy at hand, the people being quite unbridled, through the fault of the Protector who has been so assiduous in pleasing them and pandering to their whims that he has almost lost the authority over them which he had thought to gain by this means.

Nothing new for certain has been heard about affairs in Scotland by me, as I have not been to Court for a long time, not having had occasion to go, and none of them (the Councillors) have been to visit me since the date of my last letters. Although they insist that they are perfectly able to defend themselves against the Scots and their allies with their own troops, and that they are not in want of foreigners for their service, they have nevertheless sent a Commissioner named John Dimock who left yesterday, as I am informed to see Captain Courtpenninck.† Dimock, however, says that he will stay in Antwerp, I suspect for the purpcse of raising a supply of money.

It is said that Lord Grey has nearly completed the fort which he is constructing at Haddington about eight miles from Edinburgh without the Regent of Scotland being able to disturb him in the work. Madam Mary still remains at New Hall in Essex with her household. Madam de Cleves arrived here a short time ago, the reason of her coming being, as I am informed, to speak to the Protector on certain complaints as to her treatment in money matters, and especially as regards the recompense for the house at Richmond, which has been taken away from her and prepared for the King. I understand that a favourable reply has been given to her. I learn that they have summond the bishop of Winchester hither, and because his indisposition made it impossible for him to appear here yet he has had guards put over him.‡

London, 16 May, 1548.

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* Œcolampadius, or Hausschein, a Franconian divine born in 1482 was the great supporter of Zwinglius in his Eucharistic doctrines. These Sacramentarians who refuted the doctrine of transubstantiation were condemned equally by the Romish party and by Luther, which will account for Van der Delft's assertion that their Swiss teaching was more acceptable in England than in Germany.

† *i.e.*, Captain Conrad Penninck the famous German mercenary leader who had on other occasions raised foreign troops for England.

‡ Gardiner was regarded with much suspicion by the Protector's Government at the time. He was at Winchester and it was asserted had armed his household for defence, had spoken insultingly of the royal chaplains sent down to preach in his cathedral, and that he had himself expressed opinions contrary to the new Eucharistic ritual.

1548.
25 May.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

On the twenty-second of this month the Protector sent making an appointment for me to go and see him on the following day at a stated hour. Just as I was ready to go, in accordance with this request, the courier arrived and delivered to me your Majesty's letters dated the 7th and the 16th instant, which seemed to me to come very opportunely with those from the Queen Dowager.

After having read them all carefully I went to the Protector who told me that the reason he had asked me to come was in order to communicate to me certain matters that had passed since he saw me last. One of these was that they had, through their ambassador, requested your Majesty to allow them the service of Captain Courtpenninck, with permission for him to raise two thousand infantry-men in Germany. He apologised very much for having forgotten to give me notice of this before, and he then conveyed to me everything that your Majesty wrote to me in the letters above mentioned; namely, that you had granted their request so far as referred to Courtpenninck himself, but that you had declined to allow the raising of the troops requested for several reasons. Your Majesty had nevertheless written about the matter to the Queen Dowager, requesting her to allow as much as possible in this respect to be done.*

He (the Protector) now desired that I should hear his reasons for making the request, and would be good enough to lay before the Queen Dowager how extremely important it was for the prestige of your Majesty and the security of your dominions that they (the English) should not be refused the favour of permission to raise troops at their own expense, in order to defend themselves against those who wished to invade their country or to reinforce the common enemy of England and the Emperor. He hoped, however, sincerely that no difficulty would be raised in the matter, having regard to the treaty of friendship and alliance that had always existed between your Majesty and them.

He was sure, moreover, that, apart altogether from the treaties to which he referred, your Majesty would be moved by your great goodness not to abandon so young a sovereign as theirs in his hour of need. I thought well at this point to repeat to him the just and reasonable causes for your Majesty's having declined to accede to their request for permission to raise troops in Germany, as contained in your Majesty's letters to me and as given to their ambassador at your Majesty's court. As the Protector appeared satisfied with these reasons I did not consider it necessary to give him the new letter of credence. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that he would not have remained satisfied with the reasons I recited to him but for the great confidence he feels that they will receive all the facilities they require at the hands of the Queen Dowager.

* These men were eventually raised by Conrad Penninck, with the tacit permission of the Emperor, in the Upper German and Netherlandish States, and served with great effect in the Scottish campaign later in the year.

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He began to make me a long speech about the designs of the French, who, being unable for the moment to incommode your Majesty, are deferring it to another better opportunity; and hope in the meanwhile so much to weaken England as to prevent them from being troubled by her when they turn upon the dominions of your Majesty.

He also assured me that he had been informed that the Scots would place the little Queen of Scotland in the hands of the King of France, in order that he might marry her to whom he pleased. They were, he said, giving into the keeping of the French all the fortresses in Scotland; and if the latter country was thus going to be devoted to the aggrandisement of France it would not be to the advantage of your Majesty's dominions.

When he entered on this branch of the subject I declared to him in your Majesty's name what the Queen Dowager had written to me touching the letter which had been printed here and had been addressed to the Scots, this letter being an infraction of the third clause in the treaty of closé alliance, inasmuch as it granted, as one of the conditions of the peace offered, freedom and security to all Scots who frequented and trafficked in England, without any regard whatever for your Majesty. The Protector replied to this that he did not understand Latin, and did not know the words used in the Latin letter to which I referred; but that it was quite true that when he himself was in Scotland he had caused a letter to be drafted for the purpose of convincing the Scots that they were mistaken in their idea that the English had come to Scotland with the object of conquering the whole country by force of arms. His desire was, he said, to gain the hearts of some of them, in order to get the upper hand and compel them to come to terms with your Majesty and them (the English). If he could succeed in doing this he thought your Majesty would not be displeased at the adoption for the purpose of any means that could be devised. I assured him in the name of your Majesty that this was the case, but I pointed out to him, in polite words, that they might have been more regardful of your Majesty in the matter, seeing that you had entered into this war with the Scots solely and entirely for their sakes, as they well knew, and reason demanded, what the third clause of the treaty of close alliance clearly laid down, namely, that nothing should be agreed upon with the common enemy without the mutual consent and participation of the allies. The late King Henry, I said, had desired that the amity should be so intimate that in affairs of importance concerning the common interests nothing whatever should be done without mutual understanding and participation. The Protector replied that he had not done anything against the treaty, and had made no agreement at all with the Scots, nor would he do so at any future time without the acquiescence of your Majesty. He would observe the treaty entirely and strictly in every way; and with regard to the letter mentioned by me it really was not worth talking about, as it produced no effect, and had no other object than that abovementioned, and to introduce if possible more division amongst the Scots.

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I found him somewhat ignorant of the contents of the letter in question, for on saying to him that the person who had drawn it up had simply forged it, and on my pointing out to him some frivolous passages in it, he was much surprised and angry at the foolishness of the draughtsman and thereupon changed the subject.

He showed me a description of the place of Haddington and how they had fortified it, as well as another place called Lauder, which two fortresses added to the four they already possessed, will, as the Protector said, give the Frenchmen plenty of work if they think to capture them, as all of them are well supplied with everything. They have in and around Haddington over five thousand men, horse and foot: the only thing they needed now was the coming of the force they asked for under Court-penninck.

With regard to the English ports, he said he believed that he had taken such measures that they would not be found lacking. I replied that I had no doubt that they (the ports) had been well supplied, but he had better keep a sharp look out that he was not cheated about Boulogne, as I had heard that things there were not in such good order as they thought. He confessed that what I said was quite true, but that he had at the present time remedied everything, and he had confidence that he could resist the French if they made any attempt there.

He also told me that the King of France would not let his army sail for Scotland until he had in his hands the son of the Regent (Arran), who had therefore already embarked in Scotland to go to France.

After many long speeches he said at length that he would be quite frank with me, confiding in my affection towards him, and knowing as he did that I had no other wish than to perpetuate the friendship and alliance between your Majesty and the King, their young master. He would not conceal from me, he said, that he was anxious to find some means by which the alliance and treaties with your Majesty might be rendered closer. He set forth the great attachment and devotion he felt towards you, and his desire to do you all possible service. It was, indeed, an obligation binding upon him to do so having regard to the benefits and honours he had received in your Majesty's court. If he knew anything at all, he continued, he had learnt it there. To this I replied that the friendship was already as close as it could possibly be, and I did not see how it could be rendered more intimate than it was. Your Majesty, I assured him, had no doubt at all with regard to his devotion and goodwill. He appeared to have some difficulty in putting into words what he wanted to say, and at last, after some hesitation, he continued "There are on both sides of the sea marriageable ladies"; and he then at once branched off into talk about the French, and how easy it would be at the present time to bring them to reason if your Majesty and the English were to undertake the task together.

I asked him whether he had in view any agreement for an invasion (of France) as he must be aware that your Majesty never

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sought war, but always peace and the general tranquillity of Christendom. "I have," he replied, "in view only such agreements and alliances as may appear good in the eyes of his Majesty the Emperor, and I will say no more but will leave you to think what you like about what I have said." All this, Sire, may proceed from the probablity which they perceive of their being involved in a war with France; but your Majesty will consider whether you may profit by this conjuncture, for I am of opinion that it would be possible to bring the Protector and the Council to do everything to the advantage of your Majesty's interests if some little concession was made to them.

The Protector told me that he would not conceal from me that it was in their power to ensure themselves against the French whenever they liked. The French, he said, would entirely abandon Scotland if they (the English) were willing to enter into negotiations about Boulogne, as the French desired. "And you may well imagine," he continued, "with what object they seek to come to terms with us. Nor am I of such feeble intelligence as to suppose that they are not at the same time following the same course with his Majesty, in order the better to make war upon us. In any case there is great difference between their making a treaty with the Emperor and their making one with us, because if they can get Boulogne they want nothing more from us and will remain friendly with us, whilst the more they can get from the Emperor the more they will want, without limit."

After all this conversation he desired to thank your Majesty greatly for your intention to prevent, if possible, any favour being afforded to the Scots from Denmark; and with this I left him.

Preparations have been made here for raising a large number of cavalry, in the form of an imposition, each person according to the amount of taxes he is assessed to pay to the King being compelled to arm and maintain one or more horsemen. The gentleman named Bellingham who was sent to your Majesty to announce the death of King Henry has been sent to Ireland as Viceroy.

London, 25 May, 1548.

June 8. Vienna Imp. Arch.

THE EMPEROR to the KING of ENGLAND.

Very high, very excellent and very puissant Prince, our very dear, well beloved and good brother and cousin, we greet you with all possible affection.

We have learnt from the relation of Your Councillor and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber Master Philip Hoby,* and also from the letters of which he was the bearer addressed to us, that he has been appointed to reside in our Court as your ambassador to us in succession to the bishop of Westminster, who has been recalled in order to be employed in other matters in your service. Although the bishop was very agreeable to us, as having always acted with great modesty and discretion in the discharge of his

* The name is spelt indifferently Hoby and Hobby. His house, Bisham Abbey on the Thames near Marlow, stands almost intact with his and many other portraits of his family on the walls.

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duty on your behalf, yet we readily conform to your desire to employ him elsewhere, and we extend a hearty welcome to the said Master Philip Hoby. Whenever need arises and he desires it we will have much pleasure in granting him favourable audience, and we will also on every occasion give him such aid and gracious treatment as may be fitting, respecting him in all things as one of our own people.

Augsburg, 8 June, 1548.

June 13. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

A few days ago the Protector communicated to me by a secretary the news they have recently received from Scotland. This is to the effect that Lord Grey, having completed the fortification of Haddington and being desirous of retiring with his force towards Berwick, had considered it necessary to destroy and to lay waste all the country round, and to burn everything that might be of service to the enemy and the French when they should arrive. This course was also deemed advisable, because George Douglas the brother of earl Douglas, having some understanding with the French, to whom he had given one of his sons as a security for his good faith, although not his heir as the French believed, was exhibiting rather more opposition to the English, and was treating the latter more offhandedly than formerly.

Lord Grey therefore thought it would be prudent to anticipate anything he might do, and sent a body of his men to take possession of George Douglas's castle. Douglas then placed himself in an attitude of defence with twenty-five or thirty Scotsmen in the village adjacent to the castle; but perceiving that the force he had would be unable to maintain him against the English he took to flight with one servant, all the rest of his men being killed. The English then at once surrounded the castle, in the belief that George Douglas was still inside, and after considerable difficulty made themselves masters of the castle. They found inside the walls a large number of gentlemen of the lineage of Douglas and George Douglas's wife as well as his heir. They also found there a young noble who will be the successor to one of the principal earls of Scotland.*

There were in the said castle great treasures in money and a large quantity of furniture that the friends of George Douglas and the neighbouring gentlemen had brought thither for greater security. With all these prisoners and a rich booty the English returned to Haddington, and the parties sent out to lay waste the country around also returned thither with great droves of cattle and more than four thousand sheep. Thus, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh there is not a mill, or even a blade of grass remaining; and although the Regent of Scotland was

* Sir George Douglas was the brother of the Earl of Angus, the head of the Douglas family. He was like most of his kin at the time almost incredibly shifty in his dealings with both sides, as the lands of his house were near the Border and especially open to attack from the English. The castle in question was Dalkeith, captured by Grey on the 3 June as related in the letter. The young noble mentioned appears to have been Lord Methven, of the house of Stuart.

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in Edinburgh with three thousand men, the English encountered no opposition whatever. They say that they have left Haddington so strongly fortified and provided with stores that the aid to be brought by the Frenchmen will be unable to injure them in any way.

These people (the English) were informed yesterday that the French armed expedition for the relief of Scotland was seen between Dover and Calais: but as they report that the Spanish fleet was also mixed up with the squadron of Frenchmen it is not easy to understand what truth there can be in it. The man who first brought the news reported that he had seen more than forty sail anchored between Boulogne and Calais, the wind and tide both being at that time favourable for the voyage towards Scotland. Some people, however, doubted whether this could be the French fleet, or whether the enterprise in hand might not be directed against Boulogne. These people (the English) assert that they have taken fully adequate measures to repel attack at all points; they say that their ships are ready and so completely equipped, that if, peradventure, the French should attempt to invade and occupy any place on the coasts of England or Ireland, they would be able to follow them up immediately.

With regard to religion the rulers here are beginning to prohibit preachers and other people by edict and otherwise from going beyond the ordinances laid down by the King in this respect. The Mass is accordingly still celebrated in the greater number of the churches. The bishop of Winchester has come to court. There was not a single person but believed that he would be taken to the Tower of London a prisoner; but, although he firmly declared that he refused to change his opinion until he was better informed, he was sent back to his own house and came out with a cheerful countenance and followed by a great train.*

Respecting the matter of the Court Master (of the English merchants in Flanders) nothing more has been said about it to me since my last letters, but I am informed that they intend to send very shortly to see the Queen Dowager on the subject a secretary named Dr. Smith who will be accompanied by the Court Master.

London, 13 June, 1548.

15 June. Simancas Estado, 806.

VAN DER DELFT to PRINCE PHILIP.

As Gonzalo de Hinojosa is leaving here for your Highness's Court about the Renegat business, I cannot omit to give you by him an account of affairs here, believing that Hinojosa will travel thither more rapidly than the letter could reach you

* Bishop Gardiner was peremptorily summoned to appear before the Council at Whitsuntide, and owing to his indisposition travelled from Winchester in a horse litter. He was received cordially by the Councillors, and minimised the charges against him of Romish practices in defiance of the ordinances. He defended himself vigorously, entirely denying many of the accusations; but when told that he must remain in London for the present he demurred. Somerset insisted, and whilst Gardiner was at Winchester House, Southwark, putting into writing his statement of defence, he was ordered by Somerset to preach

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otherwise. Your Highness will have learnt that the English have fortified certain strong places in Scotland that their enemies have been unable to capture in spite of all their efforts. The rumour was spread that the King of France intended to send a great fleet to the aid of the Scots, and the English therefore decided to anticipate him and take and fortify an important place near Edinburgh called Haddington, in order to resist and injure their enemies. They effected this and strengthened the place in a manner that they believe will enable them to hold it against any force the enemy can bring against it.

They subsequently captured some other castles, and about ten days ago they took the fortress of George Douglas, the brother of the earl of Douglas (Angus), the first peer in Scotland after the Regent (Arran). They found in the castle a great store of riches and the wife, children and kinsmen of the owner, though he himself escaped attended only by one servant. The English also burnt and destroyed all the country around Edinburgh, and brought into Haddington an enormous quantity of cattle. They met with no resistance whatever, although the Regent was in Edinburgh with three thousand men at arms.

The English general, whose name is Lord Grey, thereupon left an ample supply of stores in Haddington and returned with the greater part of his army to Berwick on the Scottish frontier. The English believe that they have done so much damage in the country that, even if the French force, which has, it is said, already sailed, should arrive they will have much difficulty in maintaining themselves there.

There is up to the present no new appearance of war between France and England, but the English are closely on the watch to see what this fleet is going to do. I will not fail to advise your Highness of what occurs.

The changes in religion here have been very great, so great indeed that in the majority of the churches Mass was not celebrated. But a few days ago the Council issued an order that neither the preachers nor anyone else were to presume to say anything on religious affairs beyond what had been approved of by the King and his Council. The consequence of this is that Mass is again celebrated in all the churches. God grant grace to them for His sake.

London, 15 June, 1548.

21 June. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

After I had received letters from your Majesty's good sister the Queen Dowager, informing me of the answer given to the King of England's ambassador respecting the request that the English should be allowed to raise some foot soldiers and engage the services of Courtpenninck, I went to visit the Protector in order to lay before him the just reasons that had caused this reply to be given. I was well aware that the answer in question would very far from satisfy them, as indeed the Protector informed me at once when he received me, and said that in order not to make any more difficulty about the matter he intended

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to bring the men by water from the west country. I have written fully to the Queen Dowager of the resentment they displayed at the answer given to their request, and also about the other details that her Majesty instructed me to set forth to the Protector and Council.

The Protector told me that the French had again set to work on the fort near Boulogne which had been knocked down in the time of the late King, and it was difficult for him to know now how he could hinder them.*

He had, he said, no other news, except that a portion of the (French) army had arrived at Leith in Scotland, and that the rest had passed, sailing northward between Ireland and England. He did not know yet with what object they had taken that route. The only information received of the contingent that had arrived in Scotland, was to the effect that eight hundred sail had been counted there. Some of the ships, it appeared, too eager to obtain refreshment early, put into a place held by the English, and the men who landed were chased back into their ships, ten or twelve of them being killed.†

The Protector also told me that it might be presumed that before the French attempted any serious operations against them, they would obtain from the Scots the delivery into their hands of the principal fortresses of the country, which he said would require some time to effect, and perhaps even it might meet with difficulties from the Scots themselves, seeing that the French contingent was not so numerous as had been stipulated by them. The Protector remarked that he was well assured that if the King of France had promised the Scots to contribute to their aid, only a force of ten thousand men they would have answered by asking him what use he thought such a small number as that would be to them. And, yet, according to current rumour, the number of Frenchmen actually sent to Scotland was nothing approaching ten thousand.

These people (the English) have good hopes of being able to hold their fortresses, but, nevertheless, they would be very glad in any case to be able to raise the foot soldiers (*i.e.*, foreign mercenaries) to ensure themselves against any attempt on the part of the French to invade England. In that case your Majesty would be bound by the treaty to furnish them with armed assistance.‡ They, therefore, say that they ought to encounter the less reluctance in allowing them to obtain men (from the Emperor's dominions) who would be employed at their expense against the common enemy.

* This was a fort at a place called Marquise somewhere to the north of Boulogne, not to be confused with the fort called Chatillon's Garden to the south of the harbour, which to some extent commanded Lower Boulogne. The fortification at Marquise had for its object the prevention of succour reaching Boulogne from Calais or by sea from Dover. It was the building of this fort that subsequently compelled the English to abandon the place.

† This incident happened at North Berwick, the French fleet at the time lying off Dunbar. Some sixty men landed at the former place, when Captains Pelham and Aslaby who were stationed in the neighbourhood attacked them, the French leader and ten men were slain in their retreat to the boats.

‡ That is to say by the Treaty of Close Alliance of 1543, by which the invasion of the dominions of either party by a third power bound the allies respectively to mutual aid for a limited period and stipulated extent.

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In a day or two the Secretary Dr. Smith will leave here to go to the Queen Dowager with the Court master* (of the English merchants in Flanders).

Madam Mary, who remains ever constant and firm in the good and ancient faith, will leave at the end of this month to go to the north country,† where she will remain on the estates of the Duke of Norfolk, who is still a prisoner in the Tower of London.

London, 21 June, 1548.

28 June. PRINCE PHILIP to the EMPEROR.

Simancas Estado 76.

Your Majesty's letter of last day of May to hand. Rejoiced to hear of good health, and of the progress of events in Germany, especially that the "*Interim*" has been published with so many signs of acquiescence and good will on the part of the Princes, especially as there are hopes that the greater part of the cities and towns of Germany will accept it willingly. God grant that it may be so that your Majesty's desires may be fulfilled. The proposal that they should give an aid for the security of Germany would be of such immense importance that I am naturally very anxious to learn what is done in that matter, and what settlement has been arrived at. It also concerns me much to know that you are discussing the suggestion of leaving the territories of Flanders, Brabant and Burgundy under the protection of the empire. I pray your Majesty let me know in due time, as you promise what is decided in this and also about the recess of the Diet.‡

I can say nothing more about Roman affairs than to hope that they may progress in a way that will be advantageous to Christendom at large, although I see from what Don Diego de Mendoza writes to me that his Holiness is more concerned in his personal interests than anything else. It depends mainly upon this business how all other things are to be conducted. Your Majesty, who has mastered the whole matter, will, I am sure, direct affairs for the best. I am very grateful to your Majesty for having informed me of the state of affairs that exists between the English and the Scots, and the aid being furnished to the latter by the French. I note also the hopes that exist as to peace negotiations with France; and although they seem to have had small foundation, yet it is a great good at least to have a prospect that no fresh disturbance will take place this year.

* There is in the Royal Archives at Brussels (*Papiers d' Audience, etc.*, 359) a letter from Edward VI. to the Queen Dowager of Hungary, dated 15 June, 1548, accrediting "Sir Thomas Smith, one of Chief Secretaries, with our servant Thomas Chamberlayne, Governor of our Merchants in Flanders," and begging for them a favourable audience touching the continuation of the good friendship between the writer and the Emperor and his sister the Queen.

† The writer always thus designates Norfolk, where the estates (Framlingham, etc.) were.

‡ Philip at this time was on the eve of his departure to visit Germany and Flanders for the first time, in order, as was hoped, to enable Charles to perfect his great project of securing to his son the succession to the empire as well as to that of the territories of Burgundy. There were many cross-currents flowing, and Philip, under the influence of Alba, was anxious to avoid placing the Flemish States under the empire until his own succession to the latter was secured. See *Philip II.*, by Martin Hume.

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There is nothing new about the marriage of Albret's daughter, beyond what I wrote to your Majesty in my last. I will keep you well advised on the point.* What your Majesty wrote to me about the news current there respecting the ships which it was said had sailed for the purpose of plundering and ravaging on the route to the Indies, has also been known here by a letter sent by the members of the India House (Casa de Contratacion) of Seville who had received the news from Lisbon. The Council of the Indies has discussed the matter and has arranged to send out the caravels as had been decided. The Viceroys and the authorities on the coasts have also been instructed to be on the look-out. All other measures that appear necessary shall be taken, as the Council of the Indies will write in detail to your Majesty.

The affairs of the Cortes are in the position that has already been conveyed to your Majesty, and in another letter I will inform you as to what has been concluded. There is very little more to be done, and as soon as I arrive in Valladolid which will be next Monday, please God, the sittings will be brought to an end.

With regard to what your Majesty says about the export of money from this country (Spain), it is quite true that various reports have been received of many frauds being perpetrated in the matter, and steps have been taken to avoid them. But notwithstanding all the efforts we have made we have been unable to repress these evils, as the tricks the people resort to are so numerous, and the places where the leakage occurs are difficult to get at. Nevertheless, in view of what your Majesty now writes, I will order renewed vigilance to be used, and that exemplary punishment shall be inflicted upon those who are discovered to be guilty in this matter. Nothing short of the utmost severity will suffice to suppress this evil, because the gain to those interested is very large. I will inform your Majesty of what is ordered on the subject.

I am very much pleased to learn what your Majesty writes as to the coming hither of Prince Maximilian; and the sooner he arrives the better contented I shall be, seeing the many good reasons there are for his coming and especially to expedite my departure.†

With regard to the person your Majesty proposed to send to Genoa with another power similar to that taken by M. de Chantonnay for M. de Granvelle, to effect the marriage of Prince Maximilian with the Infanta Maria, the matter has been fully discussed here and the opinion is that the step might be avoided if a courier were sent to Genoa with the power of attorney made out in favour of the Ambassador Figueroa, whose qualities are well known to your Majesty, and who will be quite equal to the occasion. A courier would go much more rapidly than

* Jeanne d'Albret, Princess of Navarre, whose marriage with Philip, a young widower, was being advocated by a party in the French Court at the time.

† Maximilian of Austria, the son of Ferdinand King of the Romans, the Emperor's brother, had been designated Regent of Spain, jointly with the Infanta Maria, to whom he was to be married on his arrival, during the absence of Philip in Germany and Flanders.

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any gentleman you could send on such a commission; and to provide for the eventuality of the Prince having already embarked when the courier with the power arrived, you might send another similar power to the Marquis of Aguilar,* and the marriage could then be celebrated as soon as the Prince landed. We have no doubt that your Majesty will approve of this.

I am in daily expectation of receiving a reply to what I wrote to your Majesty by Don Juan de Acuña. The Infanta Maria was slightly indisposed in Madrid and consequently had to be purged and bled, which detained us there for seven or eight days. She is now well, as are also the Infanta Juana and the Infante, who are on their way hither.

Olmedo, 28 June, 1548.

7 July. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Your Majesty will have learnt by my despatch of the 21st ultimo that the French army had already arrived in Scotland. Since my last advices these people (the English) have received no news from there, except that the French force had appeared before Haddington, in order to reconnoitre the place, and they approached so near to it that several of them were shot. The garrison, perceiving that the number of the enemy was not very large, made a sortie and a skirmish took place, the result of which was that the French left over fifty men on the field, one of the dead being a French gentleman of high position, as well as two others of rank who were seriously wounded, one of these latter being a relative of the Queen of Scotland. There is no intelligence here of the French having obtained possession of any of the Scottish fortresses except Dunbar. The surrender to them of the castle of Edinburgh has been deferred until the results of their enterprise are seen. These people (*i.e.*, the English) are not in the slightest degree alarmed so long as they can hold Haddington† as they hope to do, although they believe for certain that by this time the French will have laid siege to the place.

I am informed that the English will be able within the next eight days to send their fleet of eighty sail to sea. They say that the force is well equipped, all the ships being armed. The commander-in-chief will be Lord Clinton in the stead of the Lord Admiral (*i.e.*, Thomas, Lord Seymour). If they succeed in encountering the enemy they do not make so much account of the galleys, and are pretty confident of being able to gain advantage over the French ships.‡ The reason, perhaps, why they are hastening is that they are informed that the Queen of Scotland is to be carried to France with the galleys.

A few days ago the Bishop of Winchester was taken to the Tower of London, the day after he had preached a sermon at

* The Marquis of Aguilar was Viceroy of Catalonia, in which principality Maximilian was to land from Genoa.

† Sir Thomas Palmer, writing at this time to Somerset, expresses this opinion to him (30 June), and it may be concluded that the letter from Van der Delft echoes this belief. Palmer writes: "Most men think that keeping Haddington we win Scotland."—*Scottish Papers.*

‡ Pour veoir silz porront rencontrer avee l'ennemy : ilz ne font si grant compte des gallères qu'ilz ne pensent bien emporter avantage sur les navires franchoises.

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Court in the presence of the King.* He remains constant in the ancient religion, but some consider him rather too vehement against those who now govern here, and it is perhaps this that is the origin of his misfortune. His property remains still intact, though it is asserted that he had already provided for his servitors, as if he had expected this fate to befall him.

The King with the members of the Council has left here for Hampton Court, where he will remain for the rest of the summer in order to escape the danger of the prevalent sickness in London.

London, 7 July, 1548.

8 July. Simancas Estado 806. VAN DER DELFT to PRINCE PHILIP.

I wrote to your Highness on the affair of the pirate Renegat and on occurrences here generally, by Gonzalo de Hinojosa, and since then I have been honoured by your Highness' letter of 18 May.

I have now to inform you that the French fleet of 18 galleys with other vessels to the number of two hundred sail has arrived in Scotland and has disembarked there as many as seven thousand men-at-arms, the commander being Peter Strozzi and the cavalry being led by M. D'Essé. They went to reconnoitre the fortress called Haddington, which, as I informed your Highness in my last, the English had fortified. The English had in garrison there three thousand infantry and five hundred horse, and as soon as they descried the Frenchmen they made a sortie and skirmished with the newcomers. In the fight that ensued the English gained the victory and the French left more than fifty men dead on the field, amongst them being one high officer and two more of similar quality were wounded.

The English here expect that by this time Haddington will be completely surrounded, although they have no certain news to that effect. But they are very confident of being able to defend the place, which is a very important one as it dominates the best land in Scotland. It was asserted that there was an arrangement made between the King of France and the Scots that all the fortresses in Scotland were to be handed over to the custody of the French, but up to the present they have only surrendered to them the castle of Dunbar, situated on the coast between the English border and Haddington. The Scots are deferring the surrender to the French the castle of Edinburgh, the capital city of the realm, until they see how matters progress with the French forces.

* Gardiner's sermon was, in accordance with the directions of the Protector, to vindicate the ecclesiastical policy of Henry VIII. and to censure "the silly ceremonies and legendary trash of Popery." He was, moreover, directed to acknowledge the full authority of a sovereign who was a minor, and to make many other doctrinal and political declarations which it was obvious he could not make without accepting the full programme of the ardent reformers. Somerset and Cecil beset Gardiner for several days insisting upon certain points, the bishop diplomatically shifting the ground as much as possible. Gardiner chose for his text Matt. xvi. 16: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Whilst gliding lightly over several of the thorny points prescribed to him, he stood firm upon that of transubstantiation, and the next morning Sir R. Sadler and Sir A. Wingfield arrested him for disobedience to the King and lodged him in the Tower.

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The English fleet will sail within the next eight days. There are eighty sail all ships of war the command being held by Lord Clinton in place of the Lord Admiral. They say this fleet is to go in search of the enemy, and although this English squadron is not so numerous as that of the French the former are extremely confident as the ships are in such good condition and everything so well ordered. As the French are so strongly armed they are still constructing, without the least opposition on the part of the English, a fort near the entrance to the harbour of Boulogne. They (the French) had begun to erect this fort before the late King died, but at that time they were prevented from continuing the work which the English are now allowing them to do.

The Bishop of Winchester preached before the King a week ago, declaring his opinion and relieving his conscience by defending the Mass and the sacred images. He condemned the marriage of the clergy, etc.; and the next day he was carried a prisoner to a Tower, from which very few of those who enter ever return. Some people think that his imprisonment is principally owing to his having touched the men who now rule.

London, 8 July, 1548.

24 July. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

The Bishop of Westminster* arrived here last week and after having gone to present his respects to the King came to visit me. He does not know how to thank your Majesty for the honour and gracious treatment he met with at your hands.

The Bishop of Winchester remains in the Tower of London, and very little is talked about him. He has still many friends, most of whom agree that he did not behave himself so wisely in his business as he might have done. His property and revenues remain up to the present intact.

Halfort (Old Ford ?), 24 July, 1548.

3 August. Vienna Imp. Arch. The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

The English ambassador resident here requested audience of us for Sunday last, in order, as he said, to communicate to us good news of great importance. We granted him the interview desired; and, after he had in general terms recited his intelligence and handed us a copy of the same in writing, the news being in substance what we had already learnt from our sister the Queen Dowager and yourself, he proceeded to say that he had been instructed by the King his master, by our cousin the Protector and the members of the Council, to address us for the purpose of obtaining permission to raise at their own cost a body of not exceeding one thousand horse soldiers in the States of Cleves and Juilliers, and to request us to write to our sister the Queen Dowager desiring her, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of close alliance, to allow them to export from Antwerp and other places in our Low Countries, pikes, lances and other warlike material.

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After we had congratulated him upon the English successes against the Scots, our common enemies, we referred him, for consideration of the rest of his message and requests to the members of our Council of State. We were, we told him, intending to start on the following day on a hunting expedition; and during our absence the Council might discuss the matters he now broached, and confer with him on the subject. As M. de Granvelle was at present unwell, the ambassador negotiated with M. d'Arras,* to whom he repeated the request about the horse soldiers they wished to raise, and also about the warlike material they needed.

To his requests M. de Granvelle (Arras) pointed out to him that he had a right to ask for the munitions of war to be provided at the King of England's cost, after the need of our own countries for such material had been satisfied; but with regard to the levying of soldiers he could not base such a request upon the treaty, because Germany was not included in the treaty. As the English would not be bound to defend Germany or any other of the Emperor's dominions not specially mentioned in the text of the treaty, neither could they claim by virtue of the treaty to raise troops nor any other warlike necessaries from them.

The ambassador readily admitted this and said he did not base his request to raise the troops on the letter of the treaty in question, but depending only upon the confidence that the King and his Council had in the affection we had displayed towards them, and also upon the cordial expressions we had graciously used to the ambassador himself when he first arrived in our Court. Not only did the ambassador hope, he said, that we would gratify his master in this, but also in things of even greater importance. He could assure us on his own part that Englishmen were not ungrateful, and they would do much more for us in similar case.

M. d'Arras, however, pointed out to him the edicts and prohibitions in force in the empire (*i.e.*, against the recruiting of mercenaries for the service of foreign States). We had consented to wink at the levy of foot-soldiers which Courtpenninck had effected for them, and the French had resented it, especially when we refused emphatically to allow them to raise any men in our dominions. The edicts on the subject had been renewed on that occasion, and we had also reinforced all our coasts and frontiers, even that of Zeeland, and increased our garrisons, in case the French should attempt to show their resentment by any overt act of hostility on their homeward voyage from Scotland. If, continued d'Arras, we made more concessions to the English it would be very difficult to avoid acceding to French demands for similar facilities if they should be made. We did not see how it was to be done without violating the laws of friendship, which we were bound to respect towards the French, especially as the treaty we had with the latter was made with the consent of the English themselves.

* *i.e.*, the younger Granvelle, Antoine de Perennot son of the Secretary and afterwards the celebrated Cardinal de Granvelle.

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The ambassador was not satisfied with this view of the matter, and desired that a report should be laid before us. M. d'Arras accordingly, on the following morning, gave us an account of what had passed; and, having considered the matter, we instructed him to reply to the English ambassador that he would on no occasion find us lacking in the fulfilment of any and every obligation to which we acknowledged ourselves bound towards the King, his master, in virtue of the treaties existing between us. He might be the more confidently assured of this by considering how we had always in times past dealt with everybody. In the case of his master, especially, the truly paternal affection we bore him would cause us to be the more scrupulous to avoid the slightest shortcoming towards him; and we would on every occasion do all that we properly could do to show our particular love and regard for him.

On consideration, nevertheless, of the demand he now made of us, we were of opinion that it would not be advantageous even to the King himself that the levy of troops desired should be made, having regard to the fact that it could only be done at great expense, and that it would take two months at least to muster the men and conduct them to the seaside. The season of the year being already so far advanced, and the French having assembled their forces for the purpose of besieging Haddington, and, as the reports he now brought us related, they had been forced to retire from that place and abandon the siege with heavy loss, it was not probable, we said, that the French would remain in the country very long. In any case, it was most unlikely that they would venture to delay their departure therefrom until the bad-weather season made the voyage dangerous for their galleys.

Jointly with these considerations we told the ambassador (Philip Hoby) he should bear in mind the arguments brought forward by M. d'Arras to the effect that, in all probability, if the request were granted, the French would press us to grant similar facilities to them for the raising of troops in our dominions, especially as they had on a previous occasion done so, and were much offended at the refusal and at the almost simultaneous renewal of the prohibitions and edicts on the subject of such levies published throughout the empire in consequence of their demand.

If the English request now made were granted, we said, the French would become more pressing than ever, especially having regard to what we had heard by letter from Saxony, where the rumour was current, spread it was said by the English themselves, that the levies being raised by Courtpenninck were raised by our consent. If the French approached us with these facts and asked for similar favours, we should have much difficulty in avoiding their request without showing too much partiality. The ambassador might well consider, we continued, that if we found ourselves thus obliged to grant permission to the French to raise a certain number of men at arms it would be easy for

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permission as an excuse for drawing across the frontier a very much greater number than that authorised. By this means the English would find themselves even more closely beset than at present; and the French would be all the more likely to take this course if they thought themselves aggrieved by any noticeable inclination on our side to favour the English unduly.

The English ambassador replied that the King of France had no claim whatever to make any such request of us as that referred to, since the men that they desired to raise would be for the purpose of helping the Scots, our common enemies. Our answer to this was that the King of France would make the demand, as he had done on the former occasion, ostensibly to defend his own dominions and under pledge that he would not employ such troops for any other purpose, although when once he got the men into his territories he could use them as he pleased.

With regard to the request made by the ambassador that we would allow the purchase in and export from Antwerp and other places in our Low Countries of pikes, lances and other warlike material, due payment for them being made, we replied that we would write to our sister the Queen Dowager about it, as we did not know that stock of such things there was at present available for the requirements of the countries themselves. We would, however, desire the Queen Dowager to accommodate them (the English) with such things as they required, in so far as the treaty provided, after the needs of our own subjects were supplied.

The ambassador pressed that, at least, they should be allowed to raise a smaller number of horsemen that had been specified, but we stood firm in the position we had taken up, as described above, in order not to go beyond the imperial edicts to which we have referred, and to prevent Germany from being denuded of fighting men. We added that we trusted that our cousin the Protector and the members of the Council to whom our reply would be shown would accept it with satisfaction and acquiescence, since it was inspired very largely by considerations of the advantage of the King (of England) and with a view to prevent him from incurring great and unnecessary expense.

You will thoroughly consider all the points dealt with above, and when you see a favourable opportunity or you are addressed on the subject, you may re-state them to the Protector to the same effect as in this letter, as persuasively as you know how to do. You will let us know how he takes it, as well as everything else that occurs.

Augsburg, 3 August, 1548.

21 August. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Madam, I have made every possible effort to obtain possession of the documents which your Majesty desires; and Controller Paget has also done his best to the same end. As I informed

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recover them, who is about 250 miles away from here. His labour, however, was of no avail, as the person in question referred him to another man in London, who he said had the documents. As soon as he learnt this Controller Paget sent me a written warrant addressed to this person, ordering him to deliver the copies of the documents to me immediately.

I sent this order to London, but on the arrival of my man there he learnt that the person in question had been driven out of the city by the great plague there and was at present in the country a hundred miles off. I sent after him at once, and am in hope of receiving a decisive reply within three or four days.*

I am writing at present to the Emperor an account of all that has passed between the Protector and myself and the various occurrences here. His Majesty instructed me in his last letters to report to him how the Protector took the reply given to him about the raising of the thousand horse that they asked for. By the copy of my letter to his Majesty enclosed you will be fully informed on these points.

Kew, 21 August, 1548.

21 August. Vienna Imp. Arch. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

The contagious malady which so grievously afflicts London at the present time has caused the King to forbid any person from the city from entering his Court. In order, therefore, to avoid danger for myself, as well as to escape from all other inconvenience, I had thought best to retire to my house in the village,† but I have also been compelled to leave that, in consequence of one of my people having fallen ill, and I have now established myself in a village as near as possible to the house of the Protector.‡

I have here received your Majesty's letters of the third instant and four or five days afterwards the Protector returned from Oatlands, where the King at present is staying, to his house in this neighbourhood. I had occasion to visit him for the purpose of discussing various private complaints, and on my requesting audience he replied by inviting me to go and dine with him on the following day. I was received most amiably and much honour was paid to me at the feast. After dinner I was proceeding to lay before the Protector the private complaints which were the object of my visit, when he said, "You are doing what it is more fitting that I should do" (*i.e.*, to make complaints) and after

* There is in the Royal Archives at Brussels (359) a letter dated 6 April, 1548, from Van der Delft to the Queen Dowager of Hungary referring to the very urgent request sent by the Queen on behalf of her sister Eleanor, Queen Dowager of France, that Van der Delft should obtain possession of certain copies of documents not specified in the letter. The writer says that Paget, desirous of aiding to the best of his ability, had at once sent one of his men to the person, two hundred miles away, who had possession of the documents. The return of this messenger was daily expected. The present letter gives the sequel to this.

† Van der Delft appears to have had a suburban residence at Old Ford on the Lea, now one of the poorest quarters of East London, but then quite rural. It was assumed in an earlier page of this Calendar that the village to which he referred was Wanstead, as he spoke of it as being near Wanstead House, the residence of Princess Mary. The distance from Old Ford to Wanstead is about three miles.

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I had set forth the grievances and he had favourably replied to them, he commenced to complain of the reply given by your Majesty to their ambassador with regard to their request to be allowed to raise a thousand horse in the countries of Cleves and Juilliers. This reply being based upon such just and sound reasons, I repeated them point by point and I told the Protector that when he had fully understood and considered them he would recognise how satisfactory they were and how much to their own advantage.

On this he asked me whether I had not some other mission from your Majesty, as their ambassador had written to the same effect as my speech, but had added that he had been told that very shortly he should have something that would be more satisfactory to him. As he had heard nothing further from me than they had learnt from their own ambassador he exhibited great discontent and said that the hopes he had placed in your Majesty had been disappointed. He had thought that you would never fail to aid and succour them in their need, not only in regard of friendship and treaties, but also because they invoked your Majesty's support against the common enemies, who found their friend (*i.e.*, France) so cordial that he assisted them with horsemen, ships and munitions, all at his own expense; whereas they (the English) could not obtain from their friend with whom they were in the closest possible alliance, any assistance in the hour of their need, even though they were willing to pay for it themselves.

He did not know, he said, what sort of friendship I called that, and then, getting into a passion, he cried, "I see very well that we must settle our affairs, so that we may live on good terms with everybody, and rid ourselves of all quarrels. We shall profit greatly by it, for I can assure you frankly that I am every day being approached by the French still, as well as by others, to make up all differences. Everything could be settled by Boulogne, and the King would be the gainer by it to the extent of more than two hundred thousand pounds. But I have always been attached to the service of the Emperor, and have disregarded all other interests, in the belief and confidence that we should never find ourselves thrown over by him. And now, at this time, all the necessity that we experience is placed upon my shoulders, and is attributed to the undue confidence I have reposed in the friendship between the Emperor and my master the King. It seems to me that I am learning fresh wisdom every day against my own inclination."

I replied that I was much surprised that he took things in this way, and was so extreme in the matter. I should rather, I said, have expected thanks from him for the evident demonstration of paternal affection and singular love of your Majesty as shown in the reply that had been delivered to him. He would find this true as he had always done in the past. I was sure, I said, that he held me as a good well disposed friend to this country, and

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not have done otherwise than approve most heartily the terms of it, as being amply sufficient and really advantageous to the English themselves. This was especially the case in regard to the view that if the French were allowed to engage Germans their proximity gave them much greater facility for obtaining the men, as well as the fact that there is much greater sympathy between the Germans and the French than between the Germans and the English. He knew, I said, that in the whole of Germany there was not a single town specially devoted to them, whereas the French, thanks to their commerce and frequentation, had several. Your Majesty had nevertheless annulled these advantages by means of the publication of the edicts throughout the empire, greatly to the resentment of the French, who appeared to have just cause for their complaints as the raising of the men by Courtpenninck had been condoned.

With these and other arguments drawn from the text of the reply, I thus met him on all points; but he still continued to press his demand, saying that at least he hoped your Majesty would not raise any difficulty in allowing them to make the levy. He had, he said, at first asked for a thousand horse, but at the present time he did not urgently require so many. He had mentioned a thousand in order not to be constantly troubling your Majesty with these demands. He would write to their ambassador instructing him to continue to press the request upon your Majesty. You might, he said, be quite sure that they would not have asked for the permission to raise these men, nor would they do so now, if they were not really in need of them. The same anxiety as that shown by your Majesty that they should avoid expense had been the reason, he said, why he had deferred asking the favour of your Majesty earlier, as the men would serve him on bounty at the end of October.

He continued by saying that your Majesty knew very well that they had no great horses in this country, whereas the French force now in Scotland had more than five hundred, any one of which was worth ten of their horses. If that which he heard was true, a great number of men were being raised in Ostland, all of whom were paid in French crowns. Ships were being made ready for them, he said, probably to carry them to Scotland in the service of the King of France, thence to invade England in union with the French troops, and this would drive them (the English) to the greatest extremity.

Sire: I do not know why Controller Paget has asked me several times whether I have not received a reply from your Majesty to the remarks made by the Protector respecting the conclusion of a still closer alliance than at present with your Majesty, adding that the present time was one in which the Protector might perhaps begin to vacillate.

Nevertheless I cannot believe that he would ever do anything against your Majesty's interests, for when I talked to him unofficially about religion, being urged thereto by Controller Paget, he (the Protector) took it in good part and assured me

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served in this country. He would, he said, convoke all the bishops and learned men in the realm on both sides, in order that they might discuss together and make some arrangement that should approach the *Interim* as near as possible without going contrary to the word of God.* He confessed to me, in confidence, that there were many things being done here that displeased him.

He also said that he wished the Emperor did not show such unwillingness to give pleasure to such a young King as theirs, who ought not only to be assisted as an ally but supported as a son. "Certainly," he continued, "in everything we can do to please the Emperor, so far as our treaty obligations permit, his Majesty will ever find us ready." I did not neglect to reassure him as to the particular love and affection that your Majesty bore to the young King, and said that no failure would occur on your Majesty's part in fulfilling the treaties, and in maintaining the good friendship and neighbourliness between the two countries.

We then entered into conversation about the differences they (the English) are having with the French on the subject of the new fortifications which are being constructed by both parties at Boulogne, though the English will not admit that the wall that they have built at their harbour-mouth is a fortification at all, but only an edifice necessary for the commodity of the port. The Protector, nevertheless, tells me that he hopes to be able to complete it, in spite of the French, in such sort that the new (French) fortification will not inconvenience them (the English).

I can plainly perceive that the Protector is not over-well pleased with the troops he has at Berwick for their not having already revictualled Haddington, in accordance with the orders that he had given them, which would have rendered it perfectly easy. He assured me that he had no fresh news, except that the men inside Haddington were bearing themselves stoutly and loyally like honest men. They had, he said, made a sortie very much to the disadvantage of the French, many of whom fell in the encounter, and the second in command of M. D'Essé, the French general-in-chief, was taken prisoner amongst others.†

The day after I had dined with him the Protector sent a secretary to inform me of the news from Scotland that he had received the previous night after I had left him. This was to the effect that Lord Clinton, the commander of their sea force, has had an engagement with the French galleys which had been forced to retreat, one of the galleys being so damaged as to be of no future service, whilst two more of them were disarmed of their rowers (*forsaires*) on one side. In consequence of the defeat and

* The *Interim* was the compromise that had been adopted in May of the same year, 1548, by the German Diet and cities. It was succeeded in December by a much more liberal compromise called the *Greater Interim*.

† This was an exploit by Captain James Dogg (*or* Dodd), who, with a hundred men, had gone outside the walls of Haddington to cut green corn for their horses and were attacked by a larger force of French horsemen and some German mercenaries. Protected by the artillery of the town, the English force stood its

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plight of the galleys twelve of the French ships loaded with stores had remained in the hands of Lord Clinton, six of which were of at least a hundred and fifty tons burden each and one, named the "Galleon of La Rochelle" of three hundred tons. But, unfortunately, the tide was running out rapidly, and Clinton was unable to bring these ships away with him, and as the weather was becoming very calm it would not have been safe for him to have remained in the position in which he was, for fear of the return of the galleys.* He therefore decide to burn all his prizes; and the English say that this encounter has proved to them that nine French galleys were unable to stand against two of the (English) galleasses† and a little adventurer ship.

They have received information also that the lieutenant of Peter Strozzi was killed in this engagement, whilst Strozzi himself is still very bad with his wound. It is likewise reported that the Queen of Scotland has not left the country. She had been all ready to embark, but the departure had been deferred when it was known that the English fleet had put to sea. I learn also from a very confidential source that the Queen will not be able to pass the Irish Channel without incurring very grave danger, owing to the precautions taken by these people (the English).

Kew, 21 August, 1548.

*Postscript.*—Sire: At the instant that I was closing this letter, a member of the Council has come to tell me that the French are fortifying the port of Leith, which the English destroyed by fire last year. The Protector, he says, has received news that all the English forces, including Courtpenninck's men, who are very well equipped, will take the field immediately to revictual Haddington and try their fortune.

End of August. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

These people (the English) have every day been receiving good news from their forces defending Haddington. They report that the French besieging army were powerless to do them much harm, and that in spite of the enemy the defenders had been reinforced by 3,000 (300 ?) men each carrying a good stock of powder.‡ Many Frenchmen, moreover, it is stated are falling

* The meaning of this is that galleys, being mobile by their sweeps, had a great advantage over sailing-ships in a calm.

† The English galleasse had been adapted in Henry VIII.'s reign from the type of Venetian ships called *Galleazza di Mercantia*. They were much larger and broader than galleys and depended mainly upon sails, the oars only being used as auxiliary power in need. They were much better fitted than galleys for work in the open sea, and could carry broadside armament, which galleys could not do to any extent. They evolved, indeed, the first type of ship which was a fighting entity itself, instead of being a conveyance for fighters; and from this idea the modern battleship sprang.

‡ This appears to have been an event that is amusingly described in the *Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII.* (Martin Hume) as having been performed by one of the Spanish mercenary captains called Sir Pero Negro. Several relieving parties were thrown into Haddington at various times, but Pero Negro's exploit was the only one in which it is mentioned that each man carried a sack of powder. When the French first appeared near Haddington, but had not completely beleaguered it, Pero Negro with his regiment was sent by Grey to reinforce the town. He was, however, deterred from entering by the presence of the French, much to Grey's dissatisfaction. Negro's subsequent dash with the powder was probably his reply to Grey's reproaches. The details of the campaign are very

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daily, and Peter Strozzi himself, they assert has been mortally wounded.* Finally the Protector has received intelligence that the camp of the enemy has been broken up and the Scotsmen have all retired, owing to some dissension between the Regent of Scotland and M. D'Essé. This news has produced great rejoicing here; but I was doubtful as to whether I ought to convey it to your Majesty, because the Protector himself said nothing about it to me, as he usually does when he has important information of this sort.

I was the more suspicious because I saw a letter which had been secretly sent by a captain who is accompanying Lord Grey, saying that the French had already gained certain ramparts, and that they had battered one of the principal bulwarks of Haddington to such effect that it could no longer be of any use to the English who abandoned it after they had constructed another breastwork in the rear of it to which they retired. The French had thus gained the advantage and according to this account it was feared that they might make themselves masters of Haddington, and then launch themselves upon Berwick, where Lord Grey and his force were stationed.

On learning this version of affairs I at once sent to Hampton Court to beg Controller Paget to favour me by putting me out of my uncertainty as to what I had been informed, quite the opposite to the good news which was generally current in London. I said I was at a loss to know what to believe, as they (the Councillors) had not communicated to me any news from Scotland at all. Paget replied by my messenger that the Lord Protector would send a secretary to visit me on the following day who would put me into possession of all the facts. Before the secretary arrived, however, the news was spread that the English had lost a thousand horse.

The secretary duly came to visit me last evening, and informed me that on the 13th of this month the French had fought night and day and had contrived to mine and blow up a bulwark, a part of which had fallen down; but the defenders had been so well able to construct new defences and had exerted themselves so stoutly, that when the French thought that the entry was easy and open for them they found to their dismay that another bulwark more dangerous for them than the first had been constructed in the rear of the latter. They nevertheless determined to attack it, and for two days the cannonade on both sides was kept up incessantly, the lieutenant of the Rheingrave and eighty of his men were shot as well as several French gentlemen. Dissensions, however, occurred between the Regent of Scotland and M. D'Essé and the Scottish camp was raised, the men returning to their homes, whilst the French besieging force retired to a place a half a league away from the town. When Lord Grey received this intelligence he immediately took the field with all

* Pietro Strozzi, the famous Florentine noble in the service of France, was in supreme command of the expedition, with special charge of the galleys. It is hardly necessary to say that although his wound (a shot through the thigh) was

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his force and marched towards Haddington, the leaders being Master Palmer and Master Robert Bowes, captain and warden of the Marches. They left their infantry in a strong pass about twelve miles from the French position, and went with the whole of their cavalry towards Haddington to see if they could gain any advantage over the enemy. They had sent forward some 200 horse as an advance guard to reconnoitre, and these entered the town of Haddington without opposition. They found everything in such excellent order inside that there was nothing lacking, and they therefore returned and rejoined the main body.

As the latter approached nearer to Haddington they were perceived by the French, who were on a hill, and prepared to attack them. The English, recognising that the French who were coming against them were fewer in number than themselves, without further consideration began skirmishing with them, the French always falling back as the English advanced, until the latter were drawn to the side of the mountain where the French infantry force was stationed. The English finding themselves suddenly, to their surprise, in the midst of a large number of enemies, took to flight, the light horse retreating towards the place where the English infantry had been left, although Palmer and Bowes did their best to get them to stay with the men-at-arms, so that the whole force together might escape towards the town (of Haddington), but unfortunately all order and discipline were lost and no one escaped except those who took the road towards the town.* These defended themselves during their retreat and were aided by the garrison of Haddington to such an extent that in a sortie effected by these latter men a great number of the pursuers were killed.

In this encounter (Sir Thomas) Palmer and the Warden (Sir Robert) Bowes were taken prisoners, and the English admit that they lost over three hundred horse. It may be feared that the loss will be greater than this, albeit I read every word of the letter from Lord Grey to the Protector written on the 19th intsant, in which he says that, although their loss in killed and prisoners had been somewhat heavy, the damage sustained by the enemy was still greater. They do not know here yet whether the French have returned to besiege the town again, or what was the reason for the falling out between the Regent of Scotland and the French commander.† They have learnt, however, that amongst other words that passed between them M. D'Essé reproached the Regent with having lost more than 300 French gentlemen. It may well be that this withdrawal of the French

* This disastrous attempt to raise the siege of Haddington is fully described (17 July) in a letter from Brende to Somerset. Grey was not himself present at the engagement, in which the English were clearly entrapped, the retirement of the French having been a feint. *Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.—Bain.

† Palmer, in his letter to Somerset (15 July), says that Arran told D'Essé that his men did nothing but waste the country, whereupon D'Essé, "in choler," replied that it was all the fault of the Scots for allowing the English to have made their earthworks when they might have been prevented. "All was wasted that was done for such ungrateful people," said the French general. There was, indeed, much jealousy between the Scots and the French throughout the campaign.

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was from the first nothing but a ruse intended to draw the English into a ambuscade, and that the spies had been bribed, as these people (the English) say that the Scotsmen who were on their side changed their red crosses for white ones. They impute to the falsity of these Scotsmen the unfortunate result of the encounter rather than to the French prowess.

The English think that there will be no scarcity inside the town of Haddington before they are able to relieve the place by land with the troops they have, and those they expect to be brought by Courtpenninck, who informs them that he has already embarked, or else by the arrival of the English sea force which, however, is not so strong as I recently wrote to your Majesty, but still exceeds thirty sail of well armed and equipped vessels. The arrival of this squadron off Scotland will oblige the French to come to the defence of their galleys and ships, which, it is said, are not so numerous now as when they arrived, because the English assert, although I cannot well believe it, that the Queen Dowager of Scotland with her daughter has embarked and has proceeded to France with three or four galleys and some ships. Another galley also was seen a short time ago passing between Dover and Calais on the way from Scotland, so it is evident that the galleys are not all together there.

7 Sept. Vienna Imp. Arch.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

I have delayed for four or five days to write to your Majesty the information that the Protector had sent to me. This was to the effect that his people had forced the French to raise the siege of Haddington, which they had undertaken, and that the place had been revictualled. This led him to hope that in the course of a very few days he would be able to send me still better news.

Since then, however, he has failed to send me any fresh advices, except that his people had burnt a great ship belonging to the King of France, called the Cardinal, which they found high and dry aground at the mouth of the river of Edinburgh, which is called the Firth (of Forth).

As I am at present lodged so near to the Protector's country-house, I went yesterday to call upon him, with the special object of discovering the reason for the long conference he held a few days since with the French ambassador. After conversation on various other subjects, the Protector told me, in strict confidence, that the whole interview had been concerned with three points only, which the French ambassador had demanded. These demands were: first, that certain French vessels on their voyage from Scotland having been captured and detained by the English should be restored; secondly, that certain French prisoners now in the hands of the English should be liberated; and, thirdly, that proclamations should be issued here that the French fishermen should not be interfered with.

The Protector informed me that he had given an unqualified refusal to grant any of these requests. Reason demanded, he said, that the French who were aiding their enemies the Scots

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against them should also be treated as enemies, especially as Peter Strozzi on his voyage to Scotland had fallen in with three or four little English merchant vessels and some fishing smacks on the English coast and had pillaged and burnt them, declaring that he was then a Scotsman. With regard to the prisoners, whose release the ambassador demanded, the Protector said that they should be treated in every way as the English prisoners in France were treated. As to the proclamation about the fishermen, he said, there was no need for such a step as that requested between friends, as the King of France professed to be towards England; although his actions in many respects certainly did not bear out his assertion.

The Protector told me that he had reminded the ambassador of many instances of this, and, amongst others, pointed out that the King of France was not paying the annual pension so justly due to the English; that the French were constructing new fortifications in the Boulonnais in contravention of their treaty obligations. The King of France, he pointed out, was not only supporting and helping their enemies the Scots, the King of England having a better right and title to the realm of Scotland than the King of France had to several of the countries that he held, but now the King of France had carried into his own realm the young Queen of Scotland who had been destined to be married to the King of England. The Protector was at a loss, therefore, to understand what sort of friendship that of the King of France could be towards England, and said emphatically that he would rather have open war than such a friendship.

So far as I could understand from the Protector, he had spoken very plainly to the French ambassador, without the least dissimulation; so that it may be said that there is no appearance that the English are seeking a closer friendship with the French, unless they are driven to the utmost extremity. It seems to me that they are anxious to render the alliance with your Majesty closer; for Controller Paget continues to ask me whether I have not received any response from your Majesty to the remarks made to me by the Protector recently about strengthening the alliance.

The Protector also related to me how he had been misled about Haddington. He had been given to understand when the French had first laid siege to the place that the defensive fortifications had been completed and supplied with everything necessary; but according to a letter, that he read to me, from the commander of the place, giving a long and detailed account of everything from the commencement up to the day that the place was revictualled recently, it appears that though the defenders fought valiantly, they were very badly provided and their resources few: there being neither flanks nor fosses finished, and not one of the bulwarks really completed. Their artillery was very scanty, they were short of ammunition, and there were many other things lacking. Nevertheless, the defenders of the place had striven incessantly day and night, and although the French battery had been so heavy that not a single house in the

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town remained intact and the breach in the defences was wide enough to admit sixteen men abreast, the enemy had not gained the advantage after all, but had left many of their men on the ground. The English have now reinforced the place with two thousand infantry men and over two hundred horse.

The two armies are still in the field, and the French are boasting that they intend to give battle. The French are still continuing the fortification of Leith, and there has arrived there the Sieur de Cumbas, a French gentleman who was formerly the ambassador in Scotland. He is said to have brought with him a great sum of money to pay the wages of the men-at-arms. The Protector also told me that he had been informed that the French galleys were making ready to return to France. It might be that Peter Strozzi, seeing the small results he had attained, would himself return in the galleys. He (the Protector) feared that they might get away without meeting the English squadron.

Sire, In accordance with the consent of your Majesty, the Queen Dowager has been graciously pleased to grant me leave of absence to return home for my own little necessary private affairs, always on condition that the Protector is willing that I should go, and the members of the Council see no objection to it. I am leaving here to look after affairs my secretary, Jehan Duboys (Dubois) and I shall only be absent as long as I see that your Majesty's affairs will permit me to be without detriment. No shortcoming in this respect shall take place.

Kew, 7 September, 1548.

20 Sept. The PROTECTOR to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch.

Sire, I very humbly desire to be commended to your good grace and favour by these presents. Whereas Monsieur François Delft, your Majesty's ambassador resident at the Court of my Sovereign, having represented that his private affairs necessitated his presence at his own home for a time, he is about to return thither for the space of one month; he having, as we are informed, permission so to do. It has seemed fitting that I should address a few words by letter to your Majesty that he may carry it with him, recommending him to you for his many good qualities. His wisdom and loyal services I doubt not are already known to you, but the experience that I have had of him in the exercise of his mission, both in the time of the late King Henry, whom God pardon, and since I have by God's grace occupied the place I now hold, make it incumbent upon me to write at least these few words to pray that your Majesty will deign to consider him specially recommended by me; and that you will receive him with such favour, in addition to your own benignity, as his worth deserves, so that he may have the satisfaction of seeing that this letter of ours has not been ineffectual. With regard to myself, Sire, and also in consideration of the long and unbroken alliance and understanding that exists between the two houses, I feel myself bound to wish you heartily every welfare and good issue in your affairs. In my private capacity also I have so strong an inclination and devotion towards your

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Majesty, that you may be assured of always finding me, to the extent of my small power, ready to render you all service, pleasure and gratitude; not limiting myself to doing my simple duty in maintaining the firm and cordial amity, which, by God's grace, always exists between the King my master and your Majesty, but endeavouring by every means in my power to increase and strengthen it according as opportunity and necessity require. Of my devotion to your Majesty and to the alliance the bearer of this letter will be able to assure you truthfully, as I hope and believe he will do. And so, refraining from troubling you with a longer letter, I pray the Creator, Sire, to give you good health and a long life.

Written at Windsor, 20 September, 1548.

Your very humble servitor,

Somerset.

1–9 Oct. Simancas Estado 806.

Advices of events in Scotland from the 1st October to the 9th October, 1548.

Advice of 1st October.

The Regent of Scotland with a considerable army of Scots and their auxiliaries marched yesterday towards Jedburgh: and a captain of some cavalry troops which were in the town, recognising that the place was not in a good state of defence and that he would be unable to hold it against the force coming to attack it, abandoned the place and retired to Kelso.

Advice of 4th October.

My Lord Grey being informed that the Scots and their adherents were at Jedburgh, marched to attack them. He sent forward an advance guard of light horse, and these gave the alarm to the enemy at a place called Ancrum,* where a certain number of the enemy were lodged. These enemies were so overcome with fright at the surprise that they all fled and sought refuge in the woods that surround the place.

On the following day Lord Grey marched onwards in the direction of Jedburgh, but the Scots and their adherents did not dare to wait for the arrival of the English, all of them flying precipitately in the greatest disorder and astonishment, running night and day until they had retired towards Peebles on the side of Edinburgh.

Advices of 6th October.

The Regent of Scotland having retired towards Peebles as has been related, the English captains Fisher and Francis Haselby (Aslaby ?) with the German captain Courtpenninck, marched as far as Tantallon, where those who guarded the place did not spare their powder. But, notwithstanding all the efforts of the defenders, the English and Germans managed to burn a good part of the town of Tantallon with the farms and homesteads in the neighbourhood, containing a great deal of property. They afterwards burnt a town belonging to the Earl of Angus, called

* Throughout this document the names of places and persons are greatly disfigured, and in most cases have had to be conjectured. Only two or three of them, however, are really left in doubt.

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Redsyde, and a village called Thelough (?) and Whytekirk, belonging to Oliver St. Clair, and also his own house where he was at the time. They then burnt a place called Pinkerton, belonging to George Hume, and his own house which he had recently built. They then proceeded to burn Little Pinkerton, Biropmonte (Broxmouth?) and Belhaven, so that not a single town or village remains intact around Dunbar.*

After having effected this devastation the captains above-mentioned returned to their camp, bringing with them a great booty of horned cattle, horses, mares, sheep and excellent furniture. Lord Grey himself marched towards the source of the rivers Teviot, De Galle (?), Borthwick and Liddersdale, burning and spoiling a great circuit of country through which he passed and carrying away with him also so vast a number of cattle as was never seen the like; for this is the richest land of the realm of Scotland and the people had not the slightest apprehension of the coming of the English, seeing that the Regent of Scotland and his adherents were so near to them. The people who suffered most by this spoiling were the friends of Buccleuch† and those who had revolted on the coming of the Regent and his adherents.

Advices of 7th October.

The commander of the fortress of Haddington, learning that the Regent had marched away towards Jedburgh, sallied from the place with a band of horse and footmen and took the road to Dalkeith, of which town he burnt the greater part and shot some cannon balls against the castle, which, however, he did not capture. From there he marched along the river Esk‡ to within a league and a half of Edinburgh, burning and ravaging all the country through which he went and its neighbourhood. He burnt a part of Newbottle, and all Smeaton before the eyes of Lord Borthwick himself, who, with four thousand foot and five hundred horse, had come to oppose the English, the river only being between them.

On Tuesday the 4th October the force from Haddington sallied from Reches (?) and burnt Fisher Row, Musselborough, Hemskirk and other villages in that neighbourhood, so that along the river Esk, which reaches almost to the Tweed, right up to the seashore, nearly every place has been burnt.

On the 6th October one of the captains in Haddington called Captain Raby marched out of the town and burnt the town of Borthwick and several other farms and homesteads in that neighbourhood. But this Raby would have had plenty of work to do on his homeward march if another force had not sallied from Haddington to succour him if he needed help.

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* Dunbar itself was held by a French garrison.

† The Laird of Buccleuch, like most of the chiefs whose lands were exposed to the English incursions, had played fast and loose with the invaders; but on the proposal to marry the young Queen in France he had strongly supported the Scottish party and had threatened with war anyone who should oppose it. Naturally therefore his lands were not now spared by the English raiders.

‡ This is the small river Esk that empties itself into the Forth near Musselboro, and not the large river on the Dumfries side running into the Solway.

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Advices of 8th October.

Yesterday afternoon between four and five o'clock there happened a quarrel and skirmish in the town of Edinburgh between the Scots and their French allies. The cause of this in its origin was that a Frenchman sold a harquebuss for a crown to a Scotsman, who duly paid the money to the seller. The latter, as soon as he had received the crown, ran away with the money and the harquebuss as well. On this the injured Scot went to lay a complaint before the Provost of Edinburgh, who is a member of the house of Hamilton and a kinsman of the Regent of Scotland, and of the commander of the castle of Edinburgh.

The Provost ordered the Frenchman either to give up the harquebuss or else return the money he had received for it; but the Frenchman, who was now accompanied by many of his fellow countrymen, refused to do either. The Frenchmen then entered into a wordy dispute with the Provost and went so far as to defy him and his authority. The end of it was that the Frenchmen fell upon the Provost and wounded him in the head, arm and thigh. The alarm was sounded in the town and the people rose in numbers to come to the aid of their Provost; the Frenchmen similarly flocking to help their compatriots in the affray. The two parties met and fought so desperately that twenty-seven Scotsmen were killed on the spot, some of them people of position, such as young Hamilton, the eldest son of the Provost, William Stewart, brother of my Lord Methven, Robert Hamilton, a brave and hardy young gentleman, son of the captain of Dunbar, who is now a prisoner in England confined in the Tower of London, Robert Chisholm and the Town Clerk, who is much mourned.*

The rest of the Scotsmen killed were good burgesses, and in addition to them there were some thirty or forty Scotsmen wounded by harquebuss shots, of whom most of them it is feared will die. There were eight Frenchmen and one French captain killed. At this quarrel and affray Otterbourne behaved gallantly on the Scottish side. At last the Regent and Monsieur D'Essé after much difficulty prevailed upon the combattants on both sides to lay down their arms.

On the following day, which was the 8th October, the Regent, M. D'Essé and others held a Council together, and as it had two weeks before been decided that on the next day an attempt should be made to surprise the English at Haddington, M. D'Essé accordingly marched out of Edinburgh with all his troops that day and effected a rendezvouz with the Rhinegrave and his force at the place previously agreed upon. Together the united bodies then marched towards Haddington, in the hope of being able to surprise the place.

As soon as the French troops had marched out of Edinburgh, the townspeople shut the gates and began to hunt out every Frenchman that was left in the city. Every Frenchman

* The French historian De Beaugué, who was present at this serious affray, passes it over as lightly as possible and speaks of only very few as being killed.

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they could lay their hands upon, the sick and others who had remained behind were at once despatched, and their bodies cast into their private places so that they should not be found.

Advices of 9th October: from the Captain of Haddington.

At dawn to-day all the French and German troops approached the town along the river bank, and for want of a proper vigilance on the part of the sentinels they were allowed to reach very near to the lower court before the alarm was given. The enemy delivered their assault on the gate of the lower court immediately, whereupon the guard abandoned their officer and retired to the last ditches, enabling the enemy to penetrate and take possession of a part of the lower court, where they killed nine of our soldiers and hurt three gentlemen of ours named Stafford, Calverley and Tardrey (Audrey ?), all of whom showed themselves good and valiant gentlemen, for they did their duty splendidly.

They are, however, very grievously wounded, and it is feared that they will not survive. The enemy having thus entered the lower court, immediately delivered their assault upon the town, making two or three charges. But the men inside defended themselves so stoutly that at last the assailants were entirely repulsed, and when they were going out of the lower Court a band of foot soldiers from the town followed them, killing and wounding a large number of them. The French and Germans thus retreated, leaving one hundred and five of their men dead upon the field of action, most of them Germans. The number was ascertained by actual counting of the bodies.* The common report in Edinburgh amongst the French is to the effect that in this assault upon Haddington they had dead and wounded together some four or five hundred men, and there is no great hope of saving the wounded.

The news reached the Regent the same day as he sat at dinner that the French and Germans had captured Haddington by assault and storm, and had killed all the soldiers in the place except certain gentlemen. There was, it was reported, only one bulwark called the Vidame Bulwark that had held out, it being defended by some gentlemen who offered to surrender it if their lives were spared, which the Frenchmen, it was said, refused and demanded unconditional surrender. The Regent when he received this news had the trumpets sounded, and mustering all his horse soldiers, he at once set out on the road to Haddington; hoping to arrive there in time to aid in the capture of the bulwark.

When, however, he had ridden as far as Lasswade, one league out of Edinburgh, he met a messenger bringing him very different news, to the effect that their men had been repulsed and beaten. At first the Regent refused to believe it and continued on his road as far as a hill not very distant, from the summit of which he perceived the French and Germans returning in full retreat. Overcome with astonishment, he lowered his head and returned hastily by the road he had come.

* A very spirited account of the attempt to surprise Haddington is given by

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When the defeated French and Germans had re-entered the city of Edinburgh, M. D'Essé and the Rhinegrave, as soon as they had taken off their armour, went to the Regent's house, in order to confer with him, but the Regent declined at the time to receive them.

On the following day he did so, and held a conference with them, in which none of the parties looked very amiably upon each other. The Regent in a loud voice said that he would make enquiries as to those who had committed the outrages upon his kinsmen and the burgesses of Edinburgh, and they should be punished as justice and reason demanded.

The Scots are very glad that the French have been so thoroughly well drubbed at Haddington, the members of the house of Hamilton especially, who are much incensed at the loss of their kinsmen in the affray.

4 Oct.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.

SECRETARY JEHAN DUBOIS to LOYS SCORS (Louis de Schore, President of the Flemish Council of State).

Monseigneur, In accordance with the orders of the ambassador, my master, to send reports to your Lordship of all occurrences here during his absence from his post, I have the honour to inform you that on my return from Dover, whither I had accompanied my master, and at his orders had come back hither, I found here a secretly printed paper, in which all Scotsmen having houses or lands in the parts of Scotland now under subjection to the King of England, are given free permission to return to their possessions, where they will be heartily welcomed and treated as friends, and as English subjects are.

I immediately went to the Court, which is at present with the King at Oatlands, in order to learn what was going on, but as I heard on the road thither that the Lord Protector was at his own house at Syon I went to see him there. After having fulfilled my master's orders in thanking his Excellency for the good company he had ordered to escort my master to the seaside, I continued that as he was accustomed to communicate to the ambassador his good news from Scotland he would be doing me a great pleasure if he would kindly continue to do so to me, and to inform me now whether anything of importance had happened there since my master's departure, in order that I might report it.

The Protector replied that there had been no change, except that their (the English) ships had been obliged to return in consequence of bad weather. Their troops, he said, were still at the same place, busy working at their new fort; but that he expected fresh news in two or three days.

In order to come to my point, I replied that, nevertheless, I had heard that he had granted some license or permission for the Scots to return to their possessions in the parts of the country in English occupation, promising that they should be well received and treated as friends. I noticed that on hearing this he became pensive, and I continued that I had been told that the offer to which I referred had been printed.

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On this he drew me aside into a window recess. "It is quite true," he said, "and I will tell you how you must understand it. We have had a certain enterprise in hand, and in order to carry it through successfully, I have ordered such a paper as that which you mention to be printed. The country on this side of the place where we think of effecting our enterprise* is so completely burnt and spoiled of inhabitants; and the enemy has his fortresses so near that it would be very difficult for us to furnish provisions to our men but for the Scots themselves. For this reason we have thought well to circulate amongst the Scots the document to which you refer, inviting them to return to their homes and possessions conquered by our King so that we may have their assistance. We mention certain other points against the Regent of Scotland for the purpose of sowing as much dissension as possible amongst our enemies." When the Protector had pointed out to me by signs the situation of the place referred to, where they hoped to effect their scheme, and also the positions of the enemy's fortresses which hindered them, he continued; "but it has all fallen through now because our ships were not able to remain there." He seemed much annoyed at this, and I am of opinion that the document abovementioned will not be put into force on this occasion.

Public orders have been given prohibiting all preachers, both those recently licensed and others, from preaching any more until some general order has been decided upon, which shall be observed all over the country. There are assemblies of bishops and other learned folk every day to confer upon this subject. It is asserted that the Mass will be retained, which does not please many of the common people, who cannot tolerate any of the ceremonies of the Mass as they call them, such as the elevation and the *Ave benedicite*.

The Lady Mary is returning from the north country, where she has been to inspect her estates and possessions. She is expected next Saturday to arrive within six miles of her house at New Hall, at the house of the present Lord Chancellor about a day's journey from London. I understand that some other members of the Council are to be there with her. I will do my best to discover what is the reason of this. I am given to understand that she was much welcomed and well received in the north country, and wherever she had power to do it she has had Mass celebrated and the services of the Church performed according to the ancient institution.

Nothing more is said about France. London is still so dangerous that those who frequent it are not allowed to go to Court, or to the Protector's house.

Old Ford, 4th October, 1548.

15 Oct. Vienna Imp. Arch.

SECRETARY JEHAN DUBOIS to LOYS SCORS (Louis de Schore, President of the Flemish Council of State).

Since I wrote to your Lordship last, on the 4th October, the French ambassador has visited the Protector at his house at

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Syon, and from there he was escorted by a gentleman of his to the Court at Oatlands, about ten miles away. There he had a conversation with the King in a garden, none of the members of the Council being present, or even at Court at the time. At the end of about half a quarter of an hour the ambassador kissed the King's hand and retired, and the spectators of the interview conceived various suspicions about it and the reasons for it.

So far as I can gather, the English are not by any means easy in their minds about the French, and at this instant the Protector is setting out to inspect the ports of Dover, Rye, and others, and for the purpose of taking all necessary measures for their security. It is asserted that the reason for this is that the French are arming certain ships, and that they have intimated to the English that if the latter will not restore to them the French ships they are detaining, they (the French) will seek a remedy of another sort. It is confidently reported that the Protector will be back again within fifteen or twenty days; but there are rumours that that he will cross over to Boulogne.

The French ambassador immediately after his audience of the King sent off one of his own servitors to France, who has not yet returned hither. Although I have no other trustworthy information as to their communications, I think it is my duty to send your Lordship advice of the above facts, and doubtless you will be better able to understand than I the conjectures that arise from them, conjoined with the circumstance that four days ago they revoked all licenses for the export of victuals of any kind from the realm, strictly forbidding the sending out of beer and other things of the sort.

Almost every day there arrive gentlemen of the royal household and others from Scotland going to their own residences, the rest of the armed forces being distributed in the various garrisons, the Spanish and German (mercenary troops) being placed into winter quarters in the same way. Courtpenninck will have a fixed residence here with regular pay for a certain number of his men, so long, it may be conjectured, as the war with Scotland may last.

Various fugitives indoctrinated in the new sect are constantly arriving here, but they no longer receive the welcome they expect and desire. Only a few days ago Brother Pierre arrived here; the same man that some years ago used to preach in the Court of her Majesty (the Queen Dowager of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands), and who fled from Brussels prison. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) is their great patron here.

The King still remains at Oatlands without holding any Court, this being in consequence of the death of some of his officers very suddenly. The Protector also has recently lost some of his household, and Controller Paget some of his neighbours in the village where he was living. When the Protector desired, once a week or so, to hold a Council he caused the members to come to his house.

Old Ford, 15th October, 1548.

*P.S.*—Another copy of this letter is addressed to Secretary Granvelle for the information of the Emperor.

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24 Oct.
Vienna Imp. Arch.

SECRETARY JEHAN DUBOIS to LOYS SCORS.

The day after I wrote last to your Lordship on the 15th instant, I went out to meet the Lord Protector on his road towards Dover at one of the houses of the Archbishop of Canterbury,* where he was to dine.

The reason for my visit was to lay before the Protector the complaints of a courier from Antwerp, who had been plundered of his letters and everything else he carried, as were three other merchants with him, by a pirate speaking English on the way across the sea from Nieuport to the English coast. The Protector replied very favourably to my representations, and really seemed to take the matter very much to heart. He made the courier come with him to Dover, in order that the enquiries after the thief might be facilitated.

He promised to make every possible effort to capture and punish the offender, and then gave me the intelligence that he had received from Scotland, to the effect that the French troops in Edinburgh had made a secret sortie intending if they could to surprise the fortress of Haddington by night. Their enterprise had succeeded to the extent of their having killed the English outposts and sentries and gained possession of the lower court before the garrison inside the place perceived them. But the latter being aroused by the noise on the ramparts, made by the French in loading a certain cannon they had found mounted there, immediately sounded the alarm; whereupon the defenders of the place flocked so hastily to their posts that many of them came not only unarmed but half dressed or naked. The shot that the French discharged from the said cannon missed, in consequence of the haste with which the operation was performed, and the projectile passed over the heads of the defenders; whereupon these latter were the more easily able to hold their own. They immediately loaded with grapeshot a cannon they had and aimed it between the closed gates before which the French were assembled.† This discharge killed about forty Frenchmen, but the latter persisted with all their might in their efforts to gain an entrance, storming the said gate three times. But at last they recognised that their efforts were of no avail, as the defenders inside were being constantly reinforced and continued to kill many of the Frenchmen with their grapeshot and otherwise; whereupon the assailants were obliged to give away and retire, unloading the waggons which they had previously filled with the ploughs they had found in the lower court, in order to place in them their wounded men.

They left on the ground where the fight had taken place about one hundred and ten or twelve dead, well armed and accoutred, and lost a still larger number during the retreat, the English

* Croydon.

† De Beaugué says that this cannon, which enfiladed the narrow lane through which alone the town could be entered, was discharged by a renegade Frenchman, a native of Paris, who, having passed over to the English side a few days before, feared to be recaptured and punished by his former comrades. De Beaugué attributes the repulse of the French entirely to the ravages of the grapeshot from this gun.

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following them up to such effect that the French assailants entered Edinburgh with seventeen carts loaded with dead and wounded. This, the Protector informed me, he had heard from a prisoner whom his people had taken and who had returned from there. He also learnt, he said, that the attacking force consisted of four standards; and that the day before the attempt, or camisade as he called it, the French and Scots had had a great affray inside the town of Edinburgh, at the end of which there were many dead on both sides, although the greater loss had fallen upon the Scots; several gentlemen of theirs having been killed.

With reference to this news, I said it was surprising that after such a serious quarrel as this they had so soon made it up sufficiently for them to undertake the camisade on the very next day. He replied that I must bear in mind that the surprise attack upon Haddington had been agreed upon ten or twelve days before, and that the French having crowed over the Scots on one day, thought to carry off the glory of the camisade on the next, in order that they might bring more pressure to bear upon the rulers of Scotland, and carry matters through themselves independently of the Scots.

Nevertheless, I am given to understand that the Scots, and not the French, found means to slip through and kill the English outpost. I have also been assured that if it had not been for the affray in Edinburgh the French would have had that town delivered to them on the next day, as they have Dunbar. The English have lost there (*i.e.*, in Haddington) a couple of good captains; but at this point Controller Paget, who alone with a secretary accompanies the Protector, came and told the latter that it was time to start on the road, and he consequently broke off the conversation, and told me no more except that his people had made a great raid to spoil the country on the other side (of Haddington ?).

I could not at the time learn anything more of the negotiation carried on with the French ambassador, who had had a conference with the Protector on the day before the departure of the latter from Syon, after which the ambassador despatched another of his household to France. Since then, however, I have learned from a trustworthy source that the reason for the ambassador's conference with the King, as I wrote to your Lordship in my last letter, was simply to fulfil his King's instructions, to the effect that he was to inform the Protector, the members of the Council and also the King personally, that if he could not obtain the restitution of the ships which the English were withholding from him and his subjects, he could not avoid adopting similar measures, and seizing English vessels wherever he could until satisfaction were given to him.

They delayed giving the French ambassador an answer to his representations until the day aforementioned (when the French ambassador last saw the Protector); the Protector's reply being to the effect that he intended to hold as fair prizes of war all ships captured that were found to have been to aid or succour the Scots, the enemies of this country. The other merchant

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ships, he said, he was willing to restore, on condition that the similar course was adopted by France, the perishable merchandise in them, being, however, sold and the proceeds deposited for the benefit of the subjects on either side to whom the merchandise belonged. If the King of France was willing to appoint a commission to settle this matter, he, the Protector, would do the same.

I am told that when he said this the Protector added the following words, "Sir ambassador, I would speak frankly to you and declare to you emphatically that the way in which you are treating us is intolerable"; and he then brought up the affair at Fiennes, the construction they are erecting near Boulogne, against the terms of their treaty, the failure to pay the yearly pension as stipulated, the seizure of English vessels, and other complaints, the last of which was the deportation of the Queen of Scotland, whom they (the French) had taken away from the King of England; notwithstanding the good claim that the latter possessed to the realm of Scotland. So that, as your Lordship sees, the Protector talked to him very plainly, and, as I am told, certainly not without anger.

Old Ford, 24th October, 1548.

Oct. 26. ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

(News about the salt pits revolt in Guyenne. The rebels are going back and making their submission, but a great number are still in the field and the Constable is going to march against them, partly for fear that the English may give them support, especially after their success in re-victualling Haddington.) . . . As to the money lately sent to Scotland, your Majesty will have learnt from my preceding letters the confirmation of its having been despatched; though it is not so large a sum as the Fleming of Condes had told me. According to Touchet the amount is 200,000 crowns, to meet all the expenses of the winter, including the payment of pensions granted to several Scottish lords to nourish their affection for France and turn them from friendship or understanding with the English. Through the said Touchet, Sire, I have heard that the King is short of ready money, having had to bear great expenses in the last Scottish war; but by the end of this year he will have in hand over 1,500,000 crowns from a new tax of two-tenths, over and above the four-tenths he has already levied. He has assured me further, Sire, that the King owes a capital sum of one million in gold to the merchants, borrowed at sixteen per cent. He owed them 1,300,000, but paid back 300,000 after the last Lyons fair. There is no prospect that he may succeed in collecting more money without greatly provoking his people; so that he is mortgaging the property of the crown right and left at ten per cent. to get money in hand, and borrowing privately on all sides. In conclusion, Sire, Touchet affirms that although the King has squandered money to excess during the first two years of his reign, he is now determined to economise all he can. It is a fact that his hand is slow to confer gifts nowadays, and all

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acknowledge it. The King laments the necessity that compels him to appear mean. From time to time he makes particular enquiries into the condition of his exchequer, and Bertrandi who has charge of his finances is often summoned to furnish explanations to him. . . .

The marriage of the young Queen of Scots to the Dauphin is being gradually settled among the powerful and high personages of the Court. The Scottish ambassador, Paniter, having received a handsome present from the King over the business, and a further gift from the Governor of Scotland, spoke of it openly.

The Ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara has assured me that he has heard from their (*sic*) Cardinal that the Scottish marriage is made, adding that his master would not otherwise have lent his ear so readily to proposals of marriage for his eldest daughter, but consented more willingly because of the close kinship of the Guises with France established by the Scottish marriage. He also told him that the chief Scottish lords had accepted the marriage, the young Dauphin for their King, and the King his father as Protector of Scotland, thanks to the large pensions bestowed on the said lords to increase their fervour and constancy. Some of them have been created Knights of the King's order,* and by these means none doubt that Scotland will become entirely devoted to him. They propose to pick out in Normandy and Brittany a good number of lawyers, and send them to Scotland, where the said King has a mind to establish a Parliament. A Council for Scottish affairs is already formed here, of which Bertrandi and Paniter are members; all of which are evident proofs in support of the Scottish marriage. An incident also confirming it occurred when the young Queen of Scots lately visited Nantes. She made answer to those who addressed a welcome to her, that she believed they honoured in her person the daughter of their King. The King has often repeated this speech since, finding it flattering and agreeable, and he always adds these words: that he holds her as his true daughter. Some assert that the Scottish marriage is a feint to make the English King finally despair of success, and so withdraw from his undertaking in Scotland, and having achieved this the King will bestow the Scottish Queen elsewhere, this plan being more conducive to the general good of his kingdom than the other, which would lead him into a maze of endless difficulties with the English and their allies on account of Scotland. Yet, Sire, whatever may be said privately against the marriage, public rumour and the evidence of facts point the other way at present. Time may mend matters. The son of the Governor of Scotland follows this Court, and the King has assigned him a post in Guyenne worth 10,000 francs a year, and 50 lances once belonging to the late M. de St. Vallier. It is said that another son of the said Governor is coming here on the King's invitation, who gladly accepts such like forfeits whereby he can make sure of keeping the said Governor well in hand, firm in his own devotion, and willing to foster it among

* The Order of St. Michael.

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the other Scottish lords. The King entertains no doubt but the King of England is trying his best to draw them to his side with presents and by all the means in his power, and he is doing his best to cross his designs.

With respect to the condition of affairs between the French and the English, whether they are treating of peace, reconciliation, or suspension of arms, I have heard nothing up to the present except that hatred and ill-will are rife between them, springing from the differences over Scotland and Boulogne. The last negotiation between the King and the English ambassador took place on the subject of some English vessels seized by the Normans. The King complained of the seizure of French vessels in the open sea by the English, and he went as far as to say that his subjects would ask for leave to make reprisals, and he would not forbid them unless the vessels were handed back. The negotiation was carried on with some show of bitterness on both sides, although the King made no mention of his galley seized in the Straits of Calais, nor of the twelve burned in a Scottish port. The following day the ambassador, giving me an account of the negotiation, declared to me that the Protector and Council of England were determined not to put up with so much from the King in future as they had put up with in the past, and would let no opportunity slip by of setting on to the French by land or by sea, enlarging upon what had passed between them concerning the wall they are erecting in Boulogne harbour and commenting with indignation on the treacherous attempt made by Châtillon to take it by surprise. He was smartly repulsed in the engagement, but the English are anxious about another low jetty they are building in the said port on the French side, which is faulty and might be easily destroyed if a serious attempt were made. The King of England will order the work to be abandoned, and in its present condition it is of no use for the purpose for which it was originally intended. It is absolutely certain, Sire, that the King of France and his principal ministers feel most deeply the small success they have obtained in Scotland and take the matter more to heart because they see themselves being supplanted by a nation which they hold to be inferior. Thus the ambassador of Mantua has told me that unless he be prevented through your Majesty, the King's present intention is to attack the English in Scotland, sending a powerful army over next year. He realizes that his fault in the past lay in sending an insufficient number of troops. Personally I have no doubt at all that the King is very ill-disposed towards the English, but I am not so sure about his resolve to make war on them. I say this because he is half convinced, and all his ministers are too, that your Majesty intends to declare war next year. Touchet assures me of this, and that the riots in Guyenne make him anxious to pacify his subjects generally so that they may not in time return to their vomit and interfere with his plans. When the winter is over and some time has passed, we shall see more clearly into all this. At present there is nothing to guide one except outward facts, and, especially, we must enquire whether there are any signs of getting ready for war along the

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sea-board. The English ambassador has often assured me that the Protector asks nothing better than to live in peace and amity with France, out of consideration for their young King, and that the English will place no difficulties in the way of giving up Boulogne, abiding by the letter of the last treaty if only the King will fulfil it too. Hence one might possibly deduce that the Protector would not require much persuading to come to some better understanding, but I have not heard that he has condescended to it up to the present. I shall not fail to enquire into this from time to time. I will add, Sire, something else that the English ambassador told me; that in speaking to the King he again remonstrated about the assistance given to the Scots against the King his master, grievously offending him thereby as sovereign lord of Scotland, who was waging war upon them (the Scots) to compel them to recognise him as such, his right being unimpugnable, a matter of universal knowledge, and established by many solemn treaties between England and Scotland. The ambassador asked the King whether he would consider it suitable that the English should aid and abet his own rebellious subjects; whereupon the King answered that if the reference was intended for his subjects in Guyenne, it was greatly misplaced, for the riots would be very shortly quelled, and the English had better not reckon upon them. He said, moreover, that he could not for his part leave Scotland unprotected, being bound by treaties between the two countries to give aid. He left the matter of the sovereignty to be debated by the English and Scots, believing them to be very well able to argue it out among themselves. I gather from these and other remarks that the ground for war with Scotland is now the sovereignty claimed by England, and no longer the Scottish marriage, since the person of the Queen has been withdrawn. The ambassador could not help himself saying that with time the Scottish would find the marriage had been a bad one; that the young Queen's coming to France had done them more harm than good; and he hopes the people will rise, or at least will refuse to fight when the time comes, their Queen being out of the country.

Concerning the league with the Pope, Sire, it has been made public here that his Holiness has refused to pass it, giving as a pretext that on this side the conditions laid down by the Cardinal Guise have not been observed, especially that the said Cardinal promised in writing, in the name of the King of France that the leagues (Swiss confederations) would join the said league to provide for the eventual need of offence on the side of Como. He declares that except for this consideration he would never have listened so far to the proposal. Obviously the league would have been of far greater consequence in that case, and would be proportionately weaker if made only between the King and the Pope, the Venetians having refused to join it. As a matter of fact it has been imputed to the said Cardinal that he gave his word about the Swiss confederations without any authority whatever. He is excused on the ground that, although he acted without waiting for further instructions from the King, he did

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so in the hope that the King could easily prevail upon the Swiss confederations to join by exerting all the influence he possesses; but if the Switzers proved obdurate then the King, having done his utmost should (they say) be exonerated from all blame, and the Pope cannot withdraw now on such a flimsy pretext as this. I have heard, Sire, that the Holy Father refused to join the league because the King had pretensions on Parma for the Lord Horatio, and intended to occupy the town at once, offering territory in the Bourbonnais in exchange. The Holy Father refused the proposal. This has been told me by *Olsacius* as a certainty, and that if this point had been carried, all the rest was as good as settled. He added that the negotiation is not considered here to be at an end and that M. Dorfey, their new ambassador, has charge to introduce it again dexterously, by remonstrating with Cardinal Farnese on the advantages that might accrue to their house through the marriage of the Lord Horatio, hinting that the alliance will not take place without the cession of Parma. To put it briefly, it is clear that the King's main wish is the possession of Parma. Moreover, *Olsacius* confided to me, assuring me of the truth of the statement, and under seal of secrecy, that when the nuncio's secretary, who returned to Rome with l'Aubespine, took leave of the Pope, the Holy Father said to him secretly that he was to tell the King from him that he would be ready to sign the league at any time when they could come to an agreement about the terms, and that the delay was not caused by any intelligence he might be suspected of having with your Majesty nor by any hope of an understanding with your Majesty, that the King must believe this, be assured of it, and that he desired his friendship as much as your Majesty's, and more; that he was not on such good terms with your Majesty, as some people wished the King to believe, so that he felt he could do no better than consider the means by which the league might be negotiated; but that in no circumstances would he relinquish Parma. If such messages as these were really sent it is not likely that these people will break off the negotiation, even if they are merely dallying with the Pope who has always declared through Dandino, as *Olsacius* assures me, that he wishes the league to be offensive and defensive, and urges unceasingly that war shall be declared upon your Majesty next year, planning that the leaguers shall enter through Como, the King through Piedmont, and the army of the Church through Piacenza, to drive your Majesty out of Milan. I know this as a certainty through others too, and that the Holy Father has constantly urged war, advocating that matters shall not stop at a merely defensive league. . . .

(The marriage of Jeanne d'Albret; more news from Guyenne.) They affirmed here a short time ago, that their former leagues with the Switzers were to be confirmed for the King's lifetime and for two years of his son's, but that a high price would have to be paid. I have been told by *Olsacius* that the Bernese for their part made a condition that the King should be bound to assist them in any war of religion and that he must mitigate the punishment of evangelical preachers, their good brothers, in his kingdom,

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The King has refused to subscribe to these two points and will never do so. Perceiving this, the Bernese have given way and are now about settling the terms of a new league for mutual assistance in the defence of the lands taken from the Lord of Savoy. This new negotiation seems to be on its way to success. I do not know what to make of it all, Sire, but it is certain that an ambassador from Berne is here at the Court on some secret piece of business. I shall try to get to the bottom of it in a short time; it must be something of a very suspicious nature. . . .

Choisy (?), 26 October, 1548.

Oct. 29.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 22.

The EMPEROR to ST. MAURIS.

(*Extract.*)

The vessels manned and equipped for war and for the protection of the fishermen of our countries against the Scots and the pirates, lately came across an English vessel on the high seas being carried off by the French. They passed close to the escort, and the vessel being English and the escort French, they came at once to the conclusion that they had come upon sea robbers, as it appeared most probable indeed. They seized the vessel and brought her in to one of our ports. The Frenchmen were examined and explained their capture of the English vessel by an ingenious lie, to wit, that they had knowledge that war was to be declared on England immediately upon the arrival of the young Scottish Queen to a French port, and believing this to be true, they had seized the English vessel as a lawful prize. You are at liberty to mention this to whomsoever you please, so that all may hear how their own countrymen bring dishonour to the name of France by affirming that without fresh cause or reason the King proposed to declare war after having succeeded in getting the Queen into his hands. It is probable that if the French vessels that sailed to Scotland flying the Scottish colours (as it has been certified to us since our return) met any of our ships insufficiently protected the gallants would have fallen upon them too as they did on the English vessel. It is high time that such practices be stopped, and that the French cease to afford protection in their ports to Scottish vessels laden with plunder pillaged and robbed from our subjects. Good friendship and mutual understanding are not strengthened by the refusal to listen to complaints and to punish the guilty. On the other hand, although the above-mentioned vessel and those on her were taken perfectly justly and for a good reason, the Baron de St. Blancart has used great pressure here to obtain their release; and we had determined to grant it promptly to gratify the wishes of a minister of the Most Christian King, although the said Frenchmen deserved exemplary punishment as pirates, but we were informed that the said Baron had taken upon himself, (for we cannot believe that the King would approve such a step) without awaiting our answer, and totally disregarding all treaties, nay, deliberately infringing them, to cause several vessels belonging to our subjects to be seized. This conduct appears to us most strange. The person who pursues the matter

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here on behalf of the said Baron has been informed that we cannot admit such proceedings, and that we shall see fit to follow our first counsel and set the prisoners free when the said Baron frees the vessels of our subjects, warning him not to attempt any like pranks in the future, as we are not of a mind to suffer such insolence. Should the French persist in their course, we will take such ample revenge that the Baron and all who are responsible shall have cause to regret it, and we to feel that nothing is owed to us by them. It seems incredible that such deeds as these should go hand in hand with the fair speech they offer us and their reiterated desire to earn our friendship. You may warn the Constable that unless he prevent and punish such acts, we shall provide a remedy to the constant complaints made to us by our subjects, for it is not our intention to suffer fresh insults.

Brussels, 29 October, 1548.

Oct. (No date.) Paris K. 1488.

NEWS from ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.*

Since the last news, during the whole time spent by the Scots and their adherents at (*illegible*), few days passed without some skirmishing, in which those outside were always worsted with loss. They say that a thousand of their men have been killed or wounded. Those inside the town have taken several prisoners and among them one held in great esteem.

An Englishman named Jerningham, who had been taken prisoner, while going from Edinburgh towards the English Border to get his ransom paid, met several wounded who were being carried to Edinburgh, and one corpse. An ensign in a foot regiment and several captains walked beside it mourning the death loudly. And after the party had gone by the said Jerningham asked who they were, and was told they were Frenchmen who had been killed and wounded in a skirmish near Haddington, where eighty Frenchmen are said to have been killed, and not above nine or ten killed of those within the town.

One of the largest of the French vessels named the *Cardinal* has been destroyed and sunk near a place called Saint Combe Jucht (?)†. The greater number of their vessels have lost their hatches and have been compelled to cut their masts. One of their galleys is sunk below Tantallon, and the shot that sank her is believed to have been fired by one of the English ships.

The first officer in command of the Germans, after the Rhinegrave, is dead and M. d'Essé's lieutenant is a prisoner in Haddington. My Lord Clinton has burned in a place called Burntisland twelve vessels laden with victuals such as wine, bread, biscuit, fish, butter, cheese and cider, four of which were intended for the re-victualling of the galleys and the rest for the camp. One of the said vessels was of three hundred tons at least, and six of the others were of 140 tons each; the rest were smaller.

Peter Strozzi's lieutenant was killed in the attack on the galleys when one of the said galleys was so damaged that it is doubtful if she

* Probably just after the preceding letter.

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can serve again; and two more were greatly damaged also. Nine galleys chased an English vessel, but a galleon and two pinnaces came to its assistance, and drove the galleys back. Sir John Luttrell, captain of Broughty Craig, has skirmished several times against the garrison, the inhabitants of Dundee and Lord Funtre (?), who has a castle near by. A good number of the people of Dundee were killed besides soldiers of the garrison; and on one occasion he took the son of Lord Pameneires (?) and his brother's son, with ten of his arquebusiers and twenty arquebuses and other weapons, besides a great number of beasts, over 700 head of sheep and twenty-six head of cattle.

My Lord the Protector, hearing that the Scots were still encamped in the neighbourhood of Haddington, ordered an army to go forth and fight them, and gave the command of it to the Earl of Shrewsbury, otherwise Talbot, who marched into Scotland to look for the enemy. But the enemy, warned of his approach, dislodged and abandoned the siege. The Earl re-victualled the town at his ease, and seeing no likelihood of getting any fighting, returned to England, after having seen to the requirements of Haddington and other places, without losing a single man. Some English war-ships had been ordered to guard the Straits between Dover and Calais, and after hanging about for some time, it happened that a fleet of ships laden with wool came along on its way from England to Flanders, and the war-ships were told off to guard and escort it. Meantime, about the 12th of this month, the French galleys returning from Scotland passed through the Straits without hindrance; but one of the English ships that had lagged far behind the others spied the French and went after them, taking one of their galleys called *La Noire Galère*. If the other ships had been in the Straits at the time, all the French vessels would have been undoubtedly seized, for although the wind was with them, it was too strong and they could not have used their heavy guns; and having the wind behind them, they could not have turned. As it was they escaped.

Nov. 5.
Simancas
E. 76.

## The Emperor to Prince Maximilian and Princess Maria.*

His Serene Highness the Prince my son in a letter dated the 22nd of last month, writes that Señor Dezcurra overtook him at Barcelona and, after delivering a letter from the Bishop of Lescar, in virtue of the power conferred to him, discharged his mission, reciting that the King of France had been warned of the negotiations carried on by us about the marriage of the daughter of Henry, Lord d'Albret. He went personally to his court, the better to fulfil his charge, leaving the said Bishop as governor of his estate, with strict orders that in any untoward juncture he was to shut himself up at once in the town of Navarrenx and refuse to give it up to anyone but himself.

He also informed the Prince that the Constable of France and M. d'Aumale were approaching with a good number of men both mounted and on foot, with ammunition in plenty and artillery

* His daughter and son-in-law, Regents of Spain during Prince Philip's absence.

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too, apparently to subdue the riots that have lately taken place. But as these riots are almost entirely quelled, he feared they might divert their forces against the said Henry, Lord d'Albret,* especially as he has had differences with the Constable. The King of France has published a sentence of death against the said Bishop; who therefore sent to ask two things of the Prince, first, help in money and troops to make ready for what might be expected to happen, on the understanding that both should be eventually returned to us; and secondly, a safe conduct so that he might remain in the kingdom without fear.

After mature consideration the Prince replied as to the men and money, that the matter was of such quality that he could come to no determination without first consulting us; but that he would so arrange, that in case matters turned out as he was told they would, pending our decision, a number of men up to 1,500 or 2,000 should be lodged in the above-mentioned town. But no roll is to be called, and he has written to you, that you shall write accordingly to the Viceroys of Aragon and Navarre. As to the safe conduct asked for by the Bishop, it seemed unnecessary to grant it, for the said Bishop may come and go freely in the country according to his pleasure, and he is to be well treated, as you must understand. The answer given by the Prince seems to us satisfactory, and suitable in every way to the occasion, and not merely because he had no more to go upon than what the Señor Dezcurra said to him on behalf of the said Bishop; but because we have since received letters from our ambassador in France that the marriage between the daughter of the Lord Henry with M. de Vendôme has been arranged and celebrated with the full consent and pleasure of the said Lord Henry and his wife, and with every outward show of good understanding between them and the King. There is no appearance of likelihood in the story told by the said Dezcurra of dissensions between the Lord d'Albret and the Constable, or the Cardinal de Lorraine and M. de Guise; nor is there any sign that the possessions of the Lord Henry are in any way threatened or that the Constable and M. d'Aumale are at all inclined to mix themselves up in any such enterprise. The story of the Bishop of Lescar seems all the more unfounded because of what we hear about the Cardinal and the House of Guise, and because, even if anyone were of a mind to attack Navarre and the lands of the Lord Henry, this is not the season to do it, and the country is so bare and waste that no one, as far as we can judge, could undertake it with any reasonable hope of finding sufficient food even for the men who are collected together there now. The undertaking would prove most difficult and costly; and on hearing the measures decided upon by the Prince for the proper guarding of our frontiers, and finding ourselves

* Henry II d'Albret, King of Navarre, married Marguerite d'Angoulême, sister of Francis I and widow of Charles, Duc d'Alençon, in 1527. She is the authoress of the *Heptameron* and of the *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses*. Her daughter Jeanne, born in 1528, married Antoine de Bourbon, Duc de Vendôme, descendant of Robert, Comte de Clermont, sixth son of Saint Louis; and Henry IV was born of this union.

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here, not well assured of the turn affairs may take in England, besides the many other grave reasons that prevent us from entertaining any such plan or purpose, we think it would be well that you should recall any order you may have issued mobilising the above-mentioned troops.

The garrison of Pamplona is to be kept up and money must be paid to the soldiers of the garrison, because it appears that the long arrears into which their pay has fallen are the cause of their falling away.

The guard must be reinforced along the frontiers of Navarre, in Fuenterrabia and San Sebastian. Exercise great care and vigilance, as we will here, endeavouring to ascertain the movements of the French and acting on the plans outlined above. We will keep you informed of everything, and what means may best be adopted to foil any attempted novelty. Nothing could happen so suddenly as to leave us without a hint of it, and unable to warn one another and decide upon what should be done. Our ambassador in France has orders to keep you well informed on all points.

Since writing the above it has seemed well to us that a special messenger take to the ambassador in France a copy of the letter of credence of the said Dezcurra and the Bishop of Lescar's letter. He has orders to despatch the messenger to you after sifting the whole affair carefully, to tell you what he can make of it, what truth there is likely to be in it, and what he thinks the intentions of the French may be. We can then provide effectually for the safeguarding of the frontiers, considering that we understand that the troops are being withdrawn, and the Constable is about to return to Court. . . .

Brussels, 5 November, 1548.

Nov. 9. Paris K. 1488.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE MAXIMILIAN, Regent of Spain.

Sire, I am sending to your Highness copies of my letters lately written to his Majesty. I have nothing further to advise you of, except that on the 21st of October last the marriage of M. de Vendôme to the Princess d'Albret took place at Moulins. Everything was arranged too quickly for the ceremonies to be very imposing. The Princess's dowry was one hundred thousand crowns, and if her father were to have male heirs, she is to get nothing more. This is the substance of the marriage contract.

The eldest Princess of Ferrara is expected shortly at St. Germain where the King will meet her, and her marriage to M. d'Aumale who is soon to return from his post will be celebrated with splendid ceremony.

The child Queen of Scots is in Saint Germain. She is being brought up with the royal children. People say she will be married to the Dauphin, as indeed it seems most likely. The Queen of France expects to be confined at the end of January, at St. Germain. Everybody hopes she may give birth to a son.

Nov. 12. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Mme. d'Albret, mother of Jeanne, sends for the ambassador, who gives the Emperor an amusing account of his interview.

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Mme. d'Albret is a very garrulous person and only requires a little hint now and then to pour out all her heart. She tells St. Mauris that now her daughter is married she is no longer in fear of being spied upon, and asks him to go often to visit her and give her news of the Emperor, adding that both she and her husband would have greatly preferred marrying their daughter to the Prince of Spain, but the King of France refused to listen to a word of any such proposals, not merely regarding Prince Philip, but any of the Emperor's relatives; about which she complains freely to the ambassador.)

Afterwards she went on to speak, Sire, of their wars in Scotland and of their new treaty with the Scots, enlarging on the fact that their equipments by land and sea together with the moneys paid out to the Scots had cost the King more than 1,600,000 crowns, besides a further sum which is being sent to Scotland for the pay of the standing army, and of pensions newly assigned. She remarked that the late King would have known better than to give in so much to theHouse of Guise, which has nowadays acquired such power, that it can make the King do anything, as this last alliance* clearly proves. She expects nothing from it except, with time, great harm to France, who will find herself obliged to assist Scotland against the King of England, who is determined not to lose it, whereas France cannot give it up without disgrace. All they are getting for their pains, according to her, is a dowerless girl, and opportunities for reprisals from your Majesty in case they hold firm in the question of Piedmont. Mixed with all this, Sire, she often repeated that she could not believe that the alliance would ever take place, and that it might be a blind to gain time and bring the English to a better frame of mind towards French affairs. She blamed the meagre welcome that is given here to French gentlemen returning from Scotland, saying they deserve to be better received considering they go forth at their own expense. All of which she forsees will turn to the harm of France, as the King will need people who give their services willingly if he intends to get another expedition ready.

Poissy, 12 November, 1548.

Nov. 16. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 22.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(An account of an interview between St. Mauris and the Cardinal de Guise, in which the Cardinal complains that the Emperor allows the English to raise troops in Germany and refuses the same privilege to the French.)

I then spoke to him, Sire, according to my mission, as your Majesty has ordered about the English vessels taken in Zeeland, with a full recital of all your Majesty has written on the subject, and particularly of the lie by which the French prisoners sought to excuse their misdeed. I laid stress on the point that the vessels belonging to subjects of your Majesty, seized by way of reprisal by the Baron de St. Blancart, should immediately be given up, and that in future no such insolence should be offered unless

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they wished your Majesty to use counter-revenge without applying first for redress. I laid your Majesty's offer plainly before them: to set free the prisoners but hold back the ships, as these are goods seized from sea-pirates.

The said Cardinal made answer that, as I was speaking plainly, so would he roundly declare his opinion on the seizure of the said vessel; this being that they could neither swallow nor digest the taking of it, and that it would have fitted in better with the requirements of good friendship to have allowed the vessel to follow her course without hindrance, particularly as she was in charge of subjects of the King returning from Scotland, and in the pay of the said King, and not, as had been said, of pirates. The King found such proceedings still more strange, as the men were French, and the misdeed, if any, had been committed on the high seas, which are no man's land and free to all, and yet note had been taken of the occurrence in your Majesty's dominions, which he interprets as an attempt to favour the English to the detriment of the French, this being manifestly against the rules of mutual friendship. He further assured me, Sire, that the people who were taken and questioned about the seizure of the vessel had no authority to say what they said about the King's intention of declaring war (on England) as soon as the young Queen of Scots should have reached France. They were guilty of misrepresentation on this point, and the ambassador had made it clear that there was no war with the English, and would be none, if only the English would prove not entirely unreasonable. True it is, said he, that the English are trying to get Scotland entirely into their hands. The King will do everything in his power to prevent it, being now King of Scotland through the marriage of his son to the young Queen; and he is determined to carry the quarrel between Scotland and England to a final issue, and make it a matter personal to himself.

He informed me, Sire, that ten days ago the Protector had caused their ambassador resident here to declare to the King, then at Eu, that all prizes taken by the English from the French fleets on the way to and from Scotland would be considered lawfully come by, so that the King has good cause for claiming the English vessel as a lawful prize to even matters up a little. He hopes that when these fresh points are put before your Majesty, you will see fit to withdraw all the difficulties in the way of the restitution of the vessel, as the English can make no complaints on the subject.

Poissy, 16 November, 1548.

Nov. 16. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

The EMPEROR to ST. MAURIS.

(Marriage of Jeanne d'Albret.)

The French ambassador, Marillac, presented himself a few days ago before M. de Granvelle, saying that the King his master had written to him to negotiate the following points with us, and requested him to assist him in obtaining an audience, which, owing to the gout which has sorely tried us for some time, was deferred

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until to-day, this being in all truth the very earliest date on which it was possible to grant it. The ambassador laid the following matters before us: that the King his master had heard that after having prevented the English from raising troops in Germany and even in Cleves, we now allowed them to draw as many soldiers to their pay as they pleased; and that he had also heard that he whom our ambassador resident in England left in charge in his place* when he lately came over here, had told the Lord Protector of England and his Ministers that they should be assisted besides with ammunition and with anything that they might require for the war. The ambassador said that the King held these practices to be little suited to the observance of friendship, which we nevertheless continued to profess for them. Moreover, we had prevented and hindered his master from raising troops in Germany, although the assistance he was giving to the Scots was not in contravention of any treaty, not even between him and the English. We made answer that it was true that we had long deferred our consent to the raising of troops in Germany by the English, although strongly pressed to give it, but that they had since represented to us with great feeling that we could not refuse them the troops they required for the defence of their own country, against the Scots, our common enemy; and after considering this point fully, and the obligations laid upon us by our treaties, we could no longer refuse. The King of France claimed that he might lend armed assistance, as he did in effect, to the Scots; we trusted he would consider that we too must be bound by our treaties. We were all the more inclined to do this because of the hostile attacks of the Scots upon our subjects and territories, after which they took refuge, with their plunder, on French soil, where we were unable to obtain compensation. As occasion arose, we inserted other considerations, such as that the King had never asked our permission to levy men, and when the prohibition was issued generally, we had heard that the King's ministers said they would draw as many Germans out of Germany as they pleased, whether we liked it or no; adding that the King had men in his pay in Germany, though there was no war; and his ministers boasted that these men were kept to fight against us. As to the communication made by our ambassador in England, we supposed that it was in reference to what was said above, and were it otherwise, he had made it without authority, and the English had not followed the matter up.

The ambassador wished to maintain and argue that the Scots must be understood to have been included among the allies and confederates in the Treaty of Crépy, and we referred him to M. de Granvelle, who could lay the proper reply before him. This M. de Granvelle has done, remonstrating that the Scots were never included in the said treaty, and that their inclusion had never been admitted. On the contrary, we had made answer to the late King of France's envoys, when they urged the point strongly, that the Scots were our declared enemies according to the treaty

* Jehan Dubois.

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we had passed shortly before with the English, the terms of which were expressly respected by the said Treaty of Crépy, and must remain so, unless they would first come to terms and meet the costs and damages incurred. When the article in the Treaty of Crépy was being discussed, in which it was provided that new allies and confederates might be named within two months, the words: "by common consent," were expressly inserted for the Scots, and answer to this effect was made to the Admiral and Chancellor of France, and to Bayard, at the time of their visit here. As the said ambassador again asserted that the assistance given by the French to the Scots was merely intended for their defence, he was answered that the army sent to Scotland by the French King was an army of attack rather than of defence, whilst the help we had given, being only six hundred horse, could not be so interpreted. Moreover, we were at war with the Scots before the said Treaty of Crépy, so that, besides being at war with the English, they were our own enemies, and we were at liberty to send assistance against them. Even had they been included among the confederates and allies mentioned in the said treaty, they had no claim to the enjoyment of the benefits of peace, having, to our great hurt, continued their hostile practices against us and our subjects, taking refuge on French soil, where no compensation, reparation nor restitution could be obtained from them.

In case you are spoken to about what has passed here, you may put forward these same arguments in answer as necessity requires; and we have therefore wished you to be advised of the matter.

Brussels, 16 November, 1548.

Nov. 22.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

Sire, I have lately received two letters which it pleased your Majesty to write to me on the 16th of this month, in which you commanded me to answer in conformity with the orders given therein, if the subject mentioned by your Majesty were broached to me here. The Cardinal de Guise has spoken to me on this very matter during the last negotiation I had with him, as I informed you in my last letter. I despatched my secretary incontinently to the said Cardinal to communicate the substance of your Majesty's letters to him, being unable to go myself through illness. I sent an apology for my absence to the Cardinal. He read my letter with an even countenance and answered my secretary that the matter was of such quality and importance that the Council must weight it and, this done, he would see that an answer should be sent if the King, who had received information to the same effect from his ambassador, Marillac, desired to make any. A few days later, being relieved of my illness, I went to see the Cardinal in case he desired to say anything to me on the subject of the said letter. The answer he gave me, Sire, was that with respect to the permission granted by your Majesty to the English to recruit cavalry (in Germany) the King was resolved to write his intentions to the ambassador, who would communicate

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them to your Majesty, and that if the treaties were correctly interpreted your Majesty was not obliged to assist the English in attacking the Scots, but merely to help them in the defence of their own territory, if the Scots were to invade territory held by the English at the time the treaties were signed. The enmity between your Majesty and the Scots was no ground to build upon, and they should enjoy the advantage of the Treaty of Crépy notwithstanding the arguments alleged to the contrary.

The French commissioners who took part in the negotiations for the peace of Crépy, and notably the Admiral, certified and would always (be ready to) affirm that your Majesty promised at the time that the Scots should be included. The matter was left pending because the King of England would not then give his consent, which was essential; but definite hope of obtaining it was held out on your Majesty's behalf, as the Admiral had often affirmed and declared since. He inserted into his speech other considerations, as for instance that the King had raised a few lansquenets to make a show at his coronation, following the example of his predecessors, as the Constable explained to me at the time, with an assurance that he had no hostile intentions against your Majesty, who could judge whether any colour of misunderstanding could be lent to the act. He added to what is said above, concerning the attacks and robberies committed by the Scots on the sea that both the late King and the present one had complied with our requests in dealing with the Scottish pirates who sought shelter in French ports, and that the punitive measures should be enforced again whenever your Majesty made a request. But the King finds it hard to believe, Sire, that the Scots have committed fresh robberies against the subjects of your Majesty as M. de Beures wrote to M. d'Arras. When the names of the guilty are forthcoming he will have them punished, whether they be in France or in Scotland, and he has written to that effect to the Queen Dowager of Scotland and to the Governor.

In correction of my last statement I admitted, Sire, and acknowledged that certain provisions had been made during the past and present reigns against the pirates, and judgments rendered accordingly; but I could affirm as a positive fact that they had never been put into effect, though the merchants in whose favour they had been rendered pursued the matter diligently. The fault lay with the officers of the ports, who perverted justice to so great an extent that the merchants had preferred to withdraw (their claims) altogether, otherwise the costs incurred by them would have amounted to as much as the capital involved: all of which I remember having said to the present King, laying bare the tricks of the said officers. The King then replied that his purpose was quite different, and that he had no intention of allowing these malpractices to continue and would order an inquiry to be made. But I have heard nothing further about it, but hear instead how the pirates continue and prosper in their thieving. I added, Sire, that the Queen Dowager of Hungary*

* The Emperor's sister Maria, Regent of the Netherlands.

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had despatched a special embassy of persons of quality to the Queen Dowager of Scotland to press for compensation for these robberies; but it proved impossible to come to an understanding.

I went on to say in the matter of the inclusion of the Scots in the peace of Crépy that I well knew the Admiral had often declared that your Majesty had not consented to it; and also that whenever I heard the question raised I had given the same answer that your Majesty had recently written to me. As to the permission given (to the English) to raise 600 men in Cleves, I said in accordance with your Majesty's orders, that the English having asked for the troops and being prepared to pay for them for their own defence no refusal could be reasonably given without committing a breach of the treaties. I observed that the French professed that they had no intention of attacking England; yet the King's powerful navy gave food for thought to the English, who were open to an attack by sea upon every side, so that they were making ready to guard against any danger; adding that your Majesty was doing nothing against the King, the Scots being your Majesty's enemies, in allowing the said soldiers from Cleves to be employed against them. I said that facts notoriously proved that the Scots were enemies, and openly hostile to your Majesty, by the constant robberies and attacks they practised against your Majesty's subjects. If necessity compelled us, we should retaliate point by point with pillage and robbery too, so that the King might see for himself what losses and incalculable damage the subjects of your Majesty suffer.

Sire, they seem unable to take in good part that the English should be allowed by your Majesty to raise men, as they fear that they will raise a much larger number, and I am convinced by what I see of their humour that they intend to ask the same permission as the English from your Majesty, in the belief that it could not be denied without too palpable injustice towards them. But if they come to do this, I conjecture it is very likely they would do it rather to give the English cause for jealousy than for any need they have of men. The above is an answer, Sire, to your Majesty's letters, together with the writing joined herewith, which was given me by the King and Council.

Poissy, 22 November, 1548.

Nov. 26. Vienna. Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(The first part of the letter deals at length with the private affairs of the Queen Dowager of France, Eleanor.)

It has been certified to me that the Sorbonne has not given leave to the booksellers to print the *Interim*, not that they do not hold the *Interim* to be a catholic, holy and christian piece of work, but because it proceeds from your Majesty, who, they say, may not lay hands on the management of spiritual matters. I hold for certain, Sire, that they have received orders from above, inspired by flat despair and extreme regret that the affairs of Germany have shaped so well in the matter of religion. I have heard for certain, Sire, that the King is having a large number of

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big vessels manned in Normandy and Brittany, and that he is about to send three to four thousand foot soldiers to assist the Scots. They are to embark at Brest and go by way of Ireland. They are believed to be the old troops lately returned with Bonnivet from Italy to Bordeaux, whence they will soon march to Brittany, with other Gascons. These men are being sent to do their utmost to recover Haddington. The French believe that the English cannot hold the town, owing to its distance from England, except by sending supplies constantly, so that the cost of re-victualling it continually will prove to be a greater expense than they will care to undertake. . . .

(News from Guyenne; news of Philip's journey, etc. . . .)

Poissy, 26 November, 1548.

Nov. 30. Simancas E. 76.

PRINCE PHILIP to JUAN VAZQUEZ DE MOLINA.*

(*Extract.*)

You will have understood from what I wrote from Collioure, the day and hour of my departure. What has happened since is, that having left that port with fine weather, but unsettled, it seemed wise to Prince Doria not to go out to sea, but sail close to the shore so as to be able to take refuge in Aigues-Mortes if the weather changed. Everything happened as he had foreseen, for after we passed Cape Leucate, about 30 miles further on, the weather changed, so that had we been caught in the gulf we should have had great trouble, and even so we were not spared, as great efforts had to be made to reach the said harbour. However, it pleased Our Lord to allow us to reach it on the 10th of this month, a Saturday afternoon about nightfall. Soon after my arrival a captain, accompanied by a few gentlemen, came to visit me on behalf of the Count of Villars, brother to the Count of Tende, saying that the King, his master, hearing that I was to pass along this shore, had ordered him to come to Aigues-Mortes by the post, so that if I required any refreshment or any other thing he should provide it, and he would do so with great pleasure. I answered what seemed to me most suitable (to the occasion) thanking him, and saying that if opportunity arose we should make use of him with the same confidence that he would feel, were he to find himself within the dominions of his Majesty; and upon this they went away, with show of great satisfaction, and making demonstrations of good-will on the part of the King their master.

The weather compelled me to remain in that place (Aigues-Mortes) six days; until it pleased God that it should improve, on the following Friday, and enable me to continue my journey. On the same day we arrived early at the Pomègue of Marseilles,† where a gentleman paid me a visit on behalf of the Count of Tende, and offered me refreshments and whatever food we might need for the galleys, and brought me a present of edibles. I thanked him for his offer, but had no need to accept it, as on the following night before daybreak I departed thence and arrived with fair

* This letter is autograph.

† One of the islands of the Ile d'If group, just outside Marseilles harbour.

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weather on the same day at the island of Hyères. I anchored in a port under the tower or castle; but having lost time by going into another harbour more to the east, I was not merely prevented from advancing by the change for worse in the weather, but had to go back three miles to Port Cros where I remained three days by reason of the rains and storms that waxed fearfully, and gave us endless trouble as there was not room enough for all the galleys in the harbour and a few were caught in the current running between two islands. We departed thence a few days later, on a Wednesday, with fine weather, and arrived at the island of Ste. Marguerite early in the day. I went ashore to sup, and on the same night before daybreak I left, intending to make the port of Villefranche by Nice; but as the weather was still holding when we came up to it, we agreed not to enter it, or delay before it, but proceed, as we did. Shortly afterwards the weather turned against us; but we pushed on, and succeeded in casting anchor at Porto Maurizio, near Cape Mele, where we spent the night; with some difficulty, though, because the sea was churned by the blowing of contrary winds. The next day, Friday, I continued my journey, and notwithstanding that the wind was against us, it pleased Our Lord that I should reach Savona two hours before sundown; and I went ashore to sup, returning on board the galley to sleep, with the intention of setting sail for this town before the rise of day. I should have done this, had not a frigate come, with letters from the Ambassador Figueroa* who informed me that as the people who were to get ready my apartments had only arrived the day before, my lodging could not be got ready unless I delayed my arrival for two or three days. It seemed well to me to delay till Saturday, and continue my journey on the Sunday, so that the apartments could be got ready; and it all happened so, and I arrived at this town on Saint Catherine's day in the evening. The citizens gave me a good welcome, the Seignory and the guard received me at the gate, and escorted me under a baldaquin to the house of Prince Doria where I lodged. On the way four ambassadors were sent to greet me at the place near Nice where the territory of the Seignory begins, and eight were sent to Savona, all chosen from among the greatest men here. Besides giving me fair words they have proved their good-will towards me by entertaining in the hostelries all those who come in my suite, and those who have followed me here. . . .

*. Genoa, 30 November, 1548.

Dec. 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 22.

The EMPEROR to ST. MAURIS.

(Marriage of Jeanne d'Albret, etc.)

About five days ago the French ambassador went to see M. de Granvelle, and showed him a long letter he had received from the King, in which he ordered him to pursue the matter of the assistance given (by us) to the English against the Scots, as not being included in the peace of Crépy, endeavouring to persuade him that they should be held to be included. The reason he puts

* Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, imperial ambassador in Genoa.

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forward is that within the time stipulated in the said treaty* during which new allies and confederates might be included on both sides, the King of France had named the Scots. He affirmed that the clause contained in the said treaty, to the effect that new allies and confederates might be included by common consent of the signatories, should be interpreted with wisdom and good sense; and that no nomination could be objected to unless there were some strong reason against it. If this were not so, he said, the clause in question would be an empty and useless one. He asserted that no objection could be made against the Scots, who had been content to observe the conditions of the said peace. M. de Granvelle answered that the wording of the treaty was perfectly clear, and the words: "by common accord" had no doubtful meaning; that unless it were with the intention of altering the whole spirit of the treaty, it must be interpreted literally and exactly and take full effect. Such an interpretation could not fit the case under discussion, as it had been repeatedly proved that at the date of the treaty the Scots were our declared enemies, and enemies of the English; and this was so even from the time we were still in Germany, before our journey to France. The King's letter, he observed, made no mention of this fact. Moreover (he reminded the ambassador) when the Treaty of Crépy was signed the inclusion of the Scots was expressly refused, for the very cause mentioned above, unless they first made reparation and satisfied all claims for depredations and damage committed by them, with interest accruing thereto. The words: "by common accord" were inserted in the treaty at the time it was signed, particularly with reference to the Scots.

The ambassador could make no answer to this, except to ask if we had been informed, and what our interpretation of the matter was, and if this had been done he must acquiesce in the answer that should be given to his master the King.

The ambassador attempted to minimise the outrages committed by the Scots, and the support given them by France. M. de Granvelle replied that he had no authority to go beyond what had been said and repeated several times already; but that he would remind him in a friendly spirit, entirely on his own account, and merely from a desire that things generally might be clearly understood, that the violence and hostilities practised by the Scots against our subjects before war was declared were matters of common and certain knowledge, and neither excused nor denied by the Scots themselves; that these acts appeared all the more strange to us, because of the friendship and fair treatment we had always extended to the Scots. As to the support which we claim is given to the Scottish pirates in France, all he could say was that no satisfaction nor compensation whatever had ever been obtained, neither from the Scots, nor from any other variety of private robbers. We were always paid in promises and assurances that the guilty should be severely punished, or transferred before a higher court, the cases being always prolonged and extended

* Two months. *See* letter of 22 November, 1548.

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without any effect. So much was it so, that the said M. de Granvelle had several times regretted that any attempt should have been made to obtain redress, the matter being evidently importunate and disagreeable to the French, while on our side we expected some effect and result. The ambassador expressed great regret and sorrow, and showed astonishment that matters should so fall out. M. de Granvelle was pleased to be able to slip in the assertion here, that the Treaty of Crépy should be effective in this capital matter too, with respect to the Scots, for the King of France was obliged to render (justice) by making reasonable redress and compensation.

Dec. 3. Paris K. 1488.

NEWS of SCOTTISH EVENTS.

On the third of December, Douglas, Earl of Angus, and the Rhinegrave, with 50 lances and 200 light horse, showed themselves before the castle of Broughty Craig. Sir John Luttrell, seeing that they were out for sport, came forth to skirmish with 30 horse, but nothing of importance happened. After a certain time the Rhinegrave withdrew with his men, and Sir John Luttrell followed him a good way from the castle. The Rhinegrave had posted a number of foot soldiers in ambush to cut off the retreat of the English if they ventured out some distance from their castle. When they saw things happening as they hoped, they came out of hiding and attempted to cut the English off; but Sir John Luttrell had foreseen the event, and left orders with the garrison of the castle, which stands fairly high, that they should send word to him if they saw any of the enemy approach besides those who were in sight (to begin with) and he had also arranged that in this case a certain number of men should conceal themselves behind a hill on which he had determined to withdraw if the necessity arose. This he did, when the warning came. The ambushed soldiers came forward quickly, but being on foot, they could not prevent him reaching the hill. The reinforcement was approaching it quickly, and unnoticed by the enemy. When the Scottish ambush reached the hill they charged Sir John Luttrell's men violently, and he sustained the charge bravely with his few men; and very soon help arrived, so unexpectedly for the enemy, that they took fright, turned and ran. Sir John Luttrell pursued them to Dightie Water; but having few horsemen, only 30 in all, and the Rhinegrave a great many, the engagement did less damage than it might have done to the Rhinegrave's people. Sir John Luttrell attempted to stop their flight several times, and make them turn and face the English; but they were so thoroughly frightened that they never stopped till they were safe in Dundee. By the bank of the river where the engagement took place, a French gentleman, who had dismounted to give courage to his foot soldiers, was found dead. He still wore his spurs. Eighteen more men who fought under the Rhinegrave were drowned in the river or killed; and on the other side of it too were some dead, but the number is not yet known.

Sixteen of the Rhinegrave's lansquenets were taken prisoners, and two Scotsmen. There were many wounded, among them the

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said Rhinegrave, who was wounded twice in the leg with an arquebuss.

**3 December, 1548.**

Dec. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26. ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(*Extract.*)

Sire; I have received the letters it pleased your Majesty to write to me on the first of this month. . . . I have had audience of the King, and before seeing him I spoke to the Constable, who was in the King's apartments, and congratulated him on his safe return and the successful issue of his mission. He drew me aside and began by telling me that the King had received from Marillac a full account of the interviews with your Majesty and M. de Granvelle about the inclusion of the Scots in the Treaty of Crépy, and the assistance furnished against them by your Majesty to the English. The King had been compelled to draw attention to these points because of the necessity of defending the kingdom of Scotland, whose King he now was by the marriage of the young Queen with the Dauphin his son, planned and settled by the consent of the Estates of Scotland. The King entertained the hope that when your Majesty should be fully informed of his just request, should weigh and examine it thoroughly, you would yield to reason; for being King of Scotland, the King must necessarily speak in another tone than heretofore on matters concerning Scotland. Once he had spoken as protector of his old friends and allies, the Scots, but now he spoke as their King, not indeed overlooking the points of the alliance, but joining (the interests of) his two kingdoms, the better and with greater efficacy to urge the righteous claims of the Scots. The Constable enlarged on this theme, saying that the situation would be uncomfortable, and indeed intolerable if, whilst your Majesty and the King remained on friendly terms, there should still be a difference with respect to Scotland. Such a situation, he said, would not be accepted here; and he gave me a parallel case, that your Majesty, being now master of Siena and holding the town in your obedience, should be attacked by the King, who should nonetheless propose to remain on friendly terms with your Majesty in Picardy, Champaign, and his other dominions. The same, he said, applied to Scotland, but the King was willing to abide by what should be eventually agreed upon by your two Majesties. He added that the Admiral, who was at court at the time, constantly affirmed that when the Treaty of Crépy was passed, your Majesty had consented to the inclusion of the said Scots, with some remark to the effect that you would not allow the King of England to give up Scotland; and that the matter had not finally been settled then and there because on your Majesty's behalf it was affirmed that the point could not be passed without the consent of the King of England, but that it should be put off for some time, to see if he could come to an understanding with the King of France. Whether the understanding could be arrived at or not, the definite assurance of the (ultimate) inclusion of the Scots was given, he says, on

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My answer, Sire, was as follows: I said that I had heard it asserted several times during the life-time of the late King that the Admiral affirmed what had just been said. Equally, I had heard it denied by the Ministers of your Majesty who took part in the negotiation. The Lord Fernando* in particular had flatly denied what the Admiral affirmed. The matter went so far that the Admiral asserted he would challenge him to fight, but no one had taken his repeated threats to that effect seriously, as they appeared manifestly unjustifiable. The truth was that it was never proposed to include the Scots except on the terms declared (again lately) to the French ambassador. These were, that the Scots should make good the amount of the depredations and robberies committed against your Majesty's subjects; for reason demanded that this should be done by the Scots, our declared enemies, before treating of peace.

For the rest, namely, that the King as King of Scotland expected other terms than heretofore, I replied that I had no doubt your Majesty would give him all satisfaction in reason when the matter should be laid before you; and that in my opinion the matter rested in his own hands in this case. He himself contended that he could not be both at peace and at war with your Majesty; and the fact that the war with Scotland had been raging for some time was an important point. I added that by his accession to the crown of Scotland he assumed the care of the country and took over its burdens too, so that if he wished to end the hostilities between your Majesty and the Scots he must adopt other measures than to claim that the friendship and peace he enjoyed with your Majesty should be extended to the Scots at his command. I was about to enlarge on the subject, and make their want of reason in this matter more apparent, when the King sent for me. The Constable on taking leave of me said that he would merely postpone the end of the argument till after I had seen the King, when I was to rejoin him in his apartments, adding that the King was little satisfied with the progress of Scottish affairs. Hearing this I thought it suitable, Sire, to let the King know the simple truth about the way things are going; for I am persuaded that the Guises, who have this affair greatly at heart, have disguised the facts. I told him also that I had heard a popular rumour that your Majesty was assisting the English against them, coupled with such scandalous and seditious comments as one may hear from an ill-disposed populace; so that if the King was not aware before of what is happening and how it is happening, he knows it by now. . . .

(St. Mauris in speaking to the King goes once more over all the points of the Scottish question which have already been fully illustrated by the above and earlier letters. The King replies in the tenor of earlier conversations on the subject denying, moreover, that his officers had ever committed any abuses or attempted to shelter the piratical depredations of the Scots. The King gives St Mauris a memorial touching the seizure of a Dutch ship by the Scots.)

* Don Fernando Gonzaga.

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This memorial, Sire, I gave to the Constable whom I met soon afterwards for the purpose of finishing our interrupted negotiation. I told him what I had said to the King: He went over the old ground again, and added that some time ago M. de Lestrange, M. Lyvio,* and lately, M. de Biron, had pressed and argued the question of the inclusion of the Scots in the peace, offering to make good all the damages, with interest; but it had been impossible to come to definite terms, dwelling merely on generalities, which was proof enough that there was little intention of including the Scots in the peace of Crépy even though the damages and interests were made good. The negotiation had been suspended and postponed in consequence (of this attitude), until a more favourable opportunity should present itself. This opportunity seemed, in the King's opinion, to have come now that he was King of Scotland; and in the hope that his arguments might be well received, he wished to reopen the question; for although harm had been done in the past, that was no reason why matters should be still more embittered in the future. He added that the whole Scottish nation should not be made to suffer for a gang of pirates and scoundrels they flatly disovowed, and would punish in a harsh and exemplary manner if they ever came into their hands. He declared, Sire, that it was provided in the treaties that the contravention of one particular point settled therein did not invalidate the treaty as a whole; the transgressor being punished, the matter ended there. Let this, he said, apply to the Scots.

It was not meet that the doings of pirates should retard their inclusion in the treaty, and disturb the peace; but, on the other hand, the pirates should be punished with the utmost severity. He brought it in that the French were well aware that England was doing her utmost to prevent the inclusion of the Scots, so as to bring Scotland to the ground, and in the hope that your Majesty might take up her quarrel against that country. Still the King hoped your Majesty would practise moderation in the assistance you gave England. For his part he would spare nothing to save Scotland from the English (*il luy couteroit cuysse et aisle ou il preserveroit ledit Escosse desdits anglois*), and he wished me to know that he had sent a good number of men from Bordeaux to Brittany for the purpose of sending them to Scotland, and would send more if necessary.

I answered him, Sire, that I knew for certain that an unvarying answer had been given to the King's ministers in Flanders when the inclusion of the Scots was discussed: namely, that the Scots must first make full amends for the injuries inflicted upon your Majesty, giving compensation for the robberies committed, with damages and interest besides; when this should be done, it would be time to discuss your Majesty's intentions as to the said inclusion.

The Scottish ambassador had more than once declared to me that they would send messengers to the Queen for the purpose; but nothing had been done, and the matter was shelved by the

* Livio Crolto, at one time French envoy to the Queen Dowager of Hungary.

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Queen of Scots. Since then fresh robberies had been committed; and they must realise that your Majesty could not fail to be greatly incensed thereby. I added that the clause in the treaty to the effect that the offender should be punished (and no breach of the treaty ensue), could not apply to the Scots. Their case was different, as they could not claim to enjoy the advantages of the peace, being in a position of applicants for their inclusion. The above is all that passed between us, Sire, in this business.

(Here follows an account of smaller matters of dispute between France and the Empire; more talk of the arrest of imperial ships by the Baron de St. Blancart; protestations that the King of France, though sollicited often enough, had never sought to create fresh difficulties for the Emperor in Germany, desiring as he did most warmly to continue in friendship with him. Some very vague talk about the advisability of a better understanding between France and the Empire, and the possibility of furthering it by means of a marriage.)

Poissy, 17 December, 1548.

Dec. 27. Simancas E. 503. ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.*

I am sending to your Highness a certain writing containing news from here; nor can I add anything except that Dux (Henry II), is continuing the jousts in which he has had little luck up to the present, whereas it was hoped he would do far better, being held to be a good horseman, and of a good figure. He usually rises early, plays tennis the greater part of the time, rides a great deal, taking all this exercise so as to avoid getting fat. He is beginning already to fill out and take on a paunch.

He is going hunting for about a fortnight, and will return to St. Germain in time for the christening of the son he hopes to have. A few days ago, 2,000 soldiers were shipped to Scotland from La Rochelle. There is a loud rumour here that next year he will send over a large army, if he can feel sure of keeping the peace with his Majesty. The English are pressing the Scots so close that unless assistance is sent to them they might well rise in revolt and be lost to France.

They are greatly disconcerted about the turn events have taken in Siena, because the greatness of his Majesty is grievous to them. (Here follows an account of the marriage of M. d'Aumale with the Princess of Ferrara.)

Poissy, 27 December, 1548.

Dec. 27. Paris K. 1488. News sent by St. Mauris.

(*Extract.*) Peter Strozzi has been with the King in St. Germain; and very ill-received, as they say, because he allowed a galley to be lost on the way back from Scotland. He has exonerated himself by saying that he sailed in front of the fleet, and so was not aware of the seizure of the vessel. The captains of the fleet have certified that she was a very old ship; and had it not been for this she could easily have repulsed the attack. It is generally

* A duplicate of this document exists in Paris, Arch. Nat. K. 1488.

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understood that the King's dissatisfaction is really caused by a quarrel between Peter Strozzi and d'Andelot, and the complaints made against his arrogant ways by several gentlemen and especially by the Governor of Scotland. Anyhow, whatever the cause may be, he is not as often in the King's company as he used to be. . . . Villegaignon, Knight Commander of Rhodes, had a difference with Peter Strozzi. He accused him of having traduced the Queen's* relations, whom he hates. The house of Guise backed Villegaignon in the quarrel as they hold him in great favour for the service he rendered them in carrying safely over the sea the little Queen of Scots. . . . They were much afraid here that the Emperor might propose a marriage between the King of England and one of the daughters of the King of the Romans. But many of the chief people here opine that his Majesty would ill consent to the match, the King of England being scismatic.

The King keeps his children, whom he would like to have always near him, as much about his person as he can. The young Dauphin has a separate suite and household equal to that of the King. This is described here as French magnificence. The young Queen of Scots is being taught her lessons, and they say she is gifted and already knows French quite well. . . .

There is a rumour here that the King of France has declared to the Protector of England that if he cares to make an exchange of the prisoners taken on board the galley, the King will give up a man for a man and a gentleman for a gentleman to an equal number according to the quality of the prisoners.

Poissy, 27 December, 1548.

Dec. 30.
Paris
K. 1488.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP (?).†

(*Extract.*) Ten days ago, Sire, the King gathered together all the garrisons from Picardy and the Boulonnais, both foot and horse, and made them pull down two places which the English had appropriated and were fortifying, the King affirming this to be a breach of the last treaty. They say the Council of England is extremely incensed; but he was so prompt and so thorough in his action that there is nothing left for the English to say. The places are near Ardres, on the Guines side. The King declares that they are on his territory, while the English affirm the contrary. Lately the King took a fort named Fiennes about which there was some contention, and fortified it well. The English claim this stronghold, which overlooks Guines and Calais, both of which belong to them. In short, Sire, the common proverb, that two words "*meum*" and "*tuum*" are at the bottom of every quarrel, is receiving fresh illustration.

It is being said that the Pope has refused to restore the Council to Trent and that the Cardinal of Trent has left Rome greatly dissatisfied.

Melun, 30 December, 1548.

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* Catherine de'Medici.

1549.
Jan. 6.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, since my last letter to your Majesty of the 27th of December last, owing to pressure exerted on the King by the Pope through his nuncio, to obtain an answer from him about sending some of his prelates to Rome to take part in a congregation he intends to summon there, the said prelates have assembled; first at Lyons, then at Moulins, and lately at St. Germain, to deliberate about the answer. The Pope intends to summon an assembly of bishops in Rome to settle the question of the Council (of Trent) and undertake the reformation of the church. It appears from what *Olsacius* tells me that the King is placing difficulties in the way of sending his prelates; yet there is no dearth of people to advise him to send them, in the hope that the assembly will dissolve in smoke and the Protestants be angrier than before, and so find good cause to persevere in their obduracy, thereby assisting the King in his designs. The absence of Cardinal de Guise has been the cause of the delay. He is now back and at the head of the assembly.

Many people of consequence here say that the prelates have expressed the opinion that the King should support the suspension of the Council of Trent, all the more because it was done perfectly regularly, and should not consent to any discussion on the matter at all, nor listen to what the heretics, who have been duly challenged and excommunicated, have to say about it. Several among the chief ministers find this to their taste, as tending to perturb the Council and prevent the accomplishment of its purpose. . . .

(News about the Turk, and that France is sending to the Switzers to get them to enter into a league.)

Poissy, 6 January, 1549.

Jan. 6.
Paris K. 1488.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.*

I am sending your Highness a printed account of the King's entry into the city of Lyons. I was present myself and can assure your Highness that all is accurately set down. It is quite true that little could be seen when the Queen made her entry, because night came on. Her welcome was very warm; and the people say that as she is not good looking the King gave orders that her pageant should be kept back till a late hour so that her ugliness should pass unnoticed.

The King is at present hunting on the Constable's property. He left the day after the Epiphany with the intention of staying away only a short time, to be back in Saint Germain by the end of the month.

I am sending your Highness the latest news from Scotland. The King intends to send over a large army this year, making the number up to 10,000 men in all, including those that are there now, and 1,500 men from Provence, who have been sent over by

* This letter is a copy made from a decipher of the original. The letter is dated the 6th of January (the Epiphany); but it appears from the context that it must have been written at least two days later.

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way of La Rochelle. It is said also that he will send over the men that he had got ready in case your Highness, while on your journey, had intended to make an attack on him, and that he eventually employed against his own revolted people.

The King of England, as I hear, has called his Parliament together, to deliberate on means of attack and defence. He has 4,000 Low Germans under Courtpennick on the Scottish border. He has 20 to 25 well-armed ships at sea ready to seize the French on their way to Scotland, the Protector having declared to the King of France that he would take as many of the French as he could, and claimed a right to do so, as they were on their way to help the enemy. The King of France has forbidden, under pain of death, that anyone should attempt to sail the sea in less company than six vessels together.

The King of France and his ministers were in great fear for some time that the Emperor might move war against them over the question of Piedmont. A week ago they began to say that they felt reassured, but they go on exacting enormous sums from the people, and hoarding them, so that the King has a great deal of money in hand at present. I know this for certain. It is thought that he intends to pay last year's heavy expenses in Scotland with it. . . .

There is no love lost at present between the Pope and the King of France. The King is dissatisfied because the Pope refused to sign the league, and will not give Parma to the Lord Orazio, so that the said Orazio's marriage is again postponed. In consequence of the Pope's attitude, the King has refused to send his prelates to Rome to be present at the Congregation summoned to do the work of the Council of Trent.

Jan. 10. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

The EMPEROR to the LADY MARY.

My ambassador, bearer of the present letter, being about to return to England, I have ordered him to visit you and commend me cordially and affectionately to you, and give you news of me. It will be a great pleasure to me to have news of you often, because of the whole-hearted and sincere affection I bear you, of which you must be always assured in all matters in which you are concerned.

Brussels, 10 January, 1549.

Jan. 25. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We sent for the English ambassador resident here, after the messenger despatched the day before yesterday evening had left. We spoke of the seizure of our subjects' ships, as M. d'Arras had already done, as you will have seen by our letters to you; and we added, that we did not know of whom we ought to complain in this matter, the King, the Protector, or the Council. We are on terms of amity and good friendship with the King; and it seems unreasonable to make our complaints against him, as he is obviously committed to the Protector's care owing to his tender age. But the Protector's conduct and that of his Council seem to us strange

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indeed. The late King of England once did the same thing when there was some resentment between us about the treaty we had signed with France ; for it was his custom to behave in an arbitrary fashion when matters were not to his taste. But we cannot allow the Protector the same licence ; nor are we now on the same terms as then. The blow was certainly prepared beforehand, as it has been found that the English merchants (here) were warned and had transferred their goods into other hands for safety. Some had even left the country. The ambassador affirmed two days ago that only two or three ships were seized. But the truth is that upwards of sixty were taken on the high seas and carried off to their ports. We are determined that at all costs immediate restitution be made, and redress given for the damage sustained and the interest thereon. It seemed to us very strange, we said to the ambassador, that the Protector and Council, who should endeavour to keep our good will towards the King of England and his kingdom, well knowing how they stand with the Pope, France and Scotland, should behave in this way. They might be assured that we were being solicited on all sides to make common cause against them, and we found provocation enough in the changes they had made in the religion of the country during the King's minority. They were indeed overstepping all bounds, and we were not disposed to put up with this last outrage perpetrated on our subjects. Should they persist in it, we should move against them in the firm belief that as God had been pleased to help us in other enterprises more difficult still, especially where religion was concerned, so would He assist us again. We held the Protector and Council responsible, and did not accuse the King, who was not to blame. We would benefit him by preventing him being led astray at his tender age. The Protector should find himself in need of protection, if what we threatened were put into effect ; and we wondered where he would find it.

We insisted that reparation must be made and that in future nothing of the same kind must ever occur, being quite resolved not to suffer it. The ambassador seemed astonished and embarassed. He replied that he did not believe the English had any other object except to search the vessels for French goods, according to their usual practice. The French, he said, did the same. Many vessels made for Scotland while pretending to be going to France. He advised the English merchants who went to him for counsel after the seizure of the vessels was published, to make no move, being in a country under our rule, where they need fear no harm and no ill-treatment, but would find their rights respected. He said the value of the goods embargoed was a mere trifle compared to the value of the vessels ; the merchants were poor and might decide to withdraw altogether from the country and give up trading here. His answer on the religious question was that matters had been left much as they were at the death of the late King.

We replied that neither they nor we were at war with France ; and that if they went to war with the French we were not bound to do more than observe the letter of the treaties. We would not

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allow our subjects to be maltreated by the French or the English, or trade interfered with. As the English wanted the herrings and other goods (bought from the Low Countries) they would have to come here for them ; and they had always been favourably treated here, as none would deny. With regard to his remark that the goods confiscated here were of small value to set off against the goods seized in England, we told the ambassador that he might rest assured that we would seize English property here every time the English seized goods belonging to our subjects. We made him understand that we could arm by land and sea, and our power should be found to extend further if need arose.* The threat to withdraw English trade from our Low Countries left us unmoved. Our merchants had means of obtaining wool, and goods now supplied by England, from other countries ; Spain and others. In matters of religion we asserted that we were well aware of the innovations that had been made. We reminded him that God chastised the sinner in the ripeness of his sin. We enjoined him, finally, to consider each point well and look to remedy them all, for we were determined not to suffer our subjects to be ill-treated and offence given to ourselves by practices against every rule of good friendship.

We desire you to be fully informed of what has passed, so that if the ambassador slurs over the facts and you are questioned, you may be accurately informed about our real intentions, and by making the truth plain to the English, bring about the restitution of the ships, if this is not an accomplished fact already, procuring also the payment of compensation for damages and the interest now accruing.

Before your departure we ordered you to speak immediately to the Protector and others, if any attempt were made, after the assembling of Parliament, which was to have taken place on the 3rd of this month, to put their threats into effect and compel the Lady Mary, our niece, to conform with their new regulations in matters of religion. We believe that our interview with the English ambassador will help the step. You may take the opportunity to say, giving it as your own private opinion, that they may know that we will suffer no pressure to be put upon her, our close relative, or allow religious innovations to cause them to assume a different and less suitable manner towards her. You may add that even if she were inclined to accept the changes and conform, we should study every possible means to dissuade her.

Brussels, 25 January, 1549.

Jan. 26. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, during the last few days the English ambassador resident at this court laid before the King, by command of the Protector, the right to the suzerainty of Scotland claimed by the King of

* A reference, possibly, to the Emperor's power of fostering civil strife, or to the Pope's exhortations that he should "defend and restore the Christian faith.

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England. He brought forward special arguments to prove and conform the said suzerainty; for instance, that it had been acknowledged and confessed by the Scottish Parliament. The English hold the original document and offer to show it to the French ambassador and allow him to examine it as often as the King desires. The ambassador declared that their object was to ask the King of France to consider whether in his opinion it was right and licit for him to assist the Scots as he was doing. The King of England thought it an ill deed, exorbitant and hard to bear, that the King of France should furnish men to the Scots, his vassals, to use against him, even as the King (of France) would resent any help given to his rebellious subjects by the English; and therefore on this occasion he requested him to give no further aid to the Scots.

The King replied to the ambassador that he could not really believe Scotland to be a vassal of England, and that he had heard a very different tale from the Scottish ambassador resident at his court, who being then present would at the ambassador's request meet him and discuss the business. He should then hear such sound arguments against his contentions as might well convince him that the claims of the English were groundless. He told the ambassador that he could not, of course, abandon Scotland; and the Constable gave him the same answer, adding moreover that it would indeed be a great novelty if a King were another King's vassal. The ambassador replied, Sire, that there had been kings in Burgundy and Guyenne who were subjects and vassals of the King of France until, by the union of both to the crown of France, the vassalage had been annulled; nor was there any reason at all why the same circumstances should appear strange in the case of Scotland and England. He again insisted that no more help should be sent to the Scots, even as the French would resent help sent by England to their rebels, and then repeated his request that their titles and documents might be examined. The King stood firm in his reply that the English and Scottish ambassadors should discuss it between them and tried hard to get this expedient adopted. The English ambassador refused repeatedly, saying he had no orders to do anything of the kind, and he well knew that his master the King of England would consider the discussion entirely beside the mark, besides which it would serve to embitter matters rather than smooth them and would only amount to a verbal quarrel if the titles on both sides were not produced.

I have ascertained since that the King and his ministers, who showed no astonishment to the ambassador when he made his declaration, have nevertheless been sorely puzzled by it. The same day the Council was called together, and many members were present. They devised at length on what line they should take if the King of England made war, as seemed likely from the ambassador's utterance. They seem to wish to avoid it if possible, but they intend to go on assisting the Scots. M. de Thermes, who had lost credit and retired, it is said because he does not get on well with the Queen (Dowager) of Scotland, who complains

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bitterly of him, is being sent back to that country in a few days.

The Scottish ambassador is begging, on the Governor's behalf, that 10,000 infantry, including those already in Scotland, may be sent; and the request has been granted. The news that a strong army is being sent are published in this court. The secretary of the Venetian ambassador, who is a close friend of the English ambassador, told me he had artfully wormed out of him the admission that the Protector brought forth the suzerainty claim so that negociations for the examination of documents might begin, and the Scottish question might be dealt with in amity. The Protector believed that the King of France would lend an ear to the proposal, and that if he did so nothing further need be done in the field until the claim should be elucidated; and the Protector's real object was that the war might cease until the King of England reached riper years, for he knew how strong an enemy France was. However, Sire, I have no more certainty for the above than I have said. . . .

Poissy, 26 January, 1549.

Jan. 27. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

Sire, I received your Majesty's letters of the 23rd instant at Nieuport, and those of the 25th to-day at Calais. I am waiting for the weather to enable me to cross, but the wind has been so contrary that even two messengers dispatched by the English ambassador resident at your Majesty's court are here waiting for the weather to improve. I shall not delay unnecessarily and, following your Majesty's commands, I will apply myself diligently to obtain entire satisfaction for the wrongs inflicted on your Majesty's subjects, remonstrating on those things that your Majesty sends orders about in your letters. Sire, I have heard here that the Admiral of England, with the help of some people about the court, attempted to outrage the person of the young King by night, and has been taken to the Tower. The alarm was given by the gentleman who sleeps in the King's chamber, who, awakened by the barking of the dog that lies before the King's door, cried out "Help! Murder!"

Everybody rushed in; but the only thing they found was the lifeless corpse of the dog. Suspicion points to the Admiral, because he had scattered the watch that night on several errands, and because it has been noticed that he has some secret plot on hand, hoping to marry the second daughter of the late King, the Lady Elizabeth, who is also under grave suspicion. On my arrival in England, however, I will write the truth more fully to your Majesty, having nothing now to go upon beyond the information given by those who repeat common report.

Calais, 27 January, 1549.

Jan. 30. The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

It is being publicly said here that the Admiral of England made an attempt on the person of the young King; that he tried to

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enter his chamber by night at an undue hour, accompanied by armed men. with the intention of killing both the King and the Protector, and eventually of killing the Lady Mary, our niece, and all those of royal blood, his end being to make himself King of England. The report goes that the Admiral has been apprehended and will be duly tried. Over 200,000 crowns in silver were found in his house, we hear, and property to a great value, no small amount of which once belonged to our subjects; and that he favoured those who robbed them, taking his share of the plunder. We charge you to enquire carefully into the truth of the above report; and if any goods belonging to our subjects come to light, do your best to get them returned.

The report has come at a time when we had been speaking harshly to the English ambassador, and had ordered the counter-arrest of goods here, as you know. The English might possibly suspect that having some knowledge of the Admiral's plot, we had chosen the present time to make our protests, for they are of a suspicious nature, as you are aware, and guard their own safety with jealous care. Use your discretion, therefore, and soften your words and palliate a little, to avert their resentment on a false suspicion, as it is not the case that we had any knowledge of the plot. Our sole object is to fulfil our duty and obtain fair redress; therefore, while using your discretion, make no excuses, for they would clearly be misplaced here.

Since the above was written, we have received your letters of the 27th of the present month, giving us an account of the rumour concerning the said Admiral. It will be well that you advise us as soon as possible of what you can hear about it, giving us all the particulars thereof. Act in every respect as it seems best to you.

Brussels, 30 January, 1549.

Jan. 31. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, my other letters to your Majesty being already written, I have had it from a good source that some Switzers, sent by the Protestant cantons, have arrived at this court. Their special mission is to assure the King that the Protestant cantons will join a league with the King, as his ambassadors in Switzerland have been told already; but on condition that he binds himself to assist them against the Christian (*sic*) cantons and all and sundry who might wish to take up arms against them, either to compel them to accept the *Interim*, or to return the territory they have annexed.* The King has listened with favour to their proposals, and has written to his ambassadors to treat with the Protestants and sieze the present opportunity. The news are half public at court, where important personages assert frankly that the intimation made by the Christian cantons to the Protestants has driven them to attempt this league, which they would not have come to so soon otherwise; so much so that the French had small hope of it, having found them very reluctant until

* The territory taken from the Duke of Savoy, namely Geneva.

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now. The King's hope is to succeed in putting matters straight, trusting to the devotion that the Christian cantons have always shown for him. If he succeeds, all the confederations will be in his favour, however hard others may have tried to break them up; but from what I hear the league with the Protestants is still under discussion, and not concluded by any means.

The King was lately informed by a special messenger from his ambassador in England that the Protector's brother had planned to marry the late King's second daughter, and kill the King, the Lady Mary, and the Protector, to ensure a more peaceful, or rather more despotic reign.

The French rejoice exceedingly, hoping that some pernicious struggle will arise out of this in England, and enable them to carry their Scottish undertaking to a happy conclusion.

That is the end to which they strain, raising men and manning vessels. The house of Guise helps in this, and the King is eager for it, to wipe off the stain he received last year.

They hope a great deal from the recovery of Haddington, if they can win it back from the English, and the Scottish expedition is spoken of openly here. Still, I have heard from *Touchet* that the number of soldiers the King will send depends on what he is able to guess of your Majesty's intentions. If he sees any likelihood of keeping the peace this year, he is determined to send at least 10 or 12,000 men to Scotland; and this has been confirmed to me by others. The news that a French vessel has been driven by storms into Calais and taken, has caused sorrow here, because she carried a number of the French nobility. They are also perplexed by a dangerous disease which they have heard is raging among the French troops in Scotland. The people call Scotland "the Frenchman's grave," and say the Scots fatten their barren country with Frenchmen's bones. . . . A rumour is spreading to the effect that your Majesty has given leave to the English to raise more men in Germany, 16,000 foot soldiers and 3,000 horse. The French fear that the English will try to operate a diversion by sending an army into Guyenne. They found a conviction on the last declaration made by the English ambassador to the King, forbidding him to assist Scotland, that the English intend to attack them directly and openly.

They say here that a new heresy, denying the existence of the Trinity, has lately sprung up in England, and the Pope, the better to stamp out the mischief, is about to publish an admonestation to all Christian princes, warning them to forbid the English to enter their countries; so that being isolated from human intercourse they may repent their error, for it is indeed a grievous and great judgment to live among men and be denied their fellowship. They say, Sire, that the King, rather than incur the ecclesiastical censures passed on the recalcitrants, will enforce the prohibition; and they wonder whether your Majesty, who will be placed in a difficult dilemma, will do so too. On the one hand, disobedience to the Holy See would constitute a serious lapse; on the other, it would be a grievous offence to the English

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Sire, the nuncio resident at this Court has said to someone who has assured me of the truth of his words, that the Pope will never send the Council back to Trent unless he gets Piacenza back into his own hands. Your Majesty's assurance, that he shall have it back if judgment is pronounced in his favour after due legal trial, is not enough for him ; he wants to be enlightened further on the subject before he sends back the Council. The ministers of the King have brought it home to him well, so that he may write to Rome about it, that your Majesty proposed the expedient of the trial to delay matters in the hope that the Holy Father might die in the meantime.

Two days ago Monluc was sent here by the King to hold communication with the nuncio about Scotland, where he is about to be sent to induce the ecclesiastics, in the name of the King and of the Pope, to give money for the continuation of the war and for the recovery of church lands taken by the King of England. His mission is to inflame the Scots to further bitterness and violence by laying before the Scottish Parliament England's claim to the suzerainty of Scotland. . . .

Poissy, 31 January, 1549.

Feb. 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 32.

The EMPEROR to ST. MAURIS.

(Extract.) Referring to the Constable's repeated assertion when speaking about the inclusion of the Scots in the peace, that the King his master is King of Scotland and must make Scottish interests his own, if the Constable mentions it again, you will say that we will let the title pass for what it is worth (*nous remectons a ce que peult estre de ce tiltre*) and refer judgment to those whom it concerns, while standing firmly by our treaties with England, especially reserved in the Treaty of Crépy ; and, according to this last, the King of France may not assist the Scots against us as they were our enemies at the time the treaty was signed, and besides have continued in war and enmity towards us since. Their actions have been complained of on several occasions, yet no satisfaction has ever been given, either by Scotland or by France. With regard to the Admiral (of France's) assertion* respecting the inclusion of the said Scots in the Treaty of Crépy, keep to the words of the treaty and what they actually express, and bear in mind at the same time the clear and notorious fact that the Scots were openly declared enemies of ours and of the English at the time ; besides the unbroken tale of hostilities continued since, as has been said above. A good and sufficient reason (for their non-inclusion) was given to the Admiral when he went to Binche and Antwerp. The reflections and remarks made by you, according to your letters, on and about the subject beyond what is said above, have been quite suitable. . . . With regard to the plan for taking Boulogne by surprise, proposed by a Frenchman, the English have been warned.

The Constable has been assuring us for some time that the period of duration of the old league with the Switzers was being

* *See pp.* 315, 316, 317, 322, 323.

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prolonged; and with reference to any new league that may be in course of formation, it will be well for you to keep yourself well informed and transmit any information you may acquire on the subject. . . .

(The Emperor tells St. Mauris he intends to call him to his service in Brussels and send Simon Renard in his stead to Paris.)

Brussells, 1 February, 1549.

Feb. 5. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

It is openly averred here Sire, that the failure of the Admiral of England's plot is a great misfortune for this country. They had hopes, if it had succeeded, that he would have made an alliance with France, and accepted a sum of money for Boulogne and, besides, that he would have been very glad to settle the Scottish affair. They feel quite convinced he would have declared against your Majesty. Such is the common talk among high personages; and in further conformation of it, I have been told by Carneseque that for some time past he had known that the King was carrying on some kind of suspicious practice in England through a third party, but had failed to discover what it was, so that he now suspects that the Admiral's schemes were not unknown to the King. The English ambassador has informed the Protector of this, so that if possible something may be got out of the Admiral. They say here, Sire, that the Lady Mary discovered the plottings.

There is a young Irish gentleman. son of one of the great Irish lords who lost their heads, in the nuncio's household here. The Pope and the King give him a good allowance. The King hopes to set something afoot among his friends and relations that will keep the English busy. I have heard from a safe and trusty person that the King has resolved to besiege Berwick on the English frontier this coming year. He intends to send the main body of his army to Haddington, and hopes to take Berwick by surprise, on the assumption that the enemy's main force will be sent to Haddington; and Berwick being once in his hand he hopes to reduce Haddington easily. They are still very much pleased here about the castle they have taken,* in the belief that it will prove very useful in preventing the revictualling of Haddington, but the English ambassador affirms that the Protector had determined to have it dismantled as of little use. They refuse to believe this here, so as not to minimise the importance of their exploit.

The English ambassador has spoken again with the King and said that the marriage of the young Queen of Scots to the Dauphin could not take place licitly, because the Queen had been granted by the Scottish Parliament to the King of England, as the treaties prove irrefutably. He begged him to reflect on the matter, and said the information was given so that he should not ignore their just pretensions. The King answered that the very same Parliament of Scotland had agreed to the marriage of the Queen

* Hume's castle.

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of Scots to his son, and for that reason he had already taken possession of the kingdom, which he intended to keep and govern as his own kingdom, and he would put the marriage with his son through if God granted the boy life.

Many hold the opinion because of the above declaration and the preceding one regarding the suzerainty of Scotland which I wrote to your Majesty in my former letters from here, that the Protector is looking for peace and would like to open negotiations with the King of France by indirect means. But they affirm here that the King will not listen to anything of the kind until he has recovered his losses in Scotland. Those who see the position in this light, Sire, may very possibly be out with their reckoning, for by what one hears from the English ambassador, it appears that the English are more than ever bent on invading Scotland; and it is said that they have levied fresh troops to send against the French.

Sire, the Most Christian Queen gave birth to a son on the 3rd of this month, and it is cause of great rejoicing here.

Poissy, 5 February, 1549.

Feb. 8.
Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, on my arrival in London I was seized with an attack of the gout owing to the crossing I had from Calais to Dover, so dangerous and dreadful that I had not a dry stitch upon me when I landed. Being obliged to keep within doors, I sent a message to the Protector asking him to be pleased to commission some member of the Council to come to see me as I feared I should be unable to go myself for three or four days at least. He sent me no message of welcome back until yesterday, when the Lord Privy Seal† and Controller Paget brought it me in the King's name, as well as from the Protector and Council, who deputed them to negotiate. I showed them your Majesty's letter and my own letters of credence. They read therein your Majesty's goodwill towards the King and his kingdom, and your intention to observe the existing treaties and preserve the friendship unbroken, and so could gauge how much greater had been their fault and unwisdom in seizing and despoiling the ships and vessels of your Majesty's subjects on their way to France. Your Majesty had suffered robberies and plunder for four years past and more, I said, committed against your subjects sailing on these seas; but divine justice would not permit that your Majesty should allow the perpetration of such outrages, or your subjects to be delivered into the hands of people who treat them as enemies. I greatly exaggerated their misdeeds and eventually declared your Majesty's intention that all losses sustained should be refunded with interest, and that adequate measures should be taken to prevent a recurrence of the same happenings.

They answered me that they would present your Majesty's letter to the Protector, and give him a true account of everything

* This letter is written almost entirely in cipher.

† John, Lord Russell, who became first Earl of Bedford in 1550.

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I had said; but they wished to have a talk with me; not with the ambassador, but with Francis Van der Delft, the man, they said, whom they believed to have a sincere affection for England, and who would not blame the English without just cause. In their opinion I was acting on one of their own proverbs to the effect that he who is in the wrong usually shouts loudest. They could not understand how your Majesty could seize their fellow-countrymen on your territories and place an embargo on their goods in the face of all the treaties, without any provocation whatsoever, since they for their part had only detained vessels on their course to search them for French goods. The French were the first to do this against English goods, so that they might well hold the prizes to be fairly come by. They went on to say that even admitting that the French had seized and confiscated our goods as well as theirs, and treated your Majesty's subjects in the worst manner, neither the English nor your Majesty being openly at war with France, yet it was not suitable, nor in accordance with the treaties, to sieze English goods and English subjects without any preliminary notice, or without at least making the attempt to obtain redress. They pretested that the ships were detained one day and a half, and no more. I asked them how they could invoke the guarantee of those treaties which they themselves violated openly? I said that I could not see that your Majesty had done so in any respect.

Paget then began to make complaints about the seizure of the persons and goods of Englishmen in the Low Countries, and that England had war on every side of her, for although war was not openly declared with France, it was practically going on underhand all the time. They were compelled, he said, to keep an armed fleet in readiness, which might occasionally molest both friends and foes, though certainly against the King's and Council's intention, who would give satisfaction for every offence brought to their notice. Pirates of many nations, English, Irish, and others, scoured the sea, he said, with the pretext of this fleet, robbing everybody they came across. Even a vessel of the Lord Privy Seal's had not escaped. But what with the war in Scotland, and the constant struggle with the French, they could not undertake to put down piracy as well. Your Majesty, he said, being the wisest and most experienced prince in Christendom, must know the difficulty of keeping such a fleet so well under control that no abuses of any kind occur. They ought not to be blamed, and the blame should not be visited on the English merchants over the sea.

But since a slight shortcoming had been punished by the seizure of persons and confiscation of goods both in Flanders and in Spain:—at this point the Lord Privy Seal broke out into loud exclamations of protest—they must look for means to patch up their quarrels all round and live in peace with everybody.

I answered the various points according to my instructions from your Majesty, and giving particulars of individual cases of damages sustained. We had a sharp passage or two, for instance when I built my argument on the fact that ten months ago I

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informed the Protector that some of the goods seized by pirates from our people would be found in the Lord Admiral's house, and that no remedy to this state of affairs had been forthcoming, making it clear who ought to be blamed for the despoiling of the ships. In my opinion, I said, your Majesty had shown great forbearance. The more enemies the English had, the more it behoved them to treat your Majesty's subjects fairly, for your old and true friendship was well-known to them. I was somewhat embarassed to find an answer to their complaints about the seizure of goods in Spain, for they brought forward over and over again the fact that they had met all claims, and moreover made Renegat pay up to the Spanish merchants, doing really more than could be expected, merely to please your Majesty and obtain that the goods of their own subjects, that have by now been confiscated over three years, might be released. Following your Majesty's instructions from Germany, I had given them my assurance repeatedly that the restitution should be made, after the handsome way in which they had met our claims, and I wrote at length to the Prince to let him know that the English had made better concessions that we could justly have claimed. May it please your Majesty now to give orders that the goods confiscated may be in effect returned to the English in Spain.

Your Majesty will suffer me to write what I have heard from Spaniards here, and merchants of all nations, regarding the confiscation at Antwerp. They say the subjects of your Majesty will lose more than the English, as there are large sums owing to them amounting to twice the value of English goods oversea. Moreover the English have a large quantity of specie brought over to exchange so that in spite of their complaints as the interested party to a considerable extent, they will gain a good deal by not paying their debts. Our merchants, who are very numerous here, and engaged in extensive negotiations go in fear of a sequestration of goods as a counter-move to the Antwerp decree ; in which case they would sustain heavy losses. They would have sold all they could at half-price and carried off the rest had I not given them better advice. Nevertheless, the embargo has certainly proved a persuasive argument for the English. Your Majesty will consider whether it will be well to raise it at once if they can be brought to reason. I have thought it better to hide the fact that the confiscation at Antwerp realised such a small amount, particularly as their estimate is about one hundred thousand crowns, and that so little property belonging to Englishmen was found, probably owing to some warning they received ; but on the other hand it must be borne in mind, though they may have had warning of what was about to happen, that our merchants trade here more than they have in the past in all kinds of goods, and so do the Easterlings ; so that the English do not handle the import trade of the country in foreign parts as they used to.

I told them also of the warning that the French entertain hopes of retaking Boulogne shortly, received by your Majesty, and that the King of France had solicited the Pope to exhort your Majesty to defend and restore the Christian (*sic*) faith weakened and

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perishing in England.* It would be advisable if they could enable your Majesty, I said, to give an answer agreeable to your Maker and satisfying to your conscience, while in accordance with the demands of good friendship. They answered this point briefly, even though I expressed a hope that they would take counsel and make better provision than by common report they were about to do. I had heard that after abolishing the mass they had done away with the Holy Sacrament, and were engaged in attacking the Trinity. This could but displease all good people who looked for greater moderation and expected that at least during the King's minority matters should remain as the late King left them. After this they seemed in a hurry to go back to the Protector. They had made no mention of the Admiral's affair though I gave them plenty of opportunities; so I told them as they were leaving that the best they could do was to grant all claims for damages and interest on the vessels and return to our merchants the goods found in the Admiral's house; and I added, one might almost suspect that he had had intelligence with every pirate and reaped his share of all the spoils. Paget replied that he considered my demands reasonable, and that there was no doubt matters had been conducted as I was saying, adding these words: "He has been a great rascal." (*ce a esté grand meschant*). I then asked them if it was really a criminal case as I had been told at Calais. Paget answered that as he hoped to reach his own house safely it was plain in every respect that the Admiral had intended to kill the King and the Lady Mary, and marry the Lady Elizabeth; that he had more greed than wit or judgment, and had improved the advice he gave to the Council directly after the death of the late King, that the Lady Mary and the Earl of Southampton, then Lord Chancellor (who was deprived of office but is now in the Council), should be carried off at once to the Tower. They said no more at the time as they were in a hurry. I have heard, however, from a well-informed source, the origin of the quarrel between the Admiral and the Protector. When the Admiral saw that his first proposal was set aside, and that his brother was made Protector of the kingdom and the King's person, he went to him and asked him to countenance his plan to marry the Lady Mary. The Protector was displeased and reproved him, saying that neither of them was born to be King, nor to marry King's daughters; and though God had given them grace that their sister should have married a King, whence so much honour and benefit had redounded to them, they must thank God and be satisfied; besides which he knew the Lady Mary would never consent. The other replied that he merely asked for his brother's countenance, and he would look after the rest. The Protector chid him again more sharply, and the Admiral went off and married the widow of the late King, showing his resentment against his brother openly, so that the quarrel between them and their competence to govern the King and the kingdom were common topics of conversation. The Earl of Warwick, to end

* *See* note on *p.* 330.

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the matter, had used strong language to the Admiral, remonstrating with him that he had come to occupy such a high position through the favour of his brother and the Council, who had admitted him among their number against the late King's wish; who being on his deathbed, and hearing his name among those elected to the Council, cried out "No, no," though his breath was failing him. "Be content, therefore," (these were Warwick's words) "with the honour done to you for your brother's sake, and with your office of Lord High Admiral which I gave up to you for the same motive, for neither the King nor I will be governed by you; nor would we be governed by your brother, were it not that his virtues and loyalty towards the King and the kingdom make him the man fittest to administer the affairs of the country during the King's minority." These words, and threats he used besides, had such good effect that the Admiral went off at once and made up the quarrel with his brother. Then he turned to other means of satisfying his great cupidity. He won over to his side several gentlemen of the King's Chamber, and by kindness and gifts succeeded in gaining preference over his brother in the King's affections. He planned that the King should make a declaration to Parliament that he would rather have the Admiral than the Protector as his Governor, but the matter was stopped in time. Since then the Admiral has tried to negotiate his own marriage with the Lady Elizabeth and gain a lever with which to accomplish his purpose. The secret was not well kept. He asked one and another of the young lords about the King's person if they would like to be his "Admirals" and "Protectors" later on. The Council was informed of all this, and when the Admiral was finally discovered within the palace late at night, with a large suite of his own people, and the dog that keeps watch before the King's door was found dead, they determined to summon him to appear before them. He refused to obey, and sent word to the Protector that Controller Paget must be sent as hostage to his house if they wanted him to answer the summons; and that he must (receive an assurance) that he would return as free as he went forth. It is said that he protested vigourously against the accusations, saying he had attempted nothing against the King; on the contrary, that he had the King's confidence and approval. He was taken to the Tower at eight o'clock in the evening. I will inform your Majesty of the details of his examination and of the evidence against him, after I have seen the Protector and Controller Paget. At present there is no sign of his being set at liberty.

The Members of the Council speak openly of his very evil designs. I have written this letter now so as to gain time. My next meeting (with the Council) will take place, I think, in a day or two. They may possibly put me off until after their interview with the French ambassador, who went to Court to-day with a gentleman of the Chamber of the Most Christian King, recently arrived here, called Monsieur de Noailles. I will do my very best to ascertain their real intentions, and how far they are inclined to enter into negotiations with the French; for it is difficult to deduce this from their interviews with me. Each will play his part, of course,

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and justify his side; and then I shall not fail, according to your Majesty's instructions, to put forward our own cause, and lay before their eyes the wrong we have suffered until now. Nor can they well deny it, for I have too much to go upon.

London, 8 February, 1549.

Feb. 11. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, yesterday at the very hour when this courier was to leave with my other letters, a secretary came here to tell me from the Council that about two o'clock after noon the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Southampton, Controller Paget, and First Secretary Petre, would come and see me. I thought it best, therefore, to delay the messenger until to-day so that I might inform your Majesty of what occurred between us. They opened the negotiation by saying that they had reported to the Protector what I had laid before them; and that he and the Council trusted that your Majesty would not turn from the affection and goodwill you had always borne this kingdom, nor act against your treaties and promises, when the truth about what had passed was once made clear to you. They protested that the seizure of English goods oversea was not in observance of the treaties. They complained greatly of it, vowing that what took place here, that is to say the detention of our ships, was done without their knowledge. They had shown their displeasure to the officers responsible, and this very day all those vessels still detained were set free. They said that if your Majesty was displeased and inculpated them, which they regretted, yet according to the treaties some warning or admonishment or an official injunction, ought to have been given, but the extreme proceeding of a general seizure (of goods) should not have been resorted to. I replied that they were simply making an excuse in saying that everything had been done without their knowledge. It would redound more to their credit to admit the truth than to let it be known that there was so little discipline and order in their administration that their master's best friend, whose friendship was most necessary to him, might be openly insulted, that his subjects might be indiscriminately robbed, and a whole fleet might be detained at pleasure. This indeed was against all treaties, nor could your Majesty submit to it. In my opinion you had shown too much moderation in your anger. We argued these contentions a long time; but finally, as the four of them are devoted to your Majesty and wish that the friendship between you and their master may continue and flourish, they said: "We do not doubt that the Emperor, being informed by now of the manner in which the thing happened, has raised the embargo, so as not to cause further damage to our ships, in opposition to the spirit of the treaties. Nevertheless we desire you to perform your good offices with his Majesty for the keeping of his friendship, if matters are not yet as advanced as we hope." I replied that I would willingly do my duty in this respect and as I had declared your Majesty's determinations to them, I hoped

* This letter is written entirely in cipher.

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they would pay the compensation claimed for damages and interest, and take measures to prevent the repetition of like occurrences. They replied that although only four were then present, being aware of the Protector's and Council's wishes, they could give me an assurance that the damages caused by the detention of the fleet should be paid in a just and reasonable measure. Two of their number agreed to go into the details with me if any appeals were made; but they said they did not think that any one would make complaints. They gave me their word of honour that the matter should suffer no unreasonable delay, as I should judge for myself. I undertook to advise your Majesty of this. I have no doubt that they will keep their word, as they really deplore the occurrence; and the Custom House officers will no doubt pay for it. As for a remedy for the future, they are quite aware that the Admiral had a hand in the robberies, and an understanding with the pirates, who will find less safety in future, and will have to seek fresh haunts, as placards were posted up before my arrival here, offering large sums for their persons.

With regard to actions brought by private individuals, of which your Majesty, and the Queen your sister, have lately sent me particulars, I find that the applications for recovery made by the parties have been suitably received and entertained. If your Majesty raises the embargo at once, I believe the plaintiffs in these actions will have a better time; and I shall stand on better ground for negociating all other business as well.

I was asked what I thought the French must have thought of the embargo. I replied that they ought to know it better than I, as they had been carrying on negociations with them these two days past. They laughed among themselves, for they must have heard what the Venetian ambassador in France wrote to his colleague here, whom I had seen the day before. I said: "I know what was written to him (the Venetian ambassador in London) about the seizures: that they were made because the Admiral, who was in a plot of the Emperor's, had been taken prisoner." At this they laughed out loud, saying: "If we were to believe everything we hear about you, we should indeed be kept busy; but we trust in his Majesty's good-will and friendship, and will requite him fully."

I have no doubt, Sire, that the French gentleman was sent here to make what he could out of the rumour and to ascertain tentatively if the English would lend him an ear.* But for the present I see no sign of change in them. Among other things they said to me that besides observing the treaties, they intended to prove the affection of the King, the Council and the kingdom for your Majesty, by their deeds, in all things respecting your Majesty's service. I took the opportunity to speak on my own responsibility about the matter of religion, so wrongly treated here, and (I did so) all the more easily because I believe that none of the four (Councillors then visiting me) have advocated any changes. They answered me and I told them that any

* M. de Noailles. *See p.* 341.

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innovation in that matter was repugnant; that they must have seen how no ruler would alter lightly the old-established rites for the service of God, and that even their late King, who had acted as they were well aware, during the 38 years of his reign had yet never made any alterations in the services, but nourished, while he modified, religion. But they, being governors for a King who would come to rule five or six years hence, yielding to the persuasions of a few ill-disposed refugees who sought worldly pleasure above all things, now wished to transform the whole kingdom; whereby great confusion prevailed, which could not fail to be greatly displeasing to your Majesty. Paget, passing over this point, said to me: "Be assured that we will do nothing to please your ill-conditioned fugitives, as you seem to think. We will consider God's service; and although we have put down several services, we hope no one will accuse us of having acted against Him. If his Majesty were informed of the real truth in the matter he would cease to think this strange." I replied: "You must have better things in mind than you show by your deeds, then, for what one sees and hears deserves no praise." And our meeting ended there. I will soon find an opportunity of conversing with Paget, and I will hear from him what is happening, so that I may inform your Majesty of it. Also, in a day or two, I will see the Protector, and hear the Scottish news from him, and so as not to rouse his suspicions I will tell him that I am going to see the Lady Mary and take your Majesty's greeting to her; for I could not go so far from London without his hearing of it.

London, 11 February, 1549.

Feb. 20.
Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

The day after I wrote my last letters to your Majesty, of the 11th of this month, I sent a message to the Protector, asking when it would be convenient for me to present my respects to him, as my health now permitted me to do. He answered congratulating me on my recovery, and saying that if I merely wished to pay my duty to him, that I must not trouble about it yet, but I might send again to him in two or three days' time and he would then make an appointment with me. I gather that this was intended to put off my visit until they receive the answer in the business that the deputies from the Council are transacting with your Majesty. So I have kept very quiet, Sire, and I will not send again to him until I have news from your Majesty; nor should I know what to add to what I have said already, matters being still on the same footing. In the meantime, the Lady Mary has sent twice to hear what news I brought for her from your Majesty. I have sent a secret messenger to her to quiet her, telling her that I could not very well go to visit her before I had seen the Protector, without bringing suspicion on her; and that I proposed to say openly to the Protector that I should take the opportunity of the first fine day to go and see her, and pay my duty, taking your Majesty's letters of greeting.

* This letter is written in cipher.

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She approved, was pleased to hear of my projected visit, and sent back word that she hoped to hear all I had to say before long.

Sire, since my arrival here, the channel passage has been closed. The reason may be found in the sequestrations at Antwerp; nevertheless neither the persons nor the goods of your subjects have been touched. The English are no more free to cross than foreigners are; but your Majesty's subjects may obtain leave to cross on application. This fact seems to indicate, in the opinion of some, that the reason of the closure lies in the Admiral's affair. They are still in the thick of it. They say he is to be brought to trial in two or three days' time. The master of the mint in Bristol, named Sharington, who was also a gentleman of the King's chamber and a close friend of the Admiral's, was tried last week; but the charge against him was merely that he made a profit for himself of 5,000*l.* by coining money, disregarding the Council's inhibition. He was sentenced to death, but as the sentence has not yet been carried out, it is believed that he may obtain a pardon.

The French gentleman who has been here lately, as I informed your Majesty, has gone back to France. Until I see some of the Councillors, I cannot find out anything about his business here, beyond that he told the French merchants to have no fear, and everything should go well with them; and that he looked happy when he went away.

My lords are daily with the Parliament, and I hear they have put the matter of religion through. Nevertheless, the former Chancellor* and eight bishops withheld their assent, although the ex-Chancellor lost his constancy in the end, and agreed to everything shortly before he was reinstated in the Council. The Holy Sacrament is not to be elevated during mass; mass is to be said in English; the priest is not to consecrate the Host unless there be communicants among the congregation; all priests are to (be free to) marry. These bills, and others passed by the same Parliament, are shortly to be printed and published. The King has asked his subjects for a subsidy of three shillings in the pound for three years, and a shilling on each pound sterling's worth of cloth manufactured in England. A tax of threepence on each sheep is not yet granted. They are reforming their polling, so that it is thought that Parliament will not be over quite so soon.

There was a rumour that the Earl of Warwick was to go to Scotland to look after the English fortresses, and retake Hume's castle lately seized by the French. But it seems he is in no hurry to go, and has even found somebody to go in his stead, seeing, perhaps, that the troops are insufficient to put through what they have planned to do. Besides, everybody is saying that Haddington can not be held, that the Earl of Huntly, who was a prisoner here, has escaped to Scotland, and knows their secrets. The English bribed him to induce his vassals and others in Scotland to join the English party, and to use all his influence in their favour; and to this end they allowed him to return to Scotland, taking as hostages, however, his wife and children. But he waited near

* Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton.

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the Border for his family, and fled with them into Scotland. The English are disgusted, and more especially because they say that the Scots have risen in large numbers.

One third of Courtpennick's people are a prey to the pest, cold, and want, and the rest are still in the Scottish garrisons, with a few Spaniards. The greater number (of the soldiers) are being taken back to London. I hear that they will not take service in England again.

They have sent John Dimmock (who was commissioned by Courtpennick to bring his men over) back to Ostend once or twice. It may have been to make up the decimated numbers of their men, or to defeat the attempt of M. d'Essé, who is reported here to have gone to Denmark from Scotland asking for men for the Queen of (Scotland). Your Majesty is no doubt well informed on this point.

London, 20 February, 1549.

Feb. 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, I will follow your Majesty's instructions about the inclusion of Scotland (in the former treaty of peace), and will put them forward when occasion arises. Although your Majesty's reasons and considerations are founded on compelling treaties, yet the ministers of the King show by their speech how little pleased they are that your Majesty denies the inclusion of the Scots: and they arm themselves with sheer truculence, by the aid of which they professedly attempt to carry their pretensoins. Such is the fashion in this Court.

The attempted surprise of Boulogne is openly discussed here, Sire. It failed because the people they had bribed came to blows among themselves over their share of the two thousand crowns that had been advanced to them. Some of them went and gave the thing away.

The English ambassador tells me that at present the French live on easy terms with the English in the Boulonnais; but that is the very time when they can least be trusted. . . . As to the understanding of the King of France with the English, according to the ambassador here, it rests on rather meagre ground. Nevertheless, they (the English), allow it to be understood that the Protector wishes to keep the King his master on terms of peace; not intending by this to give up any of their advantages in Scotland, but to continue in observance of the last treaty. This is all I have been able to get out of the ambassador.

They say here that the King of France will certainly do his utmost to recover his recent losses in Scotland, and that except for this, he has no wish to fight the English. I cannot discover that there is any appearance of an understanding between them on the matter of Scotland.

With regard to the Admiral's plot in England, and whether there is any likelihood of the French having approved of it, I know, Sire, that one day when the Venetian ambassador was conversing

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with the Constable, the said Constable, having given him an account of the tragedy, told him that the Admiral was a man of no judgment or weight, whose word could not be relied upon; but had he been so well-advised as to turn to them, the matter would have ended differently.

One may conjecture that they had a share in the affair, from the fact that they are decrying the Admiral, so that if he gave the secret away they might take shelter behind his notoriously unreliable character. The supposition is further corroborated and confirmed by another fact: that *Touchet* told me that he had known for some time that something of importance was being undertaken in England; that the King often received advice about it, and that he had the news about the Admiral with great promptness; so much so that the messenger who brought them broke one of his ribs in his haste, and is still in danger. Many noblemen here say that had the thing succeeded the Admiral would have willingly looked for support from the King of France, and made easy terms with him for Boulogne and Scotland; this being in all probability the end they had in view. . . .

Poissy, 20 February, 1549.

March 9. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.*

(Extract.) The French are much perplexed by the news that the English have seized a church in the Boulonnais and demolished it. They say the peace is broken, and that the English would never have done it without the support and the consent of your Majesty, but they will take their revenge. They have despatched several gentlemen to hasten the coming of the lansquenets from Bordeaux, and of other regiments, to send them against the enemy. They are going to punish the peace-breakers by firing on English ships from the point as they approach Boulogne, and so prevent them entering the harbour. They have also received warning from Marillac† that your Majesty is having schedules drawn up of the fighting men you might hire, both in the Low Countries and in Germany: so they are in fear of having to face a war. They have decided to send not more than two thousand men to Scotland for the present (not counting those that are there already), until the season is more advanced. If their fears about the war are not dispelled, they propose to temporise with England for this year, and prevent her from gaining more ground in Scotland, while they collect as much money as they can to prepare for next year if need be.

The King sent a gentleman of his Chamber to the Protector a little time ago to try and induce him to free the French prisoners in exchange for the English, with the observation that in any case he had no right to demand a ransom for them, as they were not fair prizes, since France and England were not at war. It is said that the Protector replied that he intended them to pay their ransom, and otherwise he would not let them go. The

* This letter is written in cipher.

† The French ambassador at the Emperor's court.

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French prisoners in England were much more numerous than the English in France, and men of higher degree; the disproportion was too wide for the exchange to be considered by him; and he added that he had heard how badly the English were treated here, which he resented all the more because the French prisoners in England on the contrary were well treated; but he would follow another course unless matters were mended on this side. Misundertandings of this kind fan the flame, and there is growing irritation between them, particularly with regard to the demolished church. The French are in fear that the same may be done to another church near by, before their lansquenets arrive on the spot. If it holds out till then, they will fortity it. . . .

March 11. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.*

(Extract.) . . . He (Colonel Melun of Cremona, banished from the State of Milan) has declared to me over and over, Sire, that the King of France resents very much the late attack by the English on the church in the Boulonnais, and that he is sending the lansquenets from Guyenne and other troops as well to the fort† with the firm determination to take some sort of revenge. But one cannot tell yet for certain where it will fall, though there is some talk that the Terre d'Oye might be made to suffer. In any case the King is sending M. de Châtillon to the fort with orders to fortify thoroughly the town of St. Etienne. The work is begun already. He is to build a high, strong tower of stone by the harbour and to fortify Fiennes if necessary. A nephew of Colonel Marin, who is to go to the front with Châtillon, is commissioned to send back a report on it. He gave me the information that the King intends to save all he can this year so as to be ready for next year if need be. Many have tried to prove to him that there is no sign whatever that your Majesty is making ready for war; but he cannot be convinced. He takes into consideration that your Majesty is the lord of men, and might in an instant call up a fair army; and that there are still four months to pass before it need take the road for France, which seems to him a capital point, and one which causes him great anxiety. . . .

There is a young Irish gentleman of the highest rank here now, Sire, who formerly lived in Rome with Cardinal Pole, who supports him to this day. At the instigation of the King he came here to court where everything is being done constantly to try and persuade him to go back to Ireland and raise a revolt of the people against the King of England. Means to accomplish this have been suggested and support offered to him. Up to the present he has always thought the undertaking too dangerous and too difficult to attempt. The Protector got wind of the affair, and has induced the young man's mother, who is living in England and peacefulfy enjoying her income, to call him to her as urgently as she can, promising him a welcome; and assuring him, that

* This letter is written in cipher.
† The French outpost near Boulogne.

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as he has always lived without offending against the King of England, he will be favourably received. He has sent to consult the Cardinal (Pole) on this last point, and is expecting his answer.

Poissy, 11 March, 1549.

March 15. ST. MAURIS to the KING and QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

Paris K. 1488.

(Copy of letter written in cipher.)

I have received the letter from your Highnesses of the 21st of February, and seen the order contained therein: that I should advise you if vessels are being manned in this kingdom to watch for ships returning from the Indies. I can only say that I have known from various quarters that the King of France has commissioned Breton and Norman merchants to arm vessels in the usual way: whilst the King is having six more vessels fitted out in a new manner, to be kept in the port of Dieppe. It is commonly reported that the vessels are to be used against the English who are constantly making incursions on the French; they are all about by now, and determined to hurt the English as much as they can. However, I cannot give any assurance to your Highnesses that they might not take the road of the Indies and wait about for the returning fleet, as they have often done before; for they are used to robberies, and have little tenderness for the Emperor's subjects; so that caution would be advisable. I know that few abuses are being committed at sea now against his Majesty's subjects by the French, the King having given special orders about it, owing to the position of affairs here, that make peace with his Majesty very desirable. . . .

March 19. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

Sire, the Parliament being over last week, most of the lords of the Council have left London, and the Protector, whom I had intended to see, has gone to-day. He sent me a message as he was about to leave, saying that he would be back on Sunday next, and would see me then. It is believed that he wishes to be away for his brother's execution, which is to take place publicly to-morrow. He was sentenced to death by Parliament, without being allowed to present his defence. Some claimed in Parliament that he ought to be heard personally, but their opinions availed him little. He was condemned almost unanimously (with two or three dissident votes only) on the evidence produced in proof of 31 charges brought against him, the most important being that he had planned to marry the Lady Elizabeth without consent of the Council; that he had planned to ally the King with the daughter of an English nobleman; that he had plotted to kill the Protector; and had amassed a large sum of money; that he had induced 400 young lords to join his side, some with money, some with promises, so that the greater number of the gentlemen of the King's chamber were with him. From this, and from the fact that he tried to get the King to sign a letter to Parliament in which he enjoined them to give entire faith to whatever the Lord Admiral his uncle told them from him, and recommended

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his (the Admiral's) person to them, it was deducted that, following the example of Richard III, he wished to make himself King.

He was charged, besides, with having favoured pirates; connived at the passage of the Queen of Scots to France, and received a pension from a foreign prince, who is said to be the King of France. He refused persistently to answer any of these charges in the Tower, saying he had a right to a public hearing. This contumacious behaviour is punishable with capital punishment by the English law; which decrees that the accused must declare the defence he intends to make, when charged to do so. This was one of the reasons why Parliament sentenced him unheard.

The bills passed by the recent Parliament, both in matters of religion and order (administration), are not to be published or put into effect until the first of May. As they are being printed, I will try to get hold of an account of them to send to your Majesty. Priests are allowed to marry; the mass is to be said in English, and the elevation of the Host is suppressed; the Communion is to be *sub utraque specie*. The subsidy of three shillings in the pound sterling, for three years, was granted, as I wrote to your Majesty.

The news from Scotland are, that the Earl of Huntly is afoot with a great number of people, while the English are sending great quantities of men and victuals towards Scotland, and are hurrying all the more because they have heard that the French are making preparations to assist the Scots on a large scale. A young gentleman of Gelders called Henry Hacfort, who came here with the Queen's (Dowager of Hungary's) leave, has been put in charge of three thousand horse; so that they may not be cheated again as they were by Riffenberg and others too; and they have received him all the better for being a subject of your Majesty.

Courtpennick's men, who were two thousand in number, have dwindled down to six hundred, through illness and other causes; and the rest are saying they wish themselves well out of such a poor country. Sire, during the absence of the gentlemen of the Council, who are away for four or five days, I shall go to-morrow to see the Lady Mary, who lives about thirty miles from here. I have written to M. de Granvelle giving him the reasons why my going there will give no umbrage. After my return I will write to your Majesty about my interview with the Protector.

London, 19 March, 1549.

March 30. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

Sire, on the very day that I despatched the courier who brought me letters from the Queen (Dowager of Hungary) telling me that the embargo (on English property) had been raised, I set off to visit the Lady Mary, who had sent me a private message, immediately after my arrival here, to have news of your Majesty. I had to defer my visit to her again and again, through not being able to go to court; and she sent a message to me to ask me to send my man if I could not go myself. I sent him, with your

* This letter is written in cipher.

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Majesty's letter, to take some comfort and consolation to her. She was very happy about it, and sent word to me that when I was about to go to see her (hoping it would be soon), I must send my man for your Majesty's letter the day before so that I might deliver it to her myself in public, and avert all suspicion. I did so, in the presence of the Earl of Derby and the Lord Warden. After the public reception, I was led after dinner secretly into a more private room, where I told her of your Majesty's great affection for her, not merely as a relative, but because of her many virtues, and more particularly for her great constancy in matters of religion, and her devotion to your Majesty. I assured her that your Majesty would always look after her and her welfare; and that the necessity of rousing no suspicions made you forego writing to her oftener. She told me to thank your Majesty most humbly, saying she had no other solace in this world (than your affection); and she complained bitterly of the changes brought about in the kingdom, and of her private distress, saying she would rather give up her life than her religion. She believes attempts will be made to compel her to change it unless your Majesty sees to it, so that her life and her salvation are in your Majesty's keeping. I comforted her as best I could, assuring her that your Majesty would never cease to foster her welfare; and I left her happier for this. She showed me a letter in your Majesty's own handwriting, written more than twelve years ago, and another of the Queen your sister, saying to me that the pleasure she took in these was revived and increased by the letter I had brought her, which she could not read often enough.

On my return to London I sent immediately to the Protector, who had returned the same day, asking when I might go to him. He replied that he would expect me the following day. When all due formalities were accomplished I asked if they intended to fulfil their undertaking towards the subjects of your Majesty who had suffered loss, according to their promise. He said, Yes, they would, and that an officer should have special charge of the affair so that the plaintiffs might get a better and more expeditious hearing, as I had so urgently asked; and the next day it was done.

We entered into various arguments after I told him that I had declared to your Majesty how often he had spoken to me of his desire to see the King his master in still closer confederation with your Majesty; and how your Majesty had replied that you failed to see how the treaties, which you intended to observe without exception, could be made more stringent: but notwithstanding, if the Protector wished to propose some closer bond of union for the common good of both kingdoms and both peoples, your Majesty would consider it and would make return of a nature to prove that your Majesty would do all in your power to confirm and strengthen the existing friendship, which you held to be indissoluble. I can see clearly that they wish nothing so much as to form a closer alliance with your Majesty. He spoke at length about the means to make your Majesty's possessions safe from all invaders, and of compelling the King of France to give

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up what he has taken from you, and listen to reason in what concerns them. I replied that I had laid all considerations of this nature before your Majesty: but I felt my footing insecure because I had no notion of the means to be employed in bringing about the projected alliance. I added that if he saw fit to sketch them for me, I would do my full duty in apprising your Majesty of anything he desired to say. His answer was that he did not doubt my desire to see a firm friendship established between your Majesty and the King his master; and in a few days he would speak more fully. In the meantime he would consider the means by which the friendship might be strengthened. I am still expecting the summons, which I hear may come in a day or two. I will inform your Majesty immediately. He spoke of his own affairs with me, giving me an account of his theory of government. Among other things he said, "You see how careful I am to avoid any expense for the King my master, if it is possible to do so. I might save him a great deal if I would lend an ear to the French, who solicit me so often, that I may well say I hold their friendship in my own hand, were I so inclined." He told me also that he had heard the French were making great preparations for Scotland; in fact that a number of men were there already; and were advancing towards the Border, in company with those who had wintered there, and a large number of Scotsmen. He informed me he had in this necessity sent to ask leave of your Majesty to raise 2,000 Germans, in the hope that you would not refuse. He told me too, that he knew that the Rhinegrave's mission to Ostland consisted in encouraging the men of Bremen, Hamburg and other towns to stand firm against your Majesty with the promise that the King of France would not fail them.

The English captain in charge of Haddington, whose name is Gilford, was taken prisoner while conveying the victuals for the garrison which he, with 24 men, went a certain way out to meet. The English are very much distressed about it. The Protector informed me that Hume's Castle, lately lost to the French, was to have been razed to the ground. He had given orders that it should be done.

March —. Simancas E. 79. The MARQUES DE CORTES* and others to the EMPEROR.

The information collected about the Englishmen who came here in an armed ship has yielded the following results. On the seventh day of this present month of March, the ship boarded a Portuguese caravel; eight armed Englishmen jumped on board, searched her, and finding nothing but salt, they carried off a navigation chart, compasses, a few shirts and coats, 17 reales, sundry articles of clothing, and the caravel's boat and oars, in which the eight Englishmen went back to their ship. They provided themselves with bows and arrows and other weapons, and then made for the port of Sillero, where they ran into another caravel, boarded her, and carried off a basketful of iron nails and a few articles of clothing. After this, as they were about to enter

* Governor of Galicia.

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the port, they boarded a Biscayan ship with a cargo of wine on board. They took a pipe of the wine and carried it to their boat, saying to the people that they had not any money on them, but that if they would come to their vessel they would stand them a treat, and give them what they were asking for. All this was reported to the Corregidor* of the town of Vivero, who went out to look for the Englishmen and caught them. On the 9th of this month, two days later, 22 Englishmen from the same vessel went for water to the port of Cedeira about 7 leagues† distant from Vivero. The local justice, discovering them to be pirates on the prowl, arrested them; they are still in custody. The vessel and everything on it has been sequestrated. From the admission of the men, and through information otherwise received, it is clear that the vessel has no regular cargo and is merely an armed vessel. She carries her harpings; twelve *xosos*, (?) 24 gun-bores for the (said) shot, 5 halberds, 8 pikes with their irons, 16 oars, a barrel of powder, 87 iron balls, 13 swords, 3 bucklers, 1 round shield, 2 arquebuses; and 18 marlin-spikes, with iron balls, were found on her. She has eight oars on either side, and no boat. Some of the Englishmen say they sailed from a place called Plymouth in the kingdom of England with 4 more armed ships, to look for a pirate called Tommy (*Tomasin*), catch him and take him back to England. They lost the other vessels, they say, through stress of weather. Their evidence is in agreement on one point, namely, that they belong to a place called Toposanto‡ in England, where other sailors come from too; and according to them, they have not seen many prizes landed there, taken either from the French or from any other nation.

March —. The EMPEROR to DON DIEGO DE MENDOZA.

Simancas E. 503.

The Legates, as you may have heard already, have arrived here at last. I gave them audience, together with the Bishop of Fano. They attempted to explain and excuse their delay, and asserted their eagerness to leave nothing undone that might assist them to perform their good offices to some purpose, assuring us that his Holiness was in favour of everything that might further the public or private good. Consequently, in spite of their evident diffidence, we began with a repetition of all that had gone before with the Bishop of Fano and Giulio Ursino.§

* King's officer.

† Some 25 miles.

‡ After searching for a phonetic key to this name and finding none in reason, I submit the following explanation to the judgment of those who have experience of 16th century nomenclature. Topo-santo is a translation of Mouse-holy. Could the pirates have come from Mousehole on the Cornish coast, and taken ship for this expedition at Plymouth? A Spanish interpreter, such as they must have used, might very well have accounted in this way for their place of origin.

§ An Italian copy of the document given to the Emperor by the Nuncio and Giulio Ursino, is to be found at Simancas (E. 503). As this document, together with the Emperor's reply, gives an admirable statement of the conflicting claims to Parma and Piacenza, I give the following summary.

First, the Pope's version:

The Church might found her claim to Parma and Piacenza on Constantine's clear and ample donation. But the present writing was merely a reminder to

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We began negotiating through our ministers, and after having settled one or two points regarding the use of sub-delegates, they proved very obdurate over the substitution for metropolitans, bishops and other persons, out of fear, they said, that the matter might not be treated in accordance with the righteous aim, spirit and Bull of his Holiness. However, when they understood that unless they gave way the present negociation could not be carried on at all (the point being an essential one to the acceptance of the *Interim*), and after the matters of communion *sub utraque specie* and dispensation for married clergy had been insisted upon, they agreed that the sub-delegations should be allowed. We gave them to understand that the prelates and delegates chosen must be competent to do their work, and be duly admonished to exert themselves, as we had urged. We should proceed with circumspection in their choice, obtaining information about them from our German councillors and other zealous persons, who were likely to know. They objected that they had no power to allow married priests living with their wives to administer the

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the Emperor's conscience, so the writer would pass on to the donation of the towns made by Pepin, confirmed and amplified by Charlemagne, renewed and extended by the Countess Matilda (of Canossa), by the Emperor Rudolph and others, by virtue of which the Church acquired and exercised her temporal dominion over the said towns. The allies of Julius II.: Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic and Maximilian, Duke of Milan, wrested them from the French and restored them to the Church. The Emperor Maximilian seized them at the death of Julius II., but both grandfathers of Charles V., acting in concert, gave them to Leo X. after his election to the papacy, and promised to confirm Leo's nominee in possession. Charles V. had ratified the donation in 1521. In exchange for this, the Church later spent over one million in a war, nor reckoning the money spent by Leo X. and Julius II. Charles V, writing to Clement VII, mentioned the restitution of these towns to the Church as one of the chief benefits conferred. The long devotion of the towns to the Church, though it had suffered interruptions, must be reckoned with. The expenses incurred by the Church in defending and fortifying them, and serving as instruments to some of the success happily fallen to Charles V.'s share by the will of God, must also be taken into consideration.

The Emperor's reply is also extant at Simancas (E. 503):

His Majesty the Emperor could proceed to no decision on such vague and uncertain grounds as those selected by the Nuncio and Giulio Ursino. Their historical arguments were vain; first because they appealed to very remote times, and second because they had always been practically disproved. His Majesty might cut the matter short at this point by insisting on seeing the originals of the donations referred to; but he preferred to examine the question in a friendly spirit. However, there was a great difference between settling matters amicably, and swallowing a gross imposition whole; and his Majesty could not imagine why, if the Pope was so certain about the donations, he did not produce the originals. Further, setting aside the opinion of many authorities who denied the authenticity and validity of Constantine's and the later donations, the following points showed the question in its true light:

(1) The donations had remained ineffectual, for the Church never entered into possession of the greater part of the territory to which they applied.

(2) The apologists of the Church explained this, by saying that she would not burden herself with temporal government beyond a point, but was free to hold what she deliberately decided to keep. In that case, Parma and Piacenza were among the territories she refused, for they had never been governed by the Church. Hence they naturally reverted to the Empire, and were to be bestowed at the Emperor's pleasure.

(3) Besides this, no claim might be founded on the mere existence of the donations, as their form, conditions and other details were unknown, the non-observance of any one of which might invalidate the gift.

(4) It was by no means certain that the very persons who were supposed to have made the donations had clear titles to the towns in question.

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Sacraments; but we urged the extreme need for priests in Germany, where there were few: this being the point on which those who had accepted the *Interim* were still agitating, in which they were at one with all good bishops and prelates. We told the envoys to communicate with Rome on the subject, and prepare a form of substitution which we would send off to Rome as soon as we had examined it, with the hope of accomplishing something before long.

When the said form was presented to us, it came out that the Nuncio had reserved the absolution of persons of quality: dukes, counts and others, and moreover that the dispensation for married clergy deprived them of the right to administer the Sacraments. We insisted on the concession of the sub-delegation for the absolution of persons of quality, for otherwise further confusion would follow, besides laying his Holiness open to the suspicion of withholding it out of motives of interest or petty revenge—both harmful considerations. As for the

(5) The fact that several pontiffs had patiently suffered the said towns to remain in the hands of the Dukes of Milan, who had enjoyed the approval of the Church and had been her allies on occasion, required elucidation and explanation.

(6) Such a state of things having once been accepted by the Church, the present claim was unreasonable.

(7) During the vacancy of the Imperial throne, while John XXII. was Pope, it was said that the two towns went over freely to the obedience of the Pope, while the imperial election was pending. But subjects of the Empire might not transfer their allegiance permanently. Once the new Emperor was elected, they reverted naturally to him. The same Pope John admitted this self-evident fact in his extravagant collection of reasons.

(8) The so-called renouncement of Maximilian, Duke of Milan, to the Pope, was made without the Emperor's consent, and was therefore invalid. Besides, it was no voluntary donation, but made under constraint, as the Duke's protests, which were in his Majesty's hands, fully proved. The very renouncement proved conclusively that Pope Leo put forth no claim to the towns for expenses incurred, nor through any previous title, nor Julius' possession. In August, 1515, Pope Leo had considered it expedient to alter the "free gift" to an exchange on the following terms: Bergamo, Asti and other towns, said to be in the hands of the Emperor Maximilian, and of which the Pope was then trying to obtain the investiture, together with Crema, then in the Venetians' hands, should be occupied by his Holiness' and the League's troops. Duke Maximilian should pay 10,000 ducats only of the 300,000 for which he was pledged, and his Holiness undertook to compound with the Duke, for the real revenue of Parma and Piacenza, for 30,000 ducats a year.

(9) Pope Leo, no doubt unable to meet his engagements, three months later handed the towns over to King Francis, who eventually handed back the whole (Duchy of Milan) to the Emperor, although no formal Act was necessary, as the Emperor was already its rightful lord.

(10) In 1521, the Emperor had permitted the Church to keep the towns, on the terms on which she held them, but from the above it was clear that her rights were unsound, as none of the conditions, made by Pope Leo with Duke Maximilian, had been fulfilled.

(11) The money spent on the towns constituted no claim, as the revenue derived from them for many years would cancel the expense.

(12) The Church lay claim to the towns because she had had possession of them for a certain number of years; but this was no claim, but rather a reason for restoring them immediately to their rightful owner.

(13) The Church asserted that Piacenza ought to be restored to her, to set her free from political passion (*i.e.* intrigues for regaining it). His Majesty affirmed that the quiet of Christendom demanded that the town should remain with its rightful owner. The past had shown any other course to be dangerous and harmful.

(14) In addition to all other reasons, there was the fact that Piacenza, with the general consent of its people, lately gave itself to the Emperor,

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married clergy, we repeated again that there was great dearth of priests in Germany, and proposed that, while the question was being referred to his Holiness, no mention of it should be made in the sub-delegation, except that those ecclesiastics who would recognise their error and leave their wives should be absolved of apostasy and irregularity, and permitted to continue in Holy Orders and the administration of the Sacraments, so as not to drive to utter despair the German prelates who had written on the subject, and out of consideration for the request made by others who had accepted the *Interim*. Apparently the three envoys were agreed on these two points.

We can proceed no further at present, until the preamble of the Bull is returned corrected; for after what has passed already in the matter it cannot be allowed to run, as it does now, that war was made against us for the cause of religion. The Bull has not arrived yet, though the Bishop of Fano had assured us that it would be here by the first. There is some hope that by the first (of next month) it may get here. The three Nuncios attempted to persuade themselves of the suitability of the following expedients, and make us accept them: either that a transcription of the Bull should be made and circulated among the sub-delegates, leaving out the paragraph referring to the war; or that they should be enjoined not to show the transcription if it were accurately made. Neither course seemed to us possible, and at last the three have come to see it. For the time being the negotiation is suspended, until the arrival of the amended Bull. This delay is causing no little harm. The German prelates are pressing for the answer as to the sub-delegations, while both they and the secular authorities assure us that this single point stands in the way of a proper and good settlement of the religious question. Two days ago a letter came from the chief Councillors of the Elector Maurice of Saxony, assuring us that all his vassals would accept the *Interim* if the principal point (of the sub-delegations) were conceded. We hear that Philip Melancthon has worked hard to get the *Interim* accepted and is well disposed in all respects.

The Bishop of Fano has again pressed the question of sending the prelates to Rome to undertake the work of reformation, as he has done several times already. We answered, that whenever that point had been put forward, we had consistently relegated it for discussion until the sub-delegation should be effected, and that the same justifiable and compelling reasons as before moved us now to persist in the same course: Though we are irrevocably fixed on that point we have heard that the Bishop of Fano shows signs of unrest, and is writing (to Rome). We desire you to be informed, so that if the business on hand suffers it, the place*, where you now are, being a short journey from Rome, you may go and speak to his Holiness and his ministers, and make clear to them how much is staked on the granting of the sub-delegations, and how much harm may be done by their dilatoriness. Make it clear to them that we are right in insisting that until the sub-delegations of power

* *i.e.* Siena.

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are granted nothing else shall be negotiated; for the whole of Germany would receive scandal and seize the opportunity to murmur against us. Certify to his Holiness, however, that when this matter is once well on its way, we will discuss sending the prelates to Rome, and his Holiness shall see how sincerely we shall smooth the path of the reformation; and this he may well believe if he reflects how strongly we have urged it, and even urged that it should be undertaken by his Holiness no matter where, provided it be thoroughly and suitably done. In speaking of sending the prelates, be careful to say no word by which you pledge us tacitly or openly to send those who are now in Trent; for we have heard, and no doubt you have heard it too, that the aim of this new move is to get them out of Trent, and by this device enable the Pope to deal with the Council as he pleases. If they mention to you sending the prelates from Trent, head them off by saying that we will consider sending a few of those that were sent to Trent, and others besides, persons of experience suited to the work of reformation; for if the prelates were to depart from Trent the good folk of Germany would be plunged in doubt and despair; and so would others who desire to see all discords composed by the Council of Trent.

The Bishop of Fano, speaking as it were in confidence with Granvelle, said that he was daily expecting an answer to the communication he and Giulio Ursino made to me about Piacenza. He swore by all his gods, however, that neither he nor the other Nuncios had any restrictions whatever, about the granting of the sub-delegations of power, from his Holiness directly or indirectly, and that they all desired to do their best in the matter. We have thought it well to advise you, so that you may see if what is happening in Rome agrees with their conduct here.

(*Postscript.*) After writing the above the Nuncio of Fano (*i.e.* the Bishop of Fano, Nuncio,) asked insistently for an audience for himself and his colleagues. He had told Granvelle beforehand that he had no particular motive, except that all three might have the satisfaction of easing their conscience by exhorting us to lend our help always in the counsels of religion; and particularly, that the German Lutheran preachers might be silenced. Their good offices in this matter seemed to us uncalled for; but as the Bishop of Fano insisted that we should listen to them, adding that what he had to say would greatly benefit public affairs, we granted them an audience yesterday. The Bishop of Fano spoke first. He gave their great desire to behold us again and congratulate us on our recovery as the chief reason for asking for an audience. He supposed that our ministers had informed us of what had passed between them with regard to the sub-delegations of power, and that we had heard of the goodwill of all the three to meet our wishes, and provide a remedy for the (salvation of) souls in Germany. He said that certain points over which there had been differences of opinion were being settled, and now they would write to Rome to get the preamble altered. He asserted that, though fully convinced

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yet to ease their own consciences they felt called upon to exhort us to do our very utmost, and particularly to prevent that the Lutheran preachers should continue in their labours. Any advance we might make in Germany, he said, would be counteracted by those men in a few hours: and having delivered himself, he would make way, he said, for what his colleagues wished to add. The Cardinal of Verona took up the tale where Fano dropped it, approving everything he had said. He could not forbear adding that, by their own experience, during their recent journey through Germany, they could judge the extreme need of a thorough reformation in which all the (German) clerics stood. The scandal of their conduct had given birth to the first errors and nurtured them, and this consideration moved him to exhort us earnestly to do our best to mend their lives. The word then passed to Peghino. He declared everything his colleagues had said to be excellent; adding that on his way through Spire,—a neutral town of our empire—he had been dismayed to see printed books, inimical to religion and to us, publicly sold.

We thanked them for their visit and their congratulations on our recovery, and answered them thus. We could not master thoroughly the import of their exhortations to set our hand to remedy the state of religion in Germany, nor the purpose to which they were directed. We had accomplished more than it was humanly speaking reasonable to hope for, through the assistance and help of Our Lord, to whom alone all thanks and praise were due; to Him alone, for they must very well know who was to blame if matters were not more advanced by now. If their consciences required easing, let them exhort those who stood in greater need than we. Beneath their words, we said, there seemed to lurk an intention to make us take up arms again; but such a course did not recommend itself to us, merely because his Holiness would favour it, offering no better assistance now than he gave before, and withholding the assurance that we should not find ourselves abandoned in the thickest of the struggle as we were once before. With the help of God, we said, we proposed to fulfil the obligations of our office, and were proving this intention by soliciting unceasingly and eagerly the Pope's concurrence. We had been informed of the negotiations carried on by our ministers and of the hitch about the preamble. Our astonishment was great, knowing what harm had been done to us by the publication made by his Holiness's ministers in Switzerland on the cause of our war in Germany, that an attempt should now be made to introduce the same assertion in the Bull, and rouse the country against us. In our opinion it was high time, we said, that the corrected Bull were here. The Bishop of Fano had had ample time to get the necessary alterations made. This hitch was a new cause of delay, where too many existed already. We could not silence the Lutheran preachers all at once; but had we met with more support (from Rome), instead of endless delays, the circumstances would have been more favourable. We answered

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proverb "Help yourself and Heaven will help you," and concluded by saying that if his Holiness would do his share as we were doing ours, God would no doubt set His hand to the work too. We answered the (Cardinal of) Verona's reflections on the need for reformation here, by saying that we did not find them pertinent, the part taken by us in the recent Diet of Augsburg being well-known, when a plan for reformation was submitted by us to the clergy comprising all the points, and those only, which seemed to us to give cause for public scandal in Germany. The clergy had accepted it out of regard for our person, and were gradually putting it into effect. They (the Nuncios) could not be ignorant of the fact that we had been murmured against and stoned for it in Rome, where it was said we had interfered in matters outside our province, whereas we did no more than seek to procure the observance of rules laid down in canons of ecclesiastical law. It would be better if the reformation began at the upper rather than at the lower end of the Church, and if the Pope and his cardinals would reform themselves first and their chancelries next, for the scandal of what went on in Rome was greater than anywhere else in the world. If the Pope and those (in high places) would reform, the priests in Germany and elsewhere would be shamed into following their good example. A beneficent influence must flow from the fount-head. The evil life of the clergy did great harm to religion, and let them, we said, believe our words. We assured them that we had sought to apply the right remedy to the evil, and might have accomplished more if his Holiness had been willing to lend us the support we looked for. Our experience of the country (Germany) where we had held diets, journeyed and resided, must be greater than theirs, who had been through it once. We replied to Peghino, saying that he might or might not have heard of the regulations concerning the sale of books. But he ought hardly to find it strange that there were people in Spire who loosened their tongues to speak against us, knowing as he must the kind of thing that happened in Rome, what kind of thing their Pasquino* was, where all men, and their Maker too, were decried. At this they all began to speak at once, attempting to justify their words, interrupting one another without order. The Bishop of Fano protested he had spoken to ease his conscience and satisfy his colleagues, being aware of our good intentions. Verona added that they rejoiced to hear such expressions of goodwill from us, having already a knowledge of our good deeds. We answered that if deeds did not convince them, words never would; and repeated what is set down before that their exhortations were needed more elsewhere, his Holiness being the head of spiritual government, as we were the first in temporal government, matters of religion belonged to his province, and he should remedy them. We ended by saying we would not fail in our duty.

* The statute called Pasquino, to which the pasquinades were appended, and

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The Cardinals Verona and Peghino made excuses for not having intervened in the matter of the (preamble to the) Bull at the time when it was drafted, saying they had seen it first at Esslingen where it was sent after them. They gave their wish to hear from Fano how the tone of it suited us as an excuse for their dilatoriness on the journey. Fano declared that he believed his Holiness had not seen the preamble, but only (approved) the minute of it. We replied that in a matter of so great importance it seemed wrong to us that he should not have seen it; and in reply to his assertion that the error had slipped in out of mere negligence, without any malicious intention whatever, we said that the error must be due to one of two things: great guilelessness, or malice. We did not blame them (the Nuncios) in the matter of the Bull, and we preferred not to say who was to blame; but could not help complaining about the delay, and that when the Bull arrived at last, it should be found to contain errors that put off the effect of it for a yet longer time. The negotiation ended here and they took their leave of us. We desire you to be fully informed of the substance of it and of all that passed so that you may be prepared in any contingency.

April 2. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Sire, since my last letter to your Majesty of the last day but one of last month, I have had several interviews with the Protector. It is important that your Majesty should be informed minutely of everything. I have thought it best to send my man, who has ample knowledge of all that passed, to M. de Granvelle. At the same time I shall hear from him your Majesty's pleasure, and act accordingly.

London, 2 April, 1549.

April 3. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

The LADY MARY to the EMPEROR.*

May it please your Majesty to know that I have received the letters that it has pleased you to write to me, through your ambassador. From them I have heard of your illness, and hope you have since recovered, as I have been sincerely grieved about it. I have also read in your letters and heard from your ambassador the sincere affection and great kindness your Majesty bears me; and it brought me greater comfort than I can explain by my rude letters that it should please you to keep me in your remembrance, writing to me entirely with your own hand, though ill. I thank your Majesty for this with all humility. Your Majesty has been pleased to show your kindness towards me again in that which you charged your ambassador to say to me. He gave his message diligently, although ill with the gout. His coming here gave me great pleasure, as I knew I should hear the truth from him about your Majesty's health and affairs, one of my greatest comforts in this world being to hear frequent news of your Majesty; and particularly now in these miserable times, for after God, and considering the tender age of the King

* The year is not given in the document, which is a signed original in French.

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my brother, your Majesty is our only refuge. We have never been in so great a necessity, and I therefore entreat your Majesty, considering the changes that are taking place in the kingdom, to provide, as your affairs may best permit, that I may continue to live in the ancient faith, and in peace with my conscience. I fear, and indeed it is likely, that except it be through your Majesty and at your request, I may not be permitted to do so, judging by what has been settled in Parliament. I therefore commend myself again to your benign grace, offering you my firm intention and purpose that in life and death I will not forsake the Catholic religion of the Church our mother, as I more fully declared to your Majesty's ambassador, when I asked him what help I could look for if they attempted to compel me with threats or violence. He said that he would write fully to your Majesty; wherefore I will forbear from importuning you with a longer letter.

Beaulieu, 3 April.

April 5.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

It is reported here among people of note that the King asked the Scots for a certain sum of money to defray part of the expenses of the war, but the people have not consented to pay anything beyond what they are pledged to. It is said that the Scotsmen who guard the castle of Edinburgh will not allow more than a small number of Frenchmen in at a time, not even when the Queen of Scotland goes there. These people (the French) resent it, and say it is no time to show such diffidence when so much is being done and spent for Scotland by the French. They have come to suspect that the English are in it; and that England may win over the people and some of the Scottish lords by bribes of money and secret practices. The King is doing his best to meet the occasion by pensioning the Scottish lords. He has sent over for the purpose his general* of Languedoc, Lempesticq by name, with money. He has another mission too: to ascertain as far as possible what the actual revenue of Scotland amounts to, and how much the Queen of Scots can draw out of the country every year. It is said here, Sire, that the expenses outbalance the income. The household of the little Queen of Scots is now reduced, and by a mutual concession to avoid expense, she is living privately with the princesses, daughters of the King. Scottish gentlemen arrive daily at this court, asking for pensions and rewards for their services. The French are getting very angry about it. If what I hear is the truth, Sire, the King is not far from regretting that he made the alliance, as it is costing him a great deal. He is dismayed to see the English all the more inflamed against him, and his affairs generally less settled; but having taken this matter in hand, he is determined to put it through, and he goes about

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small a prince for him. The Constable said the same to me when he spoke of Carrondelis' (*sic*) journey to Switzerland. He declared that if the King of France had to deal with England alone events would soon yield the measure of his power. It is certain, Sire, that at present they are greatly irritated against one another. . . . (Hearsay about the Swiss confederations.)

Poissy, 5 April, 1549.

April 5. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

. . . Sire, after my last letter was written, Carneseque came to see me and assured me that he heard from the Cardinal of Ferrara the information I gave your Majesty about the Swiss league.

He confirmed the information given him by the Cardinal, that the King. from L'Isle Adam, sent him to the fort of Boulogne with special instructions to do his very worst against the English on this side of the Channel, in the territory of Guines, Terre d'Oye, Calais and elsewhere. If the King of England likes to interpret this move as a declaration of war, the King of France says, let him do so; he is indifferent. But the English ambassador here says he cannot persuade himself that the King of France will openly break the peace.

Carneseque told me in confidence that some time ago negotiations were being carried on between the French and English Kings, but that they came to nothing, because the English demanded and insisted that Fort Châtillon should be demolished, (its erection) being a distinct breach of the treaties; nor would they lend an ear to the inclusion of the Scots, which the King of France demanded. He would have been pleased enough to make a truce if Scotland had been included, and both sides to keep what they had got. Carneseque assures me too, that although the King and his ministers keep up a cheerful countenance over the Scottish business, in their own hearts they are beginning to be sick of it. Their hope now is to push the King of England into a corner and then open negotiations again on the terms mentioned above. . . . I informed your Majesty some time ago that an Irish gentleman at present living at this court was being solicited by the King to lead a rising in Ireland with his help, or at least to make an expedition to Scotland. He was reluctant to undertake either business, and has since definitely refused, saying he is not willing to serve against his sovereign prince. Thereupon, the English ambassador residing at this court offered him a free pardon on behalf of the Proctector and Council of England, assuring him that he might safely return to his own country and that a competence should be granted him until such time as the King of England, coming to ripe years, might decide about restoring his property to him, which was confiscated, giving him an assurance that they would lend him their support in the matter. He has neither accepted nor refused up to the present,

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how his people were wronged in the past, and sent to the scaffold for little or no reason. The King of France heard of the transaction and sent one of his gentlemen, Breton by name, to exhort the young Irishman not to yield, and to consider that his life was at stake; whereas if he would serve France he should be safe and honourably treated. If he felt unwilling to declare himself definitely against the King of England, let him make no move at all for the present. On the other hand the English ambassador is pressing him hard not to engage himself with France if he ever wishes to return to England again, and the young Irish gentleman seems wholly inclined to his side, but wishes the King of England would give him a pension to live on. This is how the business stands at present. The said Breton, who was sent to argue with him, was ordered these last few days to go to Ireland to find out if there are any grounds for inciting the people to rise. He took presents from the French King to a few Irishmen. He found matters fairly well disposed for a future revolt, if the said Irish gentleman could be induced to join it, for he is among the first of the land. The English are equally well aware that if they could get him to England an occasion for revolt and a cause of discontent would be removed. Both English and French are doing their utmost with him. Cardinal Pole would give him no definite advice; he charged him to consider well before he decided, saying that he would commend him for returning to his mother-country, if he could be assured of receiving good treatment.

Poissy, 7 April, 1549.

April 7.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

. . . Sire, the Papal Nuncio resident here enquired of the King, on the Pope's behalf, how the league with the Swiss was progressing; adding that his Holiness had several good reasons for wanting to know. The King answered him, affirming that, some time before, he had sent to Ménage a packet containing his instructions, wherewith there went a document of such a nature, that a refusal was not likely. Matters were shaping so well, thanks to the diligence displayed by Ménage and to the goodwill of the Swiss confederations, that nine cantons had signed the document independently of one another, without consulting together. He had arranged that a general assembly of the said confederations should be called together, where the contents of the document should be published, and as he confidently expected, subscribed to by the other cantons, which were being approached too in the meantime. He was in good hopes that the league would be effected soon in full accordance with his wishes. Three several people, who heard it from the Nuncio, repeated to me what is said above. It has been said also that the Rhinegrave might perhaps have been sent by the King to the Swiss confederations to exhort them to sign the league; but on the other hand the English ambassador has heard from a German personage worthy of respect that the Rhinegrave is

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expected in Germany, and he could suggest no other explanation except that he is going there to levy men. For his own part he believes that his mission is to prevent the English from raising Germans if they intended doing so, by trying on the same trick they (the French) played once before on the English when the lansquenets in their pay refused to march beyond Liége, their leaders having been bribed. Colonel Melun has confirmed the information he gave me that the Rhinegrave is to go back to Denmark, and that there are boats ready to carry 400 men he has raised there. Talking of this, he went on to say that the King and his ministers are beginning to feel sure that your Majesty is not going to move war on them this year, and that they now intend to get ready a powerful army for Scotland, knowing that the English are sending a large army to invade it. M. de Thermes is to cross with 200 men-at-arms and 3,000 foot soldiers at the end of this month. They hope besides to raise German troops, and they say it will be a fair army, when their men who are in Scotland and the Scottish soldiers are reckoned in too. The Scots are hurrying to get ready, and their eagerness is increased by the late exploit on the captain of Haddington, the certain news of which have been received. They expect things to go better and better.

The English ambassador had an audience of the King on the 9th of this month. He made a minute declaration of the aggressions suffered daily from the French on this side of the sea. As such occurrences were in direct contravention of the last treaty and a breach of good neighbourhood, the King of England desired to know if the King of France had knowledge of them, and what explanation he could give; for were he of a mind to continue in the same course, the King of England would take his measures accordingly. The ambassador proceeded to relate how the soldiers from the fort, to the number of 400, wearing white shirts over their armour, had twice attacked the castle of Boulemberg by night. Moreover, shortly before this, a number of Frenchmen had crossed your Majesty's territory to the Terre d'Oye, and sacked a few houses. They continually attempted to stop the inhabitants of St. Omer from carrying food to the Boulonnais; and finally, the people in Fort Châtillon made a practice of shooting at English ships on their way into Boulogne. These were all hostile acts. The King replied that for his part he had committed no breach of the last treaty, but observed it in every particular, and would have continued to do so had not the King of England violated it by pulling down the church near Fiennes. The King of England had begun the matter, and he (the King of France) was not going to allow anyone to suppose him to be of a mind to put up with anything from the English, and he intended to take just revenge for the insult. The ambassador replied that the said church had been taken from the English by force, and by force they had recovered it, demolishing it as they had every right to do. They had

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were thrown out. The King of France insists that the church must be rebuilt, but the King of England cannot well agree to this; though the ambassador is doing his best to find out if means may not be found to compose the quarrel as far as the territory this side of the sea is concerned. The King's ministers are well aware that the object of the English in this is to be freer to attend to the Scottish business, whilst the French are trying to embarrass them as much as possible on this side of the Channel. It is presumed that they will choose the Terre d'Oye as their field, and take the castle of Boulemberg if they can. They are trying hard to do so because if it were in possession of the French the revictualling of Boulogne by land would become a difficult matter, and the sea passage is half closed as it is. Colonel Melun told me that Châtillon has charge to warn the inhabitants on the frontier of Picardy facing the Boulonnais, and those on the flats about there, to be on the watch and withdraw with as much of their property as they can take to the towns, to avoid surprises. This is done because the King of France is resolved to do his very worst against the English on this side of the sea; and it is to be feared that the King of England, irritated at this, will make incursions into French territory. Unless the ambassador hits upon a means of quieting things down, these people are so heated now on the subject that a great combustion is to be feared, and some one will have to suffer.

Poissy, 7 April, 1549.

April 7. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

Extract from a letter written in cypher: probably the same an extract from which exists in Paris. (Apr., 1549. Arch. Nat. K. 1488.)

(The letter begins with an account of the Strozzi borrowing clothes from the Venetian ambassador and fooling disgracefully before the ladies of the court, etc. . . .) The lansquenets from Guyenne passed by Mantes on the 3rd of this month, going towards Boulogne, and of course they wasted the country which is part of the dower of the Dowager Queen of France*. A quantity of artillery and ammunition are being sent to Abbeville. . . . The French spread the rumour that the English burned some houses in Belle Isle in Brittany; but this was discovered to be untrue. The inhabitants of the said island were to blame for the false report, for seeing English vessels in the offing they lighted bonfires to warn one another from afar. They say the English vessels are in a position to do damage to French ships going to Scotland from Brest. Is is said that the King of France has conferred on the Governor of Scotland, for life, the duchy of Chastelherault. The soldiers levied for Scotland are tugging at the halter, and they have to be compelled to go by force. A good number of them ran away, but were brought back. Their attitude gives little hope of their accomplishing much when they get there.

Poissy, 7 April, 1549.

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April 13. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, after my preceding letters were written, the English ambassador declared to me in the presence of M. Renard† that he had spoken to the King on the 10th of this month to hear from him his definite intention about the attacks his people were making on English territory this side of the Channel, on the grounds that preparations for war were being openly made in France, and that Châtillon had been sent to the frontiers. The King answered that he had often said to the ambassador in the past that he did not intend to suffer insults from any King in Christendom, and he repeated it again now. The English demolished the church near Fiennes, he said, and smashed a lime-kiln near Boulogne, so he had attempted to get even with them. But nevertheless he desired to keep on friendly terms with the King of England, if he would do his share and observe the treaties, instead of which he had opened and widened the breach, and fostered ill-feeling between them. The ambassador replied that the French had begun it; and he went into details to prove it. But he assured the King that the King of England and his ministers desired nothing better than to live in good friendship with him. The King of France reiterated his own assurance to the same effect, adding again that he desired it on condition that the English would observe the treaties, as he would put up with nothing else from them. The ambassador seemed pleased with the interview and sent a special messenger to the Protector to apprise him immediately of the result. He told me that unless the King of France broke his word, matters would be patched up between them by a suspension of arms. I took the opportunity offered me to talk to the ambassador about a truce reported as about to be negotiated between them, in which the King of France wished to include Scotland. I did it to try and get some information out of him, but he said he knew nothing of it, and he could not believe, if any truce were ever made, that it would include Scotland. And yet, Sire, Carneseque has again assured me that he heard it was being negotiated, adding nevertheless that the information was not from a safe source. If conjectures may ever be taken as a safe foundation to build a judgment upon, they would bear now the following assertion, that both English and French want to suspend hostilities as far as their possessions on this side are concerned; for they ended up with assurances of desiring each other's friendship. The truth will come to light before long, as the lansquenets are about to reach Boulogne.

Poissy, 13 April, 1549.

April 19. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

The English ambassador resident here addressed himself to the Bishop of Arras, (the Diet we were holding at the time having prevented us from giving him audience) and presented a request

* This letter is dated (old style) 1548; it is written entirely in cipher.

† St. Mauris's successor in Paris.

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on his master's behalf, that besides the permission we had granted him to levy secretly up to 5,000 Germans from Saxony, and take them by sea to England to fight the Scots, our common enemy, we should grant him permission to raise up to 500 Low Germans for the defence of their territories, conquered before (from the French) offering to send them by way of Guines and Calais ten at a time the better to keep the secret, and to avoid the damage they would cause if they marched through our territory in greater numbers. We granted him what he asked, and gave him permission at his request to buy up to 500 sets of fighting accoutrements for men and horses, a certain number of arquebuses, fuses, and other ammunition. We condescended to this, to prove to the English that we would willingly do our best for them within the terms provided by the treaties; seeking to preserve and increase our friendship, with the hope that they too, on their side, would show corresponding friendship and good feeling by keeping the secret as it was suitable that they should.

We charged the Bishop (of Arras) to notify our consent to their request to the ambassador, and to speak to him about the outrage committed by Master Wallop's men on our territory, the details of which you will find in the information sent herewith. The proceedings seemed strange enough; and still stranger the answer made to the Seigneur de Cahen by the said Master Wallop, who declared they would pursue the Frenchmen's property up to the very gates of St. Omer. We have ordered a verbal declaration to be made to him, that we are determined not to allow either Sovereign* to use violence within our dominions, for these protestations of not damaging our subjects are empty words, and damage cannot be avoided, if they are to resort to violence against one another. If they have any quarrels to settle upon our territory, they must do so through the courts of law. Otherwise we shall be obliged to apply punishment, by apprehending whatever is available, and recovering damages from their merchants in our dominions.

The ambassador agreed that Master Wallop's answer was very strange indeed, and our pretensions reasonable, certifying that he would do his very best, and would report the case to the Protector and Council. He is sending a messenger now, as we suppose, to explain the case. It seems to us right to let you know about the matter so that you may be informed of our intentions. If the opportunity offers, you may speak of it whenever you think advisable. Since the occurrences mentioned above, your secretary has arrived here; and being now in these (*illegible*) days, we have been unable to come to any decision on the matter about which you sent him here. We will attend to it in due time, and advise you of our determination on the first opportunity.

Brussels, 19 April, 1549.

April 26. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 32.

The Bishop of Arras to Simon Renard.

This is to inform you of the arrival of my uncle, M. de St. Mauris, who delivered your letters and declared in detail the directions

* *i.e.* Either of France or of England.

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he left with you when you took up the duties of your post. I am certain you will steer your conduct prudently, and serve your master to the best of your ability, with the unfailing watchfulness and care required of you, hearing all that takes place, and sending advice of it from time to time. Be unsparing of your secretaries, both in writing fully and at length, on all you hear, and in using cipher whenever it is necessary to do so.

His Majesty is away hunting and cannot answer your letters at present. I have thought it well, during his absence, to write to you myself, to give you the above advice, and to inform you of the negotiation I had yesterday with the Ambassador Marillac, in the presence of President Viglius. I laid before him the complaints made to us by the English because some of the soldiers of the King of France have presumed to pass through part of the Emperor's territory, and so reach the English possessions of the former conquest, commit pillage there and carry back their booty through the Emperor's possessions. The English demand reparation, and an assurance that the same abuse shall not occur again. I declared to him in stronger terms than those used in the writing I gave him, that his Majesty was determined not to put up with anything of the kind, and was equally determined not to allow the English to go through his dominions to get at the French. I even added that the French would be putting themselves in the wrong if they attacked the territory of the former conquest comprised in our treaty with England, approved and reserved by our own Treaty of Crépy with France. By this treaty we were bound to defend England, Ireland, the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey and the territory on this side of the Channel called by the English the Old Conquest, being Calais and the neighbourhood of Guines. If the King attacked or invaded any of these places his Majesty would find himself in the necessity of helping the English if they requested his aid, and would have to declare war on France. This did not apply to what the King might do against Boulogne, the Boulonnais and the territory acquired by the English at the time of the last war, these not being comprised in the aforesaid treaty. It must be understood, nevertheless, that no armed incursions into his Majesty's dominions could be allowed, as he did not intend to have them used as a threshing-floor; nor was it likely that while the two were hunting down each other his Majesty's subjects would escape unhurt. His Majesty would not be drawn into it; and they must take care, for it might be of importance to them not to anger his Majesty, and bring him to the point, where he would be compelled to quarrel. His Majesty was doing his best to keep on terms of good friendship, with all the sincerity they could wish for, and would do so as long as they on their side met him with like sentiments; and I requested that they would take this opportunity to remedy some of the wrongs his Majesty's subjects had suffered in the past, and provide that these might not be repeated in the future. You will hear the particulars of the said complaints from the copies of two

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documents, one in French, the other in Italian, given by us to the ambassador, and other copies I am ordering to be sent to you with this, for your better information. You may remonstrate with them on the subject and provide a remedy, taking your stand on my interview with the ambassador on his Majesty's behalf. You will advise his Majesty in your letters of the substance of your negotiation on this point, and that will serve as an answer to the present letter as far as that matter is concerned.

Brussels, April 26, 1549.

April —. Paris, K. 1488. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

Sire, since the departure of M. de Monbarrey I have heard from all sides about the Rhinegrave's journey to Germany and his business there. A certain man named Villedesaint who went with him, told me that he stayed at Valcole* eight or ten days, and lived in a house of his near Salmesin†, not daring to advance into Germany for fear of being taken or killed, as the court here hold the opinion that your Majesty had sent spies after him to Germany. He had been warned by some of his friends. He sent two of his servants on the King of France's business to Saint Nicholas, by way of the mines of Sainte Marine and round to Saint Nicholas. The Duke of Pomerania sent to Denmark a man they called the Germany spy. I have not been able to fathom the Rhinegrave's business except from a few hints dropped since his return, to the effect that your Majesty is free to go to Germany when you please, for something you are not expecting is brewing there, contrary to your designs and intentions, and that all will be made plain in good time. But he has not made himself any plainer.

As regards Denmark.—I heard some time ago that the Rhinegrave was trying to get men from that country, to fight the English. The King of Denmark's answer was that he desired to remain neutral, and had no wish to do more for one of the belligerants than he would do for the other: and, this notwithstanding, that the French had offered to make an alliance with him, and proposed the Duke of Holstein as a husband for his daughter.

As to the Duke of Pomerania I can hazard no other guess about his business here except that, being notoriously in disgrace with your Majesty for having allied himself with the other rebels, and all continuing in disgrace without absolution, both he and they are likely to be encouraged in their obstinacy by the blandishments and hopes held out to them by the King of France. I will do my best to discover more about it.

The same Villedesaint, speaking to the son of a President of the Constable's party, told him that the Rhinegrave had not been able to levy the men he had gone to get. Count George

* Place names are often deformed in Spanish translations. This might possibly be Val-de-Coo, near Spa.

† Possibly Malmédy.

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of Württemberg is negotiating to join the service of the King of France, first because your Majesty keeps the passes closed, and then because it is a safer course for keeping his goods and his inheritance, for if the King of France were to make peace with your Majesty and the King of England, they (*sic*) would be deprived of their pay and banished from their territories and possessions. It is true that he has 3,000 men, although they are not seasoned troops. From all I hear the Rhinegrave has achieved little on his tour.

On Easter Sunday last, the King of France ordered one of the servants of the Rhinegrave to cause it to be published in Germany that whoever joins his service now and continues in it, will receive rewards in France. Land and property are to be awarded to them in Picardy, not far from the Port of Boulogne. The Rhinegrave's servant himself gave the information to the person who repeated it to me. He also said that Secretary Baptiste Ferante, a German, servant of the King of France, who has been sent on many errands on his master's behalf, is very discontented, having received nothing but a small pension for his pains, which he earned hardly; giving me to understand that the man is ready to better himself, and would sell me information if I paid for it. However, I answered nothing, as I do not know the man, and because I do not think he is in any position of trust. But I will wait and see whether with time he can prove useful, and if he may be trusted.

Last Thursday the King of France made a present to the Rhinegrave of two thousand crowns, it is said, and a Spanish horse; and the Rhinegrave left on the same day in a coach for the Fort of Boulogne. He is to return for the King's entry into Paris, according to Villedesaint, who is getting sumptuous garments and plate ready for his master. There is a rumour that the Rhinegrave is to bring back five companies of infantry and keep them in the neighbourhood of Paris, by the King's orders, when the entry into Paris takes place. Some say this is a device of the Constable's, who is afraid of the hatred and enmity that the princes and many of the King's household bear him. They have come to light lately through a quarrel between the Prince de la Rochelle and M. d'Andelot. They spread a rumour that the King of France had made a present of 5,000 crowns to M. d'Andelot, to rouse the princes to still greater anger, with the comment that this was high favour indeed to show to a simple gentleman, against a prince of the blood, for the Constable's sake. But I believe all this scheming to be mere invention on the part of those who wish the Constable ill. There is really no serious reason for believing that the King of France will draw men away from Boulogne and weaken his position, to protect the Constable when there is no outward sign or suspicion of his needing it. Colonel Melun, in talking over the wars in Scotland and the Boulonnais against England, said that the King of France believed that the business with England would be patched up. He wished to save money and to have fewer enemies to reckon with, greatly suspecting that your Majesty

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would move war against him next year. He added that the King had ordered certain galleys from the neighbourhood of Rouen to be kept in readiness; but they would not be fitted out until the end of next month. They were not more than seven or eight leagues from Rouen. The King of France did not feel sure of the Pope; the league was far from being concluded on the terms asked for by the King of France, who also had news that your Majesty was offering to renounce your rights to Piacenza in favour of the Duchess of Camerino and M. Charles her son, keeping the citadel and castle of Piacenza. The transaction was being carried on between your Majesty and the Pope, he said, and several clauses had been passed and agreed to; while Cardinal Farnese and Duke Ottavio, for their own private ends were favouring it, forgetting the death of their brother and father. He interspersed his discourse with reflections on the trouble and great expense the King of France had lavished to induce him (the Pope) to renew the hereditary league he had of old with the French on the terms (lately) proposed by them; and how everybody was afraid of your Majesty and was attempting to break up the league (between you and the Pope), or to set another on foot; and that for this reason the King of France was anxious to get his legionaries and infantry men afoot, as the King his father had done, to arm and defend his country in case of an attack from your Majesty. As a matter of fact, they recently took out of Paris twenty-seven pieces of heavy artillery and sent them to the frontiers of Champagne and Picardy. They were about to send more to Boulogne; but were expecting a present of fifty guns from the people of Paris, who said they wished to present them when the King made his entry into the town. . . . It is being said that soldiers are being levied in Lombardy in your Majesty's name, nominally for the English, but that your real intention is to make an incursion on Parma. . . . The rumour has reached here, that two or three hundred soldiers that the King of France raised to send to Scotland have been killed by the Bretons, who could no longer put up with their insolence. The people of Nantes are sending a deputation to present their excuses.

Since the above letter was written I have been told by the English ambassador that the Governor of England has changed the garrisons of Boulogne and Calais and other frontier places, fearing that they might have intelligence with the French; and that the garrisons were made up afresh because they had discovered that the King of France had a plan to attack an important place between Boulogne and Calais, and had sent the soldiers from Guyenne to Boulogne for that purpose. There are no news of any fresh move from the French since they attacked Boulemberg; they are afraid of being forestalled. It is thought that for this year no more fighting will take place in the Boulonnais; both belligerants will lay down their arms and abide by the last treaty made between them. There is not much likelihood of war in Scotland either for this year; and they seem to be looking for means of coming to an understanding.

Paris, April, 1549.

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May 2.
Simancas, E. 78.

The MARQUES DE CORTES* to JUAN VAZQUEZ DE MOLINA.

This messenger (the bearer) brought me a letter from their Highnesses† giving me orders on what is to be done about the English pirates who are here in custody. I am ordered to examine at the next audience (session of the court) the evidence against them, and give sentence according to their guilt; and this shall be duly done. I am commanded also to deal in the same way with as many pirates as I can get into my hands, and to send warnings to all the sea-ports. This shall be done exactly, although as I wrote to your Grace when I arrived here, I sent orders to every sea-port to be on the watch. But I will send (messengers) again at once, and with orders for every place, and will take particular care to send information about what happens. The messenger found me on my way back from La Coruña and the neighbourhood. It seemed to me advisable to send a full report on the condition of this kingdom,‡ and I will do so, for I am well informed of what is needed for the good of the country and the better service of his Majesty: and the sooner it is done the better. May your Grace meantime continue to honour me with your letters, and let me know if I can serve you in anything.

Santiago de Compostela, 2 May, 1549.

May 3.
Besançon, Ambassades de Renard, I.

The EMPEROR to SIMON RENARD.

We are sending you herewith copies of certain letters written to our cousin, M. de Beures,§ by the Scottish ambassador resident in France, and are joining to them the replies sent by M. de Beures, by which you will see that everything is referred to the declarations you are to make to the said ambassador. You will tell him that after we had heard the matter contained in M. de Beures' letters, we replied that, though we had always favourably treated the Scots, giving them no excuse for hostile acts against us or our lands or subjects, they had nonetheless committed so many hostile acts and so long persisted in their inimical attitude that we had been unable to avoid declaring war against them and considering them to be our enemies. This ought to be enough to show the vanity of the Scottish pretences of suggesting a communication on the question of renewing old alliances, for their fault was inexcusable, coupled as it was with the daily robberies which they still practised on our subjects. However, in accordance with our invariable desire to live in peace, if they cared to send over someone to propose suitable conditions, we would go as far as reason permitted to meet them. You will say this in precisely these terms, without going any further or giving copies of this letter; and let the matter pass between you and the said ambassador, and give him the message on behalf

* Governor of Galicia.
† The Regents of Spain.
‡ of Galicia.
§ *i.e.* M. van Buren.

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of M. de Beures, who has written to the ambassador that it has been entrusted to you.

Brussels, 3 May, 1549.

May 8. Vienna, Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, the dissimulation used with the English by the King of France, who always protested that he had no desire to begin a war or commit a breach of the treaties, has been proved; for under cover of these reassuring words, M. de Châtillon tried to take a fort belonging to the English, by obtaining an understanding with the garrison. The captain was warned by the very men whom Châtillon trusted, and arranged matters in such a way that Châtillon was wounded in the arm by an arquebus, two of his captains fatally wounded, and many soldiers killed and wounded, as the news have come this day. War between France and England seems a certainty. The enemies of Châtillon and the Constable his uncle, are beginning to show their envy of them by repeating everywhere that the two between them would like to govern the kingdom, and yet are doing ill service to the King, as events will prove if war breaks out in the Boulonnais. But this is mere envious talk, and nothing to build upon; for unreasoning partisanship against the Constable is plainly proved by the defamatory leaflets (libels) scattered about the court. . . . Reverting to the attack attempted by the French against the English I have been told that, the better to undo what was done, the King has ordered sixty to eighty cartloads of stakes and other implements, for fortifying the tower of Châtillon's fort, to be sent to the front. . . .

Paris, 8 May, 1549.

May 10. Vienna, Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have heard the details concerning the Protector's proposals for making the treaty of close alliance still more binding, which you sent your secretary over here to communicate to M. de Granvelle; and we praise your good offices in the matter and the dexterousness you have shown in probing the Protector's intentions, as well as in the form of your reply. Having weighed the Protector's proposals, we desire you to tell him, whenever or in whatsoever manner the opportunity presents itself, that we wish to observe the treaties fully and inviolably, and we intend them to last perpetually as it is said therein. As to the inclusion of conquests made subsequently to the treaties on both sides, we do not see how this could be done without contravention of our treaties with the French, made with the knowledge and approval of the late King of England. Moreover, we have heard that the English and French have negotiated terms, so that the inclusion proposed could not very well take effect. As to the clearing up of certain points of the treaty, if the Protector will indicate which they are, and the sense of the interpretation he would suggest, we will have them examined. With regard to the closer friendship,

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if they (the English) will propose means and ways, we will meet them in such a way that they will have cause to know the particular affection and goodwill we bear to the King and his kingdom of England. For this very consideration, being anxious to prove our true friendship, we cannot forbear from calling the Protector's attention to the fact that the whole of Christendom is scandalised by the innovations and changes wrought in religion since the death of the late King, and those outlined and now in process of being made; nor has there been any lack of ill-talk against us, for still desiring to remain on the same terms of close friendship with England. The Protector and Council must consider this point; and how important it is to us, because of our duty to God and our reputation in Christendom, and more particularly where a closer alliance is concerned. We are of opinion that it would be a good deed, and conducive to the peace of the King's conscience and the Protector's, and the English people's generally, if matters of religion were put back and maintained in the terms in which they were under the late King, until after the termination of the Council (of Trent): conducive, too, to the satisfaction of Christian people generally, and to the good name, safety, tranquillity and good of the kingdom.

We make the same remark in answer to the proposed alliances of marriage which have been touched upon, for we fail to see how they could be negotiated unless the innovations cease, and the old religion be observed. We hold for certain that the Infante of Portugal, Don Luis, would not consider the matter at all unless this point were well cleared up first. Before we take any hand in this alliance, it is suitable that the allowance and dowry which they propose to give to the Princess of England our niece should be inquired into, and that we should be informed of it. Both the quality of the said Don Luis, and the position of our cousin, the Lady Mary, who must receive the consideration due to the daughter of a great King, and, besides being a lady of merits and virtue, is also her mother's daughter, and her relationships generally, call for a reasonable and honest foundation for the proposal. If this is the foundation which they propose, we will assist the marriage, doing all in our power; and we charge you to expose all this graciously, without undue forwardness, and without engaging yourself farther in the matter. Be careful to advise us of their answer, and remember that it is pretty certain that the Infante Don Luis will not entertain the idea of the marriage unless it could bring great advantages with it. For instance, the withdrawal of the recent changes in religion, and the assurance that no innovations would be attempted again. Besides the general advantage of an alliance with him, it would be greatly to the advantage of the King of England and his kingdom to sink the rights that our cousin might claim to the throne of England; but nothing must appear of this side of the matter, so as not to give colour to any jealousy or fear on their part for the present, without a counterbalancing hope for us of turning it to profit. But if you see that some advantage may be reaped from it, you may, as of your own accord, hint

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something to the purpose : and the Protector and other executors of the late King's will may discuss the matter among themselves, (and decide) as they are empowered to do by the terms of the said will. For the question of succession in the event of the King's death is not one that can be (openly) weighed in the decision regarding the proposal of marriage.

As to Controller Paget's wish to come and see us to expand and elucidate the treaty, it will be better to put off his visit unless it seems to you that some good may come of it. The English may be trying to accomplish something to their advantage against the French : we must beware of this.

The representations you have made to the Protector in the matter of religion and the conversations you have had with him are adequate, and the same applies to what you said with respect to our cousin. Keep to these terms ; and when you see that the opportunity is favourable, bring in what is said above. More particularly, with regard to the answer given you by the Protector when speaking of the innovations and changes made in religion, namely, that he will not inquire into what our cousin may choose to do, it appears to us that this declaration does in no way ensure her safety for the future, for she may be troubled and persecuted whenever they see fit to do so hereafter, with the excuse that she is committing a breach of the law. Put these considerations before the Protector from us, and ask him to give her a written assurance in definite, suitable and permanent form, that notwithstanding all new laws and ordinances made upon religion she may live in the observance of our ancient religion as she has done up to the present ; so that neither the King nor Parliament may ever molest her, directly or indirectly by any means whatever. If you see that he makes difficulties about it, and will not agree, make no definite answer but say that you will communicate with us. You may add, as from yourself, that the refusal seems very strange to you, and that you cannot say how we may take it or look upon it.

As for you, you must continue to have mass said publicly as long as ever you are able to do so without coming to an open breach. You will inform us constantly of the progress of this business ; of the way in which you and our cousin are being treated ; and what the French ambassador is doing.

You will inform our cousin that we have received the letters written to us with her own hand ; that we have been very much pleased to hear good news of her, and to hear that she remains firm and faithful, as she has written to us and declared to you, and that we shall not fail to favour her. Send someone discreet from among your people to her, to ask her to excuse our writing to her, as our letters might be intercepted, and to take the message I have sent through you for her.

We recommend you to give your help to the end that the business of private persons may be despatched successfully ; and in what concerns your affairs, we request you to be pleased to continue at your post, and we will bear your services in mind

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and withdraw you from your charge when it is possible to do so conveniently.

Brussels, 10 May, 1549.

May 22. Vienna, Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, I informed your Majesty in my last letter but one, of the attempt made by M. de Châtillon to surprise a fort near Boulogne belonging to the English. I could not give your Majesty the name of the fort as my informant did not know it. I have heard since from the English ambassador that it was the fort of Boulemberg; and that M. de Châtillon, two hours after midnight, having put up the ladders and ropes and fastened them, to put his plan into execution, was discovered by the watch, and, as I have heard, by the very men with whom he thought to have an understanding. He was repulsed seven times, and they fought hand to hand. It is said that nearly two hundred of his men were killed, and that he was wounded twice, in the arm and in the leg, from the bursting of a gun. The English believe that four of their guns on the side batteries had been tampered with, for each one of them burst at the first shot. The captain of Boulemberg is pursuing an inquiry. Suspicion arose from the fact that on the night the attack was made, from sixty to eighty soldiers belonging to the garrison were absent from the fort. It is believed that without the women's help, their artillery failing them, they would have had trouble to save the fort. The news have been received here very diversely. Some are in favour of Châtillon; others laugh at him, saying that the ladders were too short, and that one should be careful to take exact measures in a matter of such consequence, and fraught with so much danger, and other speeches such as they are wont to make, speaking ever according to their prejudices. However, the King has spoken favourably of M. de Châtillon in the presence of the princes and other great personages, praising the undertaking and showing that he valued it. In truth, Sire, if it had succeeded, Boulogne would have been of little use to the English owing to the difficulty of revictualling it. At the same time it happened that the English surprised and killed two to three hundred French and Scots who were marauding and burning villages on the Border, took about two hundred prisoners, and succeeded moreover in revictualling Haddington, as the ambassador told me. He, together with a gentleman named d'Eschele (Shelley?), sent as special envoy from England, complained to the King of M. de Châtillon's attack, which constituted a breach of the treaty and truce agreed between them, and broke the assurance given them in the past and lately repeated that nothing should be undertaken in contravention of the said treaty. He requested the King of France to declare whether the attack was made by his orders, or if he would acknowledge it, and challenged him to say whether he intended to keep the treaties or not. For their part the English

* This letter is written entirely in cipher. A translation into Spanish exists in Paris, Archives Nationales, K. 1488, wrongly dated May 25th.

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intended to observe every point scrupuously, and had done nothing against them, nor given provocation to justify the attack. From what I have gathered from both sides, the King's answer seems to have been that he had given no orders to Châtillon to act against the treaties, which he intended to keep. He ordered Châtillon to make reprisals if the English committed any fresh breach of the treaties, and if the English had been guilty of attempting anything of the kind, Châtillon might well have taken his revenge and carried out the King's orders. He declared that he had been warned of a plan to take Châtillon's fort by surprise; that the English had burned the church of St. Etienne and trespassed on French territory beyond the limits justified by the presence of Châtillon's forces. The English seemed to him to be in the wrong, judging by appearances; but he would give orders that matters shoud go no further.

The English, Sire, after burning Belle Isle*, towards Normandy (*sic*), built a fort there and armed it so expeditiously that the French and Scots who expected to land on the said island were compelled to withdraw, and informed the King for their excuse that the fort was built without their knowledge, and that they never expected the English to build a fort in that place. Their excuses profited them little. The King was so incensed against the captains in that quarter that he declared he would have them punished in an exemplary manner. Although this is the condition of affairs between France and England at present, Carneseque affirms that the King, having failed in his designs, wishes to make a three years' truce with the English. The Constable, too, in conversation with the English ambassador, after some high talk about the might and magnificence of the King of France, fell to such devising as that the wisest course was to guard against complete ruin; that the remedy against their troubles lay in the very questions they were debating; that each side ought to admit its own faults; and that your Majesty, who was the real cause of their dissensions and the present war, waxed ever stronger both in arms and in good repute while they were both spending all their strength in strife; and that in the end your Majesty would make war on both of them.

I believe, Sire, that the Scottish ambassador informed the King and the Constable immediately of all I had said, when I spoke to him on the part of M. de Beures; for nothing is done by Scotland without the advice of the so-called Council of Scotland, formed here, and without the assent of the King. I presume that the Constable told the English ambassador that your Majesty would renew the old alliance with the Scots, and passed on to say that your Majesty would settle outstanding affairs and then make war on France and England; for the ambassador came to see me immediately after his return from St. Germain to ascertain whether I had conversed with the Scottish ambassador. His interrogatory was masked by desultory and inconsequent meanderings, but I gave him no answer to the

* The island of Belle Isle, due south of Quiberon, on the coast of Brittany.

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chief point except when he repeated it, and I said, allowing him to see that I had a shrewd suspicion of what was in his mind, that I had known the present (Scottish) ambassador formerly in the Low Countries when he was merely Secretary, and that at St. Germain I saw him and greeted him, but put off the visit customary between ambassadors to a more suitable occasion. Carneseque assures me that, though they are putting a good face on the matter, the King desires a truce with England, believing that in three years' time he will be better able to decide what can and shall be done with them, and that your Majesty's intentions will be plain to him by then. Last week the King sent eighteen large guns to Picardy with the necessary ammunition. Some say they are destined for the fort near Boulogne, to damage the English fort; others that they are intended for the frontier garrisons.

The King sent Colonel Melun to reconnoitre the fort built by the English in Belle Isle; he has not yet returned. This is all I have been able to ascertain. . . .

Sire, on the 19th of this month the christening of the Duke of Orleans was celebrated with the greatest pomp, in the presence of the cardinals, prelates, princes and nobility of France, and furnished the occasion for public feasting and the usual rejoicings. . . .

Poissy, 22 May, 1549.

May 28. Paris, K. 1488.

The EMPEROR to SIMON RENARD.

(Extract) . . .

What you heard from Colonel Melun, that the preparations made by the King ostensibly for the assistance of Scotland, were intended to incline the English to peace rather than to foment war, suggests that the aim of the French is to achieve a truce and the cessation of hostilities. The same is probably true of the English, but considering that the difficulty about Boulogne stands between them, and is a constant source of irritation to both, the settlement of the question presents great difficulties and holds still greater ones in reserve. It is idle to look for a reconciliation or agreement in the near future, and we request you to be ever watchful in inquiring and ascertaining as accurately as possible the terms on which the English and French stand with one another, and sending us information on the subject.

With regard to the suspicion entertained by the French that the Pope may negotiate with us, you will do well to keep yourself well informed of the attitude of the French towards his Holiness, and of the character of their relations with him, as the nuncio resident here touches upon that question from time to time. Find out, especially, whether there is any likelihood of their intending to send people to Rome to work on the general reformation of the Church, as they have sometimes considered doing without ever putting it into effect. Inquire carefully also into the character of the debates over the league with the Switzers; and if you are told that we are opposing it, make the same answer

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that we sent to President de St. Mauris, your predecessor, to the effect that we have never tried to interfere with the continuance of the former alliances between the Swiss confederations and the King of France, these alliances not being prejudicial to the Holy Empire, the House of Austria or our own patrimony, but that we resent the King of France's recent attempts to accomplish something frankly inimical to us, with strange and unbecoming words and actions unsuited to the amity and good neighbourliness which the French have so often protested they were anxious to observe. . . . With regard to what is being said over there that the Pope and the Venetians are joining the league, we have discovered no sign up to the present that this is so. Nor do we see any grounds for their joining it, as the league is being urged on the bases of the former league between the Swiss confederations and the late King, which only concerned him and his kingdom. But the present King is attempting to include the territory* he has since occupied, and may occupy in the future, which cannot be in the interests of his Holiness, the Venetians nor other potentates. For the same reason there is small likelihood that what is being said over there concerning the Duke of Württemberg is true. If an alliance is proposed at all it must include all the powers, mentioned above, as principal parties to it, and be framed differently from the King of France's idea. Don Fernando's (Gonzaga) envoy to the Swiss confederations has heard nothing of it. As to the confederation of the Strassburghers with the Switzers, their deputy, who is here, now affirms and certifies that there is no truth in the report; and this indeed seems likely, particularly because he is here for the acceptance of the *Interim*, while the French boast that they have the principal men of Strassburg won over to their side, even James Sturmius who has always been notoriously adverse to the French. Nevertheless you will do well to inquire and ascertain as much as you are able; and the same applies to the people of Metz, over whom we are ever watchful, to circumvent the designs and plottings of the French. . . . (In a second letter of the same date there are instructions to the ambassador to complain that the French are still breaking the peace and harrying the English territory of the Old Conquest, and that the Scots have again interfered with Flemish shipping.)

Brussels, 28 May, 1549.

May 28.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher. The letter begins with an account of complaints made to the King of France by the ambassador, of French attacks on Spanish, Flemish, and

* The territories referred to here are the states of the Duke of Savoy. The Swiss had seized a part (Geneva and the Savoyard possessions in the Canton de Vaud), and it was consequently in their interest that the King of France should not be made to give up what he had taken. The Duke of Württemberg would not be likely to join France if the demands of France were so high as to make it unlikely that an agreement with the Emperor could ever be arrived at. *See pp.* 43, 63, 206.

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English vessels, with the pretext of helping the Scots, and of the harbouring of Scottish pirates and their plunder in French ports. The King replies that he is now Protector of Scotland by the alliance of the young Queen with the Dauphin, and also that his treaties and ancient friendship with that country oblige him to treat the subjects of the Queen as if they were his own. In his turn the King complains that the Emperor aids the English, does all he can to obstruct the action of the French in Scotland and to prevent a French-Swiss league.)

I wrote to your Majesty in my last letters that a truce between France and England was being discussed here; and the accuracy of the rumour had been confirmed to me by the English ambassador, who added that Commissioners were to be nominated to examine the quarrel about Boulogne and establish who was to blame for the first breach of the treaties. The Governor's* answer about the inclusion of Scotland and the razing of the English fort at Belle Isle, of which the King makes a condition before anything is done, is expected. The ambassador told me he did not think the truce could be arranged because of these two conditions, and also because the King was making great preparations to attack the said fort, which would be extremely harmful to the French if left in English hands, as it controlled the sea passages to and from Normandy and Brittany. He has sent Peter Strozzi and Bernicole, his lieutenant, with other captains, on the recommendation of Colonel Melun, whom he sent to reconnoitre the fort and make a report. The King has advanced the date of his entry into Paris, so that, the ceremony once over, he may send a strong force to that part, having been warned by Colonel Melun that a two month's delay would make it well-nigh impossible to recover the fort. This morning the King desired to assist at the passing in review of the guilds of Paris, to see what kind of appearance they were going to make at his entry; and he has ordered the arches and triumphal erections to be hurried on as much as possible, being determined to make war on England and recover the said fort if the proposed truce falls through. In the meantime they skirmish continually, and report has it that the English have revictualled Boulogne and beaten the French force that tried to prevent them, killing Captain Bedin of the light horse regiment, near Ardres. They say, Sire, that the English have built three large forts and two small ones on the said island (of Belle Isle), and all are ready in a state of defence. The Admiral and Colonel Melun, who were in the neighbourhood reconnoitring, dared not approach too near as they were shot at. The reports sent by the Colonel show that there are men and victuals in the forts and that they will be difficult to take, as the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, in possession of the English, are not far distant, and assistance will be forthcoming from that quarter. . . . The English have passed certain laws about religion which are said to be scandalous and heretical. I am getting a copy of them to send to your Majesty. . . .

* *i.e.* The Protector.

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. . . During the last fortnight certain Lutherans have torn down and smashed the images in a church in Lyons and committed outrages dangerous in themselves, and leading to evil consequences. . . .

Paris, 26 May, 1549.

May 28. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, in obedience to the letter from your Majesty of the 28th of last month, I went to see the Protector and told him what your Majesty commanded me to say about Sebastian Cabot. The Protector answered that Sebastian had been recommended to them as a good and expert pilot by the Admiral, and having received his discharge from your Majesty's service in a letter written by your Majesty to the Council of the Indies, which they (the English Council) handed over to me, as a subject of this kingdom he now desired to serve his King. But if it would further your Majesty's service that the letter should be delivered in person by the said Sebastian, the Protector would be pleased to allow him to fulfill his mission, for although he has always been the King's servant (*i.e.* subject) he is entirely and for that very reason at your Majesty's command and disposal. Sebastian has been sent for from Bristol where he is living at present, and on his arrival I will give him your Majesty's letter, received after your letters of the 10th. I carried out your Majesty's instructions contained in these last, and held communication with the Protector on the points named therein.

With regard to the treaty (with France) he told me he would speak more fully before long. He thanked your Majesty for warning him of the opinion generally held about the English, because of innovations and changes in religion since the death of the late King, adding that he hoped, when the truth came to light, it would not be thought so odious as its outward appearance was now taken to be, for nothing had been changed or introduced except in conformity with Holy Writ, and for the service of God. I could not let this pass unchallenged, but he, persisting in his own opinion, said to me: "You must know that all has been done by common accord with the bishops and learned men of the kingdom; we have conceived and couched our proposals without a single dissenting voice, after due examination and discussion. These were greatly needed to repress and stifle the dissensions bred within the realm, and although his Majesty may be convinced that our right course would have been to leave things as they were in the late King's time until the termination of the Council of Trent, yet if the causes and considerations that moved us to act were known to him, and how soberly we have proceeded in this matter, he would impute less blame to us." Perceiving that there was hope of gaining something, I remonstrated with him, as your Majesty charged me to do, and tried to obtain the letters of assurance for the Lady Mary. He replied that it was not in his power to act against the laws passed by the Parliament,

* This letter is partly written in cipher; the rest is autograph.

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and that I asked for something dangerous to the kingdom. If the King and his sister, to whom the whole kingdom was attached as heiress to the crown in the event of the King's death, were to differ in matters of religion, dissension would certainly spring up. Such was the character of the nation, he said; and he hoped the Lady Mary would use her wisdom and conform with the King, to avoid such an emergency and keep peace within the realm. He would not inquire into her private conduct if she had not yet come to their way of thinking. I assured him she had not, and repeated again what I had said before to him, that your Majesty would not allow her to embrace the new religion even if she were capable of inconstancy. "Well" said he, "she shall do as she thinks best until the King comes of age, and meanwhile she will find me her good servant as I have always been, and I shall not cease to favour her in everything that is not prejudicial to the King." I pressed him earnestly to grant her the assurance; but he replied that it was not in his power to grant letters patent in contradiction to an act of Parliament, especially where so much harm might follow. I said that his refusal seemed strange to me and I could not say how your Majesty would take it. Your Majesty had been informed by me of our conversation on the Portuguese match, and you saw no way of approaching the subject while religious innovations were still going on and the old religion was not restored. In your Majesty's opinion the Infante Don Luis would have nothing to say to it until that point was clearly arranged. Moreover, before your Majesty took any part in furthering the alliance it was suitable that the dowry and allowance of the Lady Mary should be inquired into and ascertained, so that you might judge whether the proposal was resting on a reasonable and proper foundation, and whether the quality of the Infante Don Luis and of the Lady Mary was receiving due consideration. "Where religion is concerned," replied the Protector to me, "I can add nothing to what I have said already. If the Infante Don Luis will not consider the marriage for that reason our maid will have to practise patience." And upon this he turned to other subjects without adding a word about the dowry or the allowance they would give her. It seems to me, Sire, that he is not very desirous of furthering the match, though it would suit the lady well, who spends her days in great distress, holding fast to her only hope, that your Majesty will never fail her where her welfare is at stake. She is at present in Norfolk, eighty miles from this place, and I have sent secret messengers to give her information on those matters she had repeatedly recommended to me before her departure.

The Protector told me also that a gentleman named Shelley (?) had been sent by them to the King of France to make complaints of M. de Châtillon's attacks against them in the Boulonnais, and of his attempt to take the fort of Boulemberg by surprise. He returned with fair words in plenty from the King, as if he intended to observe the treaties; "but," said the Protector, "we shall be on our guard, and not trust overmuch to words."

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He said to me also, that they were about to fortify an island named Altierre,* lying six miles off the mouth of the Rouen river (Seine), whence some day they could better molest the French. They say that Haddington has been revictualled by land and by sea, and that Boulogne is well provided. The Earl of Warwick is going, presumably to Scotland, as General of the army. He has had a long illness, but came back to court at Greenwich three days ago.

A rumour has reached us here these last few days that the peasants in the West have risen and taken the parks that certain lords had attempted to enclose unfairly, adding them to their property, and have made common land of them. I have heard to-day that a good five thousand men have risen in arms in the North, but have committed no damages.

Martin Bucer and Fagius† have come hither from Germany. I hear Bucer is not over-inclined to stay here, though a good salary has been offered to him.

I shall continue to have mass celebrated publicly, according to your Majesty's commands; the French ambassador is doing the same, and I do not think any rebuke will come.

I am expecting from hour to hour to be sent for, as the Protector is to declare his intention to me on those points he promised to dwell upon at greater length. I will inform your Majesty diligently of every thing.

Greenwich, 28 May, 1549.

June 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.‡

Sire, this day I was sent for by the Protector, who told me that he had thought over the various points I lately put before him, and had consulted the Council upon them, which he affirmed to be entirely devoted to your Majesty, more than the council of a foreign nation ever was before, not desiring merely to keep your friendship for the King their master, but increase it if possible to the advantage of your Majesty and for the common good of both countries. He affirmed that he would never show preference for anyone else, for his whole and real intention was to please and serve your Majesty to the whole extent of his power at the present, as in the past he had done, and he hoped your Majesty was convinced of it. They (the English) were resolved to send an envoy to your Majesty, a man known and acceptable to you, namely Controller Paget, to present, together with their ambassador, a re-affirmation of the existing friendship, and make certain proposals which in their estimation would serve to increase it. I attempted to deflect their purpose, knowing your Majesty's intentions as to the coming of the said Controller Paget, by saying that this course was not necessary, but on the contrary might

* I cannot identify this island; there is no island in the mouth of the Seine, but some banks called du Ratier and Rateles.

† Fagius, whose real name was Paul Buechlin or Buechele, Hebrew scholar and reformer, was appointed professor of Hebrew at Cambridge in 1549, but died the same year. He had fled from the *Interim* in Germany.

‡ This letter is almost entirely written in cipher; the rest is autograph.

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give rise to unrest unless his mission were of such a nature as to ensure success. I should have been glad to fathom their real intentions by the baits I threw out to them, and I repeated over and over again that in my opinion their innovations and changes in the matter of religion would make all negotiation difficult. But he answered every objection by saying that the Controller would be invested with sufficient powers, and he hoped that his embassy would prove fruitful. I should hear all about it from Paget himself before his departure.

I perceived that their minds were made up, and offered no further objections; but I hied me at once to the Controller to discover if the Protector had given him accurate information of your Majesty's intentions, so that he should at least go well provided if go he must. We had a long talk. He said to me "I am not so eager to go to his Majesty as I might be, because his Majesty probably thinks I might influence the religious question in a different direction, but this is impossible for the present, though as I have always done my duty, I shall continue to exert my influence for good." I reiterated that it behoved him to induce the Protector to restore religion to the form in which the late King left it. He made this answer: "I will tell you something I would tell to no other man alive, for it might suit me ill to do so. I think with time matters that cannot be touched now may yet be mended. If the Emperor is lenient, it will help in this. If he were to declare before our ambassador, when we are both with him, that he has a good opinion of the Protector (who, believe me, is a good man, and as eager as possible to please his Majesty), he would show more disposition to please his Majesty, knowing that he stands in good repute." I replied that I had not been backward in asserting the fact to the Protector, and had done so again that very day, when the Protector professed himself to be your Majesty's servant. I regretted that the ambassador should be present as a witness to his interviews with your Majesty, and he replied: "True; but his Majesty will be able to contrive at the audience that the courtiers entertain the ambassador while I speak freely to his Majesty." I perceive clearly that the object of his mission is to elucidate and confirm the treaty, which by their interpretation is binding on your Majesty but not on their present King, as no sovereign, they say, can sign a bond for his successor. In the belief that your Majesty will not be able to preserve the peace with France for very long, they are anxious to ascertain whether you would plan some undertaking with them, and they would abide by your good pleasure (in the nature of it). They intend to do their best to please your Majesty in the matter of the Portuguese alliance; and you will find Controller Paget entirely devoted and ready to do good work in this and in other matters, as he has always proved himself to be, both in public and in private affairs where your Majesty's subjects were concerned. He told me he wished your Majesty might request them in the presence of the ambassador to stay their hand in religious matters. After this he was summoned to go to the

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Council, and put off our interview to another time, saying he would talk more fully to me before his departure, the date of which is still uncertain.

The Protector said to me that I had not heard the whole of the answer brought back by the gentleman they sent to the French King, about whom he spoke the other day. The French had returned fair words, he said; but they had asked besides that the quarrels about the frontier-lines and the outrages inflicted and suffered might be settled by special commissioners, promising to nominate some on their side, if the English would do so too. The Protector had determined to send the Earl of Southampton, who was once Chancellor, the Lord Warden, the Treasurer* and Dr. Smith, one of the First Secretaries, and let no time be lost.

I told him I had heard that two gentlemen sent by Cardinal Pole had travelled hither with safe conducts. He admitted this to be true but did not explain the reason of their coming, nor have I been able to discover it yet.

Greenwich, 1 June, 1549.

June 8. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received your letters of the 28th of last month answering our own carried by your secretary. With regard to matters of religion in England and the conversations you have had with the Protector on the subject, you will keep to the same terms whenever circumstances afford an opportunity, saying that the changes are great and grievous, discordant with our holy faith, contrary to it and to the immemorial practice of our Mother Church, and a scandal to the whole of Christendom. We offered our strictures upon them because the long-standing friendship between our predecessors and the Kings of England, which we desired to preserve intact, laid the obligation upon us to assist in bringing about the peace of conscience, welfare and tranquillity of the present King and his realm; and we charged you to open your mind in confidence to the Protector, to whom we also bore affection, so that he might discharge his office of Protector to the King and his realm to better purpose. We held for certain that he, as a prudent man and of good counsel, would understand and take (our exhortations) in good part, exerting himself in his duty of restoring the kingdom to the obedience of our Mother Church, and supporting the general observance of the old religion.

With regard to the Princess our cousin, the Protector and all other worthy people must understand that her near kinship to us and close affinity, the perfect friendship we have always felt and feel for her, make it impossible that we should ever desist from our endeavours to save her from molestation in the free practice and observance of her faith.

The Protector's answer, that the Princess must obey the laws of the realm, is too bare and harsh to our cousin, the King's own

* The Protector himself was Lord Treasurer at this time. The person referred to is perhaps Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Augmentation.

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sister, and conveys clearly that the King is not himself the author of the innovations and changes we refer to, the chief responsibility resting with the Protector, who should consider that reason, respect and courtesy demand that she be not included in the general dispositions made for the subjects of the realm, particularly in her religion, so that she may enjoy freedom in that respect.

It would be greatly preferable that the matter should not be touched upon until the King her brother comes of age, and that they should forbear from attempts to persuade or punish her, directly or indirectly, in any manner whatsoever to induce her to forsake her religion. Neither we nor our brother, the King of the Romans, nor any of the relatives of the Princess could tolerate such attempts, as the Protector might well suppose. Press this point as a matter of importance and part of your mission and duty, explaining that you are doing so out of a desire that our relations with the King may continue in amity and sincerity, and from your own affection for the person of the Protector. Make use of all your cleverness so that the Protector may not interpret our words as threats of any kind, or imagine that we might resort to violence; but on the other hand do not let him suppose that we will ever give way on the point of the letters of assurance (to guarantee the freedom of religious practice for the Lady Mary).

As to the marriage with the Infante Don Luis, though we see no likelihood of it ever taking place, yet you must temporise if they speak of it again, and keep to the answer given before in accordance with what we wrote to you. The Protector having put off speaking to you about the closer alliance to be proposed by them, you will wait and hear first what he may have to say about it before you make any mention of it yourself. Moreover, do all in your power to ascertain how matters stand between France and England.

With regard to Sebastian Cabot, you will procure that he may go to Spain in accordance with what the Protector said to you.

Your letters of June 1st have just been received. We note what passed between you and the Protector, and more especially between you and Controller Paget with reference to his mission to us. You did well to make the observation to which you refer, so that Paget may not arrive here without ample powers, and so that the proposals they desire to make together with their requests and conditions may be heard by us beforehand, to facilitate the discussion of them. Your were right to speak as you did concerning the religious innovations. Adhere, with discretion, to the same terms; and if in spite of everything they wish to send Paget by hook or by crook (*en nom de Dieu*) we shall see what he has to say. Meantime ascertain as much as possible about his mission and advise us of what you hear.

As it seems uncertain, judging by what you write, when Paget will be able to come, and as perhaps they may in the meantime try to put pressure on our cousin in the matter of religion, you will abide by what has been written on that point, using your discretion as necessity arises, to support her, and turn aside

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anything they might attempt against her. If Paget comes, we will speak and remonstrate with him on the question of religion as opportunity offers, having regard to what you write has passed between you on the business of religion.

We are informed that the Seignory of Venice is sending a certain Daniel Barbaro as resident ambassador to England. You will behave towards him according to his conduct; and you will take pains to gain information about him, keeping as a maxim that we are, and desire to remain, friends with his Seignory.

Brussels, 8 June, 1549.

June 9. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher. Affairs of the Prince of Orange, etc.) . . . It is certain that the Count of Thermes is gone with 30 ships and about 2,000 men to Scotland. The King has decided to attack the forts built by the English in the island of Origny* and is getting a fleet ready for the purpose, which is being equipped in Normandy to sail under the orders of the Admiral and Peter Strozzi. He is sending a thousand foot soldiers. They say here that the plan for the fortification of the said island is due to a man named Bertheville, a French refugee. However that may be, the forts annoy the King greatly, as in the last fortnight the English have sunk two French vessels laden with salt, and it is said publicly that your Majesty aids and abets the English, who would otherwise soon be brought to reason. The Constable gave me clearly to understand this, as your Majesty will have gathered from my last letters. The said Bertheville, whose brother's head was cut off here in Paris for some treachery he was suspected of, is captain of the forts for the English. . . .

Paris, 9 June, 1549.

June 10. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1. EDWARD VI to the EMPEROR.

Whereas we have now upon the advice of our very dear and well-beloved uncle the Duke of Somerset, Governor of our person and Protector of our kingdom, dominions and subjects, sent to you our well-beloved and very faithful counsellor, Mr. William Paget, Knight of our Order and Controller of our Household, to visit you on our behalf, and hold communication with you on certain things concerning the good and ancient friendship between our two houses, we pray you to hear him well and patiently, and give faith to what he shall say and propose to you, as you would to our own person.

Richmond, 10 June, 1549.

June 10. Simancas E. 806. SOMERSET to the PRINCE of SPAIN.†

My Lord, the King my sovereign lord being about to send his very dear and well-beloved counsellor, Mr. William Paget, Knight of the Order and Controller of his Household, to visit

* Aurigny, French name for Alderney.

† Wrongly entitled "Somerset to the Secretary of the Prince of Spain."

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his good brother the Emperor, your father, and treat with him of matters of importance to the continuation and increase of their good brotherly love, mutual friendship and alliance, the honour of both and welfare and utility of their countries and subjects; the said Mr. William Paget being charged by my sovereign lord to visit you and congratulate you on your coming and safe arrival in the Low Countries, I have requested him earnestly to present you my most humble, cordial and loving recommendations when he finds himself in your presence; as from him who desires in all things to honour, serve and please you. I entreat you, Sir, that, in accordance with the long and unbroken union and intelligence between the two houses, you will lend your hand to assist the proposals for which the bearer of this present is being despatched. Moreover, my Lord, if there is aught here which would gratify or please you, you will find me disposed and ready to employ all my little power in your gratification and pleasure. So, my Lord, may our Maker keep you in His holy care.

Richmond, 10 June, 1549.

June 10. Simancas E. 806.

EDWARD VI. to PRINCE PHILIP.

Whereas we have charged our ambassador resident at the court of our very dear and well-beloved brother the Emperor and King to tell you the pleasure we have received from your safe and happy arrival in your Low Countries, where you now, by God's mercy, after many travels and long sojourning on the way, are arrived safe and sound, and having despatched to our very good brother the Emperor our very dear and well-beloved councillor, Mr. William Paget, Knight of our Order and Controller of our Household, on the advice of our very dear and well-beloved uncle the Duke of Somerset, Governor of our person and Protector of our realms and dominions, on certain business concerning the continuance and increase of the good friendship between us and the welfare of our subjects, we have expressly commanded him to visit you on our behalf and tell you again of the great joy and comfort we have received from the news of your arrival. We beseech you, most high and excellent Prince, our very dear and well-beloved cousin, to give him faith and belief as you would to ourselves; and moreover to lend your help to further the business on which he is now being sent.

Richmond, 10 June, 1549.

June 12. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

The LADY MARY to the EMPEROR.*

May it please your Majesty to know that the King my brother and sovereign lord has, by the advice of the Lord Protector, now commanded his very faithful counsellor and Controller of his Household, my friend Sir William Paget, to go to see and visit your Majesty. I have been so bold as to write in these rude letters my most humble recommendations (of him) to your

* Signed original in French.

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Majesty ; for he is my friend, and as it seems to me, has a great desire to preserve the ancient friendship between your Majesty and this realm, and to render honour and service to you above all other princes save my brother his natural lord. For these respects I think it pertains to my duty to recommend him to your Majesty in my rude letters.

Kenning Hall, 12 June, 1549.

June 12. Simancas E. 77. The Emperor to the Bishop of Fano.*

We have seen and examined an account of what happened in Rome between the ministers of his Holiness and the Ambassador Don Diego de Mendoza concerning Piacenza, together with the documents given to him. We do not perceive that any authentic matter was put forth to support his Holiness's pretensions to the restitution of Piacenza. These pretensions dwindle further by comparison with the titles and rights of the Empire, promptly exhibited and published, as it was declared in writing to the ministers of his Holiness in Rome, and verbally here to the Nuncio Fano, and Giulio Ursino. Although the matter stands thus, his Majesty† who desires that matters may proceed smoothly, will concede that a mere exhibition of the Pope's titles to his ambassador may be taken as evidence of their existence, enabling his Holiness to set forth his claims as conveniently and advantageously as possible, and justify his pretensions easily and comfortably. His Majesty will carry out in all sincerity and good faith his former promise that Piacenza shall be restored, or a compensation granted, if it be proved to have belonged to the Church or the house of Farnese. If the Church cannot prove her right to it, the Emperor will make a gift to the Church (to liquidate her doubtful claim), as the answer sent to Rome duly set forth. His Majesty is now pleased to grant, if Parma is restored and given into his imperial hands, and in consideration of the fact that grounds for treating, as the second proviso sets forth above, have been forthcoming, a gift of 40,000 crowns a year immediately, guaranteed in the safest manner and in the best conditions which can be devised for the advantage of the house of his Holiness and his Holiness's grandsons. His Majesty desires that the negotiation be put into effect at once, and that the claims of the Church and those of the Empire be drawn up and duly set forth to guarantee both parties from loss or prejudice. His Majesty trusts that in matters of religion and other public and private affairs, his Holiness will make a fitting return for the good-will and good deeds of his Majesty. If the offer is refused, the negotiation will remain in the same terms as before.

Brussels, 12 June, 1549.

June 12. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28. Simon Renard to the Emperor.

(Extracts from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, on Whitsunday the English ambassador had an audience at St. Denis, where the King is at present. He complained of

* Or more properly a minute for the letter that was written to him.

† The Emperor. The minute is rather carelessly drawn up.

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the uninterrupted attacks of the captains in the Boulonnais, in violation of the last treaty and of the assurances, received when he complained of Châtillon's sallies and attacks on Boulemberg, that all hostile acts should cease, and that special commissioners should be appointed to inquire who was responsible for the first assault, and consequently restore the former conditions, and abide by the treaties in the future. He declared to the King that during the last three weeks the regiment of light cavalry called the "stradiots" had attacked the English in the neighbourhood of Ardres, and within the last fortnight Châtillon's men had entered by a ruse the harbour of Boulogne with 20 to 25 ships, and with fagots and devices of Greek fire attempted to seize and burn the ships in the harbour; all such conduct being entirely contrary to the last treaty, and in open breach of the assurance lately given and the proposals for the settlement of their quarrel, recently made and entertained. The King replied that he had no knowledge of the alleged occurrences; that everything had been done without his knowledge; that he would obtain information and give a more detailed reply; that he had recalled his light horse regiment from the neighbourhood of Ardres; and that he was still of the same mind, with regard to the nomination of commissioners and the observance of the treaties. He pursued the matter no further, keeping to general terms. The Constable had given him (the ambassador) the same answer before, adding certain remarks to the effect that the English had begun attacking and damaging the King's subjects, and had given occasion for reprisals, but the King of France would be found to be reasonable if they would submit to reason themselves, adding that it would be a good thing to beware of what a (prolonged) state of hostility might bring forth. But Cardinal Guise and my Lord of Guise, with whom the ambassador dined, did not dwell on the matter, appearing to treat it as a blind, meant to deceive the English with words whilst other plans were being put into execution. The Cardinal, after other talk, told him it would be suitable to set matters right by a proper understanding, and pursue the plan of the commission, seeking to settle all the points at issue; and told him the King was informed that Mr. Paget was going to his Majesty to negotiate something contrary to the proposed settlement, and that the English had built forts towards Normandy and were trying to build another, which would be prevented. He said also that your Majesty's design was to foster the quarrel, and so weaken them; and that they should not trust so much to the present as to forget the future. The ambassador replied that he had received no information about Paget's mission, nor about the occasion of it, and that in his opinion the object was to settle the differences of intercourse, which were of long standing; and that Paget was probably being sent as the person who chiefly concerned himself with such matters. He said he knew of no practices between your Majesty and the King his master beyond those set forth in the treaties; and that when the truth came to light it would be found that all the trouble proceeded from the French.

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The Cardinal replied that Paget was not a man to be sent to your Majesty on a trifling errand; and he reverted again and again to the advantages of an understanding between France and England, offering to do his part in bringing it about, being one of the lords who desired peace, amity and prosperity in both countries. Matters are now on this footing, as I hear from the English ambassador. Others have told me that he has mentioned the possibility of an arrangement, and given an answer to the King concerning the proposals recently made for the inclusion of the Scots, (in the peace) or the delaying of the marriage between the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots until she arrives at a marriageable age, and including a suspension of hostilities on both sides and mutual acceptance of the present conditions. But the ambassador is so reticent that I can get nothing out of him; and the people who mentioned the arrangement to me are suspect. Whatever there may or may not be in it, both parties are dissembling, and getting ready in the meantime, while outwardly appearing to seek for means of coming to an understanding. The French are making light of the recent affair near Ardres, when they were taken by surprise and lost over sixty men in the skirmish, and of their repulse and flight from Boulogne harbour before their plans could be put into effect because of the hurry they found themselves in to set sail for home. The King has secretly called up the legionaries from Normandy, with no beating of drums, and the captains of the light cavalry are also getting ready to carry out the King's orders directly the entry into Paris is over. He is said to be of a mind to fight England. It is certain, Sire, that he fears your Majesty may make war on him while he is fighting the English, and thus hampered; and this consideration will weigh more than any other with him and incline him to seek the means of arriving at an understanding with them. Paget's embassy to your Majesty swells his fears, increased further by the reported progress of your Majesty through Germany, by the supposed intention of your Majesty to approach his frontiers, by the submission of Strassburg, by the fact that the league with the Pope is not concluded, that your Majesty's captains are known to be going about in Germany bespeaking men, that affairs in Germany are not in the condition he supposed them to be, that the Kings of Sweden and Denmark make no move and are on neighbourly terms, that the King of Poland has sent an ambassador to your Majesty, so that the public affairs in which they (the three sovereigns just named) have a stake will take a different turn from the expected one.

The French perceive that they can get no lansquenets, that the Turk cannot advance this year, though they hope he may next year, that the Pope's assurances provide no safe ground to build upon owing to his great age, nor give reliable hopes such as the circumstances now require. I have heard that it was taken ill here that no visits or communications were exchanged with our Prince, who approached the French frontiers on his journey, although the French provided an opportunity by causing

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the publication of their tourneys to be made before your Majesty. Others have said to me that your Majesty gauges the youth in this kingdom, the dissensions, the hatred of the subjects for their King, thanks to the tolls and taxes he has levied, making the people resentful. Fear prompted the King to despatch a courier to the Pope warning him of what is happening with England and of Paget's embassy toyour Majesty, on the very day he heard of it. He has also sent orders to the Prince of Melphi at Turin, to be on his guard and take care as the rumour has been circulated here that Don Fernando (Gonzaga) is about to interrupt the corn and fruit harvests in Piedmont and open hostilities. The King has sent the Lord of Jamais to the frontier, without waiting till his entry into Paris is accomplished; and he has written in the same strain to Burgundy, that they may be on the watch during the Lord of Guise's absence. I judge that his great fear is behind all these actions. They talk of nothing except your Majesty's supposed eagerness to make war on them, and the promise made to the Prince of Piedmont to get his estates back for him. Fear has made the King mass the infantry and put his constabulary force in order. The Venetian Ambassador Contarini is in Rome with the erstwhile secretary of the Venetian ambassador at Augsburg. Another one named Barbaro has arrived here on his way to England to take the place of the one who is there now. . . . (Here follows an account of the coronation ceremony of the Queen of France.) . . . Sire, since my letters were written I have ascertained that the banker-merchants are very ill-pleased with the King of France for having put off to his own advantage the payment due on the 20th of this month until the 20th of July next. He has damaged his credit very much, as the agent of the Welsers has been telling me.

The King's entry (into Paris) is to take place to-morrow, although the people of Paris requested the King to put it off till Monday next. It was trumpeted everywhere to-day that the entry will take place to-morrow for certain, so that war may incontinently be made on the English, who object to the inclusion of Scotland in the peace, which the King desires.

I have received assurances that the league with the Switzers is not concluded, that difficulties have arisen and that, if your Majesty wishes it, you may prevent it altogether. The King wants to raise a loan in this town, and the means of inducing the citizens to contribute have been discussed in Council. Some suggest that a few taxes should be imposed; others that the wealthier citizens shall be made to lend; others that one-third of the pensions and pay of the chief men in the kingdom be stopped. They are still discussing the means of getting money, and come to no conclusion. A messenger from Bremen has arrived here, and more come every day from the various towns (Hanseatic towns) to the number of ten or thereabouts in all, bearing letters to the King and the Constable with requests for help and assistance, which it is supposed will be given. . . .

Paris, 12 June, 1549.

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June 13.
Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, the day before Whitsunday, the King being on his way from Greenwich to Richmond, I spoke to the Protector on certain business concerning private subjects of your Majesty. He showed himself fairly favourable to them, and after long conversations about the French attempt against Boulogne, which failed, and the success of the English in Scotland, who crossed the Border and chased the French a long way, he said to me: "I want to tell you a secret that no man must know; and it is, that with the help of God, I hope to accomplish this much, that by next Candlemas there shall not be a single Frenchman left in Scotland, for they will be driven to worse straits than they know how to bear, and they will be in danger of ill-treatment from the Scots too. I intend to take and fortify places which will cut them off from any possibility of revictualling and getting assistance." He thinks this will make the Scots turn against the French, seeing them helpless, and remembering the damage and harm they receive daily from them. I left him after this. I do not know whether he forgot to tell me, or whether he wished to hide from me that he has sent the present Chancellor† and Dr. Petre, the First Secretary, to the Lady Mary. The lady wrote to me to tell me she knew them to be on their way, and asking for advice on the answer she should make to the said commissioners, for she suspected they were coming to try and induce her to conform with the new regulations, and forbid her to practise the ancient religion, which she would never forsake in her life. She said that it was her custom to receive the Holy Sacrament on the day of the Pentecost, and she feared they might prevent her, unless it were done according to their ritual, which she would never accept.

I answered her that she, so wise and discreet, would find a suitable reply for them; but in my opinion it would be best to give them a soft answer if they spoke to her of changing her faith, saying that she could wish, for the good of the King her brother and of his kingdom, that matters had been left as they were found at the death of the late King her father, until the present King came of age, or by a General Council or any other (legitimate) means it were ordered differently. But as she could not remedy what had been done, she could think of no better way than to keep her conscience clear, abiding by the faith in which she was bred, and which was held by the generality in Christendom, in the hope that no pressure would be attempted. I also gave her an assurance that your Majesty would not fail to make her safe from any danger that might threaten her through her consistancy, adding that she must not forego the celebration of mass and her customary devotions. If her priests, fearing the law, were perchance to refuse to officiate as usual, I told her I would send mine to her until another came from Flanders (for me), and in the meantime I expected I should find

* This letter is written in cipher.
† Lord Rich.

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one here for myself. But I hear that though some rich priests have forsaken her, those who were poor officiated for her on the day of the Pentecost, although the said commissioners had arrived. As I understand from a letter she sent me yesterday very urgently, they told her that the Protector and Council, desiring her advancement, had sent them to ask her if she were constant, and to tell her that a negotiation should be opened with your Majesty, to marry her to the Infante Don Luis of Portugal. I had heard this from Paget who sent for me to come to London to wish him good-bye. I reproached him because they had sent messengers to the Lady Mary to try and persuade her to change her faith, which seemed to me very ill-done, as I had sufficiently explained that even if she were inclined to change, your Majesty, for the sake of your relationship and affinity to her would not permit her to be seduced. He said to me: "You are wrong; I was the one to propose that somebody should be sent to her, for no other reason except that I am to speak to the Emperor and see if a suitable match can be found for her; and it seemed to me reasonable to ascertain her inclinations before any steps were taken." I could reply nothing against that, as yesterday's letter had not yet come to my hands. In that letter, however, the Lady Mary informed me that the commissioners had told her that the King had made a law which was to be observed everywhere in the kingdom, even in her own household, and she answered them according to what I had written to her, requesting them not to trouble her again on questions of religion. They said they had charge to speak to her people and declare to them the danger of disobeying the law; and this she answered by saying that she esteemed her servants to be worthy people, as ready to serve their King, after their God, to the whole extent of their power, as other subjects of the realm; and for this she considered them as her own kin, and as such, would stand by them. At the end of the interview they showed her the draft of a letter the Protector wished her to write to your Majesty in recommendation of Paget*. She answered that if they attempted to speak to her servants she would inform your Majesty in the self-same letter how she was being treated with regard to her priests and her spiritual welfare. On hearing this they departed with soft words, and made no declaration or inhibition to her servants. In exchange she wrote the letter, and wished me to inform your Majesty with all diligence, sending humble supplications to be commended to you.

As to Paget's mission, as far as I can understand, though they are trying to overshadow it with the elucidation of certain articles in the treaties, their main object is to find means, either by a marriage or otherwise, to enter into some confederation with your Majesty for the purpose of curbing the French. Your Majesty will best consider the affair and the means by which the good lady (the Lady Mary) may be saved once for all from further tribulations. Subject to your Majesty's approval, it

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* *See* p. 388.

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seems to me best not to attempt the impossible for the present, but that you should merely declare that the said alliance would be acceptable to you, showing at the same time your good-will towards the King and his kingdom. By this you will get more from them than by any other means, according to their nature; and eventually they will come to do anything if your Majesty does not rebutt them now, as Controller Paget, who left to-day, will tell you. He asked me for a letter of recommendation to your Majesty; but I answered him that he did not stand in need of any such letter, because of the mission he is entrusted with, and of the good name he enjoys with your Majesty, which no recommendation could enhance; which pleased him.

With respect to internal affairs, they are very eager to oppose the French if they attempt anything fresh; they are fortifying their island of Alderney, to the great discontent of the Normans and Bretons. The peasants who had risen to pull down the enclosures of parks, are not yet entirely quieted; but it may be supposed that matters will go no further, as I have heard in deep secret that the Protector declared to the Council as his opinion, that the peasants' demands were fair and just; for the poor people who had no land to graze their cattle ought to retain the commons and the lands that had always been public property, and the noble and the rich ought not to seize and add them to their parks and possessions.

I understand that all the strong places held by the English across the Channel and on the Scottish border are well provided. Their fleet set out to sea recently; and their fleet in Scottish waters took and burnt some Scottish ships laden with salt and victuals.

London, 13 June, 1549.

June 24.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher). . . .

The King has changed his mind about attacking the forts of Origny,* on the report and advice of Strozzi, who declared them to be difficult to win. He is sending an engineer, Jehan Maria by name, to build a fort near Dieppe to prevent the English from sending aid to the said forts or use the harbour of the said island except with great difficulty and expense. The erection of the fort will cost 60,000 crowns.

The rumour is still about that the English and French have agreed to suspend their skirmishing and fighting in the Boulonnais for three months, until the commission has done its work, as I wrote to your Majesty before. But I have heard that they are still skirmishing daily, that the King still intends to attack the castle of Boulemberg, and that a new fort is being built for the purpose of shooting straight into it and into the harbour of Boulogne.

* Aurigny: Alderney.

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The Governor* of England, by means of the King's ambassador resident in Venice, sent a request to the Cardinal† of England to give his opinion on the changes recently wrought in the religion of the country. The Cardinal might well have refused, considering the cruelties that were wreaked on his kinsmen in England; but he has sent a learned man, in the company of a nobleman, both with safe-conducts, to declare his opinions on the points submitted to him, moved in this by a true spirit of patriotism and proving himself to be a true and devoted subject, forgetting his own wrongs and trying to assist his fellow-countrymen by turning them from their erring ways. The Governor must be in great perplexity, with religious strife at home and war abroad with the French. The opinion here is that he sent to the Cardinal in Venice, out of fear that your Majesty might resent the changes he had wrought, seeking by these means to obviate the consequences. It is said that Paget's mission is to treat of a marriage between the Princess of England and the Archduke of Austria,‡ to provide for the defence of the English and their succour. The French are greatly perplexed.

The Lord of Vernin was beheaded on the 21st of this month and his body quartered and hung over the gates of the four chief towns in Picardy, for having betrayed and given over for money the town of Boulogne to the English, the ancient enemies of France, as it was written in his sentence. But he constantly denied it and protested to the end that they were killing him unjustly. A gentleman who was once in his company and saved himself by flight was beheaded in effigy at the same time. On the day of his execution, six or seven hours before, he was racked to make him confess; but he did not confess, and his last words were that he was guiltless and he called upon God to bear him witness, but he accepted death, as it was the King's pleasure that he should die. It is said that he was executed so as to persuade the people that Boulogne was lost by treachery and sold for money, and not taken in fair fight by the English. Before he died M. d'Aumale spoke to him at the pillory where he was beheaded, but I have not been able to find out what he said to him.

Paris, 24 June, 1549.

July 3.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.
E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.§

Sire; Since Paget's departure nothing new has occurred except that the peasants assembled in various places, as I wrote to your Majesty, persist in their demands. Their numbers grow daily and their cause has sympathisers, as it is a just cause and they commit no violence on anybody and profess themselves willing to obey the King and his laws. But they say that the violent usurpation of their rights committed by the nobles for their own

* The Protector.
† Reginald Pole.
‡ This must be the King of the Romans.
§ Partly written in cipher; the rest autograph.

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pleasure and profit, compels them to seek some remedy for the extreme need in which they now are, having no pastures for their cattle and sheep as they once had, and many being reduced to a diet of bread and water, having tasted neither fish nor flesh for a long time past ; all of which has become intolerable to them. The Lord Privy Seal*, the Earl of Arundel and other members of the Council have been sent to speak to them, each one in that part of the country to which he belongs. But the peasants are still tearing down the enclosures of parks, and draining fish-ponds and preserves appropriated by the noblemen.

Another grievance of theirs is that all the cattle is in the hands of the nobles and the wealthy, who raise the price of victuals and of wool, as all are aware, including your Majesty's subjects, who have to pay much more for wool at Calais than is stipulated in the treaty of intercourse.† Your Majesty might order Paget to speak to the Chancellor on this subject, so that the said treaty of intercourse may be observed. The nobles, who used to hire their lands out *en ammodiation*‡ and gave the peasants means of earning their livelihood, now keep it all for themselves ; and those commodities that used to be brought daily to the market by the labourers are now garnered in great quantities by the nobles. Some own flocks of 30,000 to 40,000 sheep ; others still larger ones. The cattle is almost entirely in their hands and they sell it as they please. This was shown the other day in the case of two butchers from whom twenty sheep and three oxen were bought for the King's household ; and, on inquiries being made as to the price, it was found that the butchers had paid to a certain nobleman 400 crowns for the 20 sheep and 72 crowns for the oxen ; so that an ox, which used to cost 6 crowns, costs now at least 24. It is to be feared, Sire, that unless my Lords of the Council provide in time for the peasants' grievances, the common people of the towns who can no longer bear the dearness of food-stuffs and are already complaining about it, will rise in revolt as well as the peasants. I hear that the peasants in the West, in Cornwall, are proposing certain articles concerning religion, and asking to have the mass restored and to invalidate the last Parliament as unlawfully held during the King's minority. In that quarter their number is above 12,000, and they are increasing on all sides and drawing nearer to London. I suppose the King is going from Richmond to Windsor on that account, as there was no mention of any such plan before, and no provision was made for it.

I received the other day a letter from the Lady Mary, saying she had received a letter from the Protector and other members

* John, Lord Russell.

† One of the reasons for Paget's visit to the Emperor, given by the English Ambassador to the King of France, was that there had been difficulties with regard to the intercourse. *See* p. 390.

‡ According to the ancient laws of France this was a system of land tenure on a lease with rent payable in kind (*ad modium dare*) ; later a payment in money was substituted. *Amoisonner* was the more general form of the verb, while the rent itself was called the *ammodiation*. The name was applied to leaseholds and freeholds, and is used in this general sense in documents of the XIIIth century. It is incorrect to interpret it in the narrower sense of a farming-lease.

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of the Council requesting her to send the controller of her household and one of her chaplains, a doctor in theology, to them in order that they might receive information on certain things which they desired her to know. In the belief that the matter concerned religion, she wrote to excuse their going; but when she asked my advice I wrote to her that it seemed better to me that one of them should go, so that we might be informed of their intentions, and I expressed a wish to speak to the man she might send, before he met the Council. But before my letter reached its destination the Council sent a letter to the controller (of her household) ordering him particularly to appear before them. The Lady Mary was seriously upset, and let him go; but soon afterwards my letter reached her, and she sent after him on the way to tell him to speak to me at all costs before going to court. He was with me the day before yesterday. I primed him to the best of my ability. He is a very worthy man and a loyal servant to his mistress. I am expecting him back in two or three days, and shall hear from him what happened; and I will inform your Majesty at once. I will also send information about Sebastian Cabot's business; a fresh hitch has occurred, but I am expecting an answer from him at any time now.

The news came from Scotland a few days ago that the English had taken by surprise a certain place where the French kept their victuals, and had burned and laid waste many villages and a large tract of open country. But we have heard since that the French routed more than 400 men, the greater part of them Italians, who were in an island opposite Leith, to fortify it. I believe this move may be identified with the Protector's plan, for he affirmed to me that before next Candlemas he would have the French in a bad way; and as the undertaking has failed, he will know his own error in being insufficiently provided in a matter of such importance.

I wrote to your Majesty that the Protector had told me that he would send commissioners to arrange matters with the French, and that the Earl of Southampton was to be one of them; but now I hear he is not to go. The rest have not gone either, yet; perhaps they are being kept back until the outcome of Controller Paget's negotiation is clear.*

London, 3 July, 1549.

July 4.
Simancas
E. 503.

The EMPEROR to the KING and QUEEN of BOHEMIA.*

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

By your last letter of the 27th of last month we heard how an English pirate, followed by a French pirate who called himself a subject of the Princess of Scotland (*sic*) did great damage on the coast of Galicia with an armed vessel of thirty tons, taking a few small ships laden with iron and other merchandise and how diligently the Marques de Cortes, Governor of Galicia, provided in the hour of necessity by despatching an armed force after

* Regents of Spain.

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them, and by visiting all the harbours on the coast. This seems to us excellent, as also the orders sent by you to the various places on the sea-board. With regard to the necessity for arming a fleet to scour the seas and protect our subjects and vassals from loss, it is our intention, now as it has ever been, to secure free commerce and safety for them by protecting them from attacks, and for this purpose we have spared no pains in making repeated applications and complaints in France and England, and we have recently sent for the French ambassador resident here, and written to our ambassador in France ordering him to find some remedy, as the steps lately taken have proved fruitless, and the stolen goods have not been returned; besides which in truth we see no way of obtaining them, as the French are disguising and delaying the matter by all possible pretexts. Yet, knowing how justified are the complaints and the requests made by our subjects for protection, after full and due consideration of the matter as one of great importance, deeming moreover that owing to the present necessities we can not arm except with great difficulty nor maintain the fleet required for the purpose, the best and shortest way will be to give permission to those who have been robbed to arm for themselves and provide for the protection of their coasts, and pursue and seize from the pirates each one as much as he can get, in whatsoever part of the sea they may be found; and that the permission shall be assured and made lasting until they shall have recouped their losses, with the damages and the interest pertaining to them, in conformity with justice and reason. It will be necessary to order and provide the manner of their going, the better to ensure their success and effectiveness, for by splitting up or going singly harm might come to them. It is not convenient to give these people leave openly to make reprisals. You will therefore proceed as follows: obtain from each one a statement of his losses and injuries; when all the statements are verified, let it be given them to understand verbally that if they like to arm themselves and make good their losses they will be permitted to do so and not interfered with, for we have failed to obtain any redress for them, though our ambassadors in France and England have repeatedly solicited it, and special envoys have been sent by us for the purpose, but all in vain. You will send orders to the same effect to the members of our Council, so that if prizes are taken they may overlook it and take no steps against the apparent offenders. There are plenty of answers that may be made to any who may come asking for redress. Moreover, as it is likely that some of our people who have been robbed will be unable to arm for themselves or get sureties to enable them to do so, and will remain unpaid, you must assist them, and find others who will arm in their stead and in their name, in concert with the real victims. The *corregidores* must see to it that the transaction be carried through quietly so that it may not appear too plain and clear that the undertaking is on a footing so thorough and businesslike. Let the matter be put through at once and no time be lost. The (injured people) must receive no

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summons to court. Though we are trying to see to it from here that they (the English and French pirates) shall not collect in numbers and set out to waylay the Indian fleets, and we are attempting to compel them to behave more decently, yet we have heard recently that four vessels from the Indies, sailing to Spain with cargoes of sugar, skins and other merchandise, have been taken in to La Rochelle. The sailors and passengers were thrown into the sea and a few dead bodies were left on board. The guilty are described as pirates, and we are told that they cannot be caught and punished, but we find on the contrary that the French allow them to enter and leave their ports without interference or punishment, and do not even command them to return the goods they have stolen, though we are not at war. Send us particular information about everything that is ordered and accomplished in this matter. . . .

Brussels, 4 July, 1549.

July 9.
Simancas
E. 1318.

DON JUAN DE MENDOZA* to PRINCE PHILIP.

I received on the 5th of this month the letters which your Highness commanded should be written to me on the 18th of last month. I will not repeat the information I have sent to his Majesty about the conduct of affairs here, as your Highness is no doubt informed of it.

As to your Highness's commands concerning the despatch of the portraits: Titian has delivered the first, which I am sending by this courier. Two more copies have been made of it, in my opinion not so good as this one, but good, nevertheless, and likely to be still better when they leave the last hand, for Titian becomes more skilful from day to day. They will be quite finished, I believe, in a few days. May it please your Highness to inform me of the arrival of the one I am sending now, and if the others are to be sent to Flanders too.

Venice, 9 July, 1549.

July 9.
Paris
K. 1488.

SIMON RENARD to the KING and QUEEN of BOHEMIA.

(Extract.) . . . It is true that the King of France has sent envoys to the Shareef to persuade him to make war on the Spanish coast, even offering to provide him with a fleet and promising to make a league with him. The conflagration between England and France is imminent. The King of France is collecting men to fight in Scotland directly the harvest is over, and to strengthen his army near Boulogne. His negotiations with the English have not been published for fear the Emperor may declare war on him because of the Swiss league. I know that four cantons have not joined, and the King of France is displeased about it, considering the large sums he has squandered to get it put through. He nourishes his intrigues in Germany as well as he can in the hope of robbing his Majesty of the fruits of victory and aiding the rebellion of the sea towns. The jousts and tourneys lately held in this city of Paris are now over. I will give no details

* Imperial Ambassador in Venice.

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as the full account is printed and I shall not fail to send it at once to your Highnesses, but I will say that goodly men came forth and showed themselves, and others too, who hardly deserved the name of men. They do not appear to have accomplished feats worthy of praise. The attack on a fort built in a certain island* was lately ordered by the King of France. The behaviour of the French infantry confirmed the opinion of them generally held, for the fort stands as firm now as it did before, and the infantry retired full of scorn and ridicule. I beseech your Highnesses to provide for my salary. I am sending a translation of the account of the pageant held for the King of France.

Paris, 9 July, 1549.

July 11. Simancas E. 503.

Minute of the Letter written by PRINCE PHILIP to EDWARD VI.

We commend ourselves to you as truly and as lovingly as we may. We have received the letters you have been pleased to write to us through Mr. William Paget, Knight of your Order and Controller of your household, who laid before us all that you had charged him.

We have received singular pleasure and satisfaction in hearing from him, as we had heard already from your ambassador, of the joy and satisfaction you have received with the news of our good health and safe arrival in these Low Countries, which well correspond to the love and friendship which is and shall ever be between us, waxing, as we hope, ever stronger; we, for our part, not failing in this. As to the business which your said Councillor has charge to treat with the Emperor, my Lord and father, we shall be ever ready and inclined to further it, knowing the love and friendship his Majesty bears you. And because the said Councillor will inform you fully on this point we will not dwell further on it ourselves.

Brussels, 11 July, 1549.

July 11. Simancas E. 503.

Minute of the Letter written by PRINCE PHILIP to the PROTECTOR.

Mr. William Paget has delivered to us your letters of the 10th of June and declared all that you had charged him to say. It has been very agreeable to us to hear the pleasure you say and we believe you feel for our safe arrival in the Low Countries. We hold in great esteem the willingness you profess to please us, and we shall not fail to correspond to it, assuring you that in all that concerns you, whenever we can please and gratify you, we will do it right willingly; as we shall prove when an opportunity occurs.

Brussels, 11 July, 1549.

July 12. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 32.

The EMPEROR to SIMON RENARD.

(Extract. Affairs of the Prince of Orange, etc.)

As to the league with the Switzers, we have no certain news about it as yet from our ministers in Switzerland. It appears

* Probably the English fort on Belle Ile.

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by what one gathers from the French and their adherents that it is to be cast on the same lines as the league with the late King. Do your best to ascertain this and particularly the point you mentioned in your letter, that the state of Milan is reserved.

We do not consider it likely that the Swiss Confederations generally will undertake the obligation of defending territory occupied by the King of France and belonging to our cousin the Duke of Savoy. We will send you the information transmitted to us by our ministers to the Swiss Confederations. We suspect that you were not able to see the articles of the league because they were not favourable to the French, and such that they did not care to publish them. If this is the case we shall get them easily enough from the Switzers. It would have been well if you had reverted with the Constable to the last conversation you had with him concerning the league, insisting on what we wrote to you before, that the King had urged and pursued things contrary to the obligations of his friendship for us in his negotiations with the Switzers. You must bring the conversation round so that you may say this to him; adding that if the ministers of the King had acted up to the end in the manner that the Constable had told you, nothing inimical to us would have been done, and we should not have had any objection to the said league. There is no truth in the report published over there (in France) that we have called together a diet in the Grisons.

Those whom the Cardinal of England sent from Rome to England, to give his opinion on questions of religion, passed through here (on their way back). They have accomplished nothing, the English being firmly established in what they have recently innovated.

Concerning the Scottish ambassador's question to you, whether we would consider renewing the alliance with the Scots independently of England, you will adhere to the answer you have given him already, on the occasion of M. de Beures's letter, saying you have no power to negotiate until you receive fresh instructions. . . . (Repetitions of grievances about French attacks on Spanish and Flemish shipping, and complaints of the French at being refused an entrance in Flemish harbours.) . . . As to Controller Paget, nothing has been settled with him as yet. You will be informed of our decision with regard to his mission, so that you may use the knowledge and, if need be, make reply accordingly. . . .

Brussels, 12 July, 1549.

July 14. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.) . . . I have discovered to-day, Sire, that the King is marching 10 to 15,000 foot soldiers into Picardy with intentions to revictual Thérouanne and Ardres; and then burn and lay waste all the Terre d'Oye belonging to the English on this side of the Channel, of the Old Conquest and the New, as a revenge for the incursion made by the English towards Montreuil.

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This fits in well with the Constable's assertions, that if the King of France is to make good the losses of your Majesty's subjects, he is resolved to do so by pursuing and harming the English everywhere, and paying no attention to any remonstrance that is made on this point, insisting that your Majesty cannot withhold help from the English if they ask for it for the defence of their territory of the Old Conquest, if you intend to observe the treaties you have made all around, and unless you wish to see your territory used as a threshing floor for both sides to thresh out their corn. The Fleming of Lorraine said the same to me, and that the King, the princes and noblemen are making general preparations.

Paris, 14 July, 1549.

July 18. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.) Sire; The King of France, having heard from his Ambassador Marillac part of Paget's negotiation, and that it would all come to nothing, and having had news also of some fresh revolt in England which is said to be spreading, has given his consent that the commission accepted long ago both by France and England should proceed to business, and examine the question of the frontiers in the Boulonnais, and with whom the responsibility for the first breach of the treaties lies, so that whichever of the two belligerents is found to have been in the wrong may make good the damage. He hopes to take advantage of the English at this juncture and get all he can out of the negotiation. Nevertheless he is getting ready an army of fifteen to eighteen thousand foot-soldiers, and 600 men-at-arms, together with 500 light horse, which are to assemble at Abbeville on the 10th of next month. He is conducting this move as secretly as possible, and intends to throw them into the Boulonnais to attack the English and lay waste the countryside in the Terre d'Oye.

Carneseque told me, when he last came to visit me, that if the King came to terms with the English it was to be feared that he would make war on your Majesty, instigated to this by the Pope, urged by the maritime towns and their allies; with the purpose of deflecting your journey through Germany, of perturbing the community and leading your Majesty into expense. He feels convinced that your Majesty intends to make war on him next year, and if he can gain that much for the present (the offensive) he hopes the future may be seen to by the Shareef, the Turk, the Pope, the maritime towns, or the children of John Frederick (of Saxony) and of the Landgrave (of Hesse), in the hope that by means of one of these some revolt or commotion may rise to save him. I know that talking is easy enough and that in reality the King fears your Majesty; but I am impelled to refer to you this speech of Carneseque by my knowledge of the practices set on foot by the King, of his desire to recover Milan, of his ill-will towards the peace and tranquillity of Christendom, and of the fickleness and dishonesty of the French,

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always most to be feared when they make most vehement protests of friendship. Your Majesty will provide for the best and for safety, with the certain knowledge that the King is laying by a great quantity of stores, and that he intends to invade the Terre d'Oye, which your Majesty is bound to defend if the English demand it; and so I leave it to the judgment and prudence of your Majesty to set your frontiers in order.

Yesterday five banners taken by the French and Scots from the English were presented to the King. They were surprised and defeated in an ambush on the island they call Horse Island* towards Scotland. The King has made a great fuss and rejoicing over it, and given 100 crowns each to the soldiers who brought him the banners, and three payments of 12 crowns each a year for the rest of their lives. The captain received 100 crowns.

There is an Italian who has come to this court, whom I judge to be an impudent deceiver. He offers to burn the castle of Boulogne by means of some artifice and invention which he proposes to reveal to the King. Carneseque told me the King suspects him of having robbed a document from the Roman treasury in the time of Pope Clement VII.; a capitulation between your Majesty and Pope Leo X. on the business of Piacenza and Parma. It appears to be so far true, that during Giulio Ursino's negotiation with your Majesty, the Pope's ambassador at this court approached Carneseque several times to try and find out if he had seen the capitulation on which rested the chief pretentions of the Pope to the said towns, as he informed me. But when Giulio Ursino left Brussells without settling anything, Carneseque, knowing that the business was not running smoothly, desired to warn me so that I might assure your Majesty that if the Pope produced the capitulation in question the document could not be the original, and that the extract made from it and inserted among the arguments put forth for your Majesty's consideration was drawn up from information and by advice of those who had a recollection of the original terms agreed upon for the expulsion of the French from Italy. They have spread the rumour once more that your Majesty wishes to elect the King of the Romans Pope, and transfer the candidature to the Empire to the person of our Prince (Philip); and that your Majesty will take him to Germany on that account.

I have heard for certain that all the Swiss cantons have not joined the league, but only the 8 cantons that made a treaty with the late King, I am doing my best to secure a copy of the articles of the league.

The courier arrived yesterday at seven o'clock in the morning and set off again immediately with my letters to Don Fernando (Gonzaga). The matter in them is not what I have written to your Majesty, as I had not yet spoken to the Navarrese. I will obey your Majesty's orders as to sending messengers to Italy and elsewhere to your Majesty's ministers when business of the

* There is a tiny island of this name just off the south point of Shetland Mainland; but it is more than doubtful if this is the *Isle des Chevaux* meant here.

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nature you mention comes to light. But Sire, I am ill-provided with money, not having yet received any of the salary which your Majesty assigned to me from Spain, and which is now six months overdue. I beseech your Majesty very humbly to provide in some way, and let me have money for the expenses I am put to, and for keeping on good terms with certain people whose services cannot be secured without paying for them.

The Silversmith told me it would be difficult to keep the King from going in person to this campaign in Picardy. The Constable was doing his best to deflect him from it and take charge of it himself. . . . (News that the King of France is doing all he can to persuade the King of Navarre and M. de Vendôme to attempt to recover by force the Navarrese fortresses and places held by the Emperor. . . . )

Paris, 18 July, 1549.

July 19.
Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, the revolt of the peasants has increased and spread, so that now they have risen in every part of England, asking for things both just and unjust: that they may enjoy the land that used to be public property once, that all victuals shall be sold at reasonable prices, and that the land hired out to them on leases (*en ammodiation*) shall be considered to be of the same value now as in the time of King Henry VII. This last request is very difficult to meet. In Kent and Essex the risings had subsided because victuals had been taxed at a reasonable price, and the King's proclamation to that effect printed and posted up, with a pardon for past offences; but they have risen again now, because a few of the prisoners were kept in the Tower, and they seem more dangerous than before. They have come as far as Elton near Greenwich and pulled down (the enclosures of) one of the King's parks. They are threatening to come to London to get their prisoners; and this would be disastrous, considering that the town is over full of people who ask for nothing better than an opportunity of sacking it. In Norfolk, where the Lady Mary is now, there are over eight thousand of them. They partly pulled down the enclosure of her park, but did not molest her in any way. On the contrary, they asserted that she was kept too poor for one of her rank. There is no mention of religion made among them, except in Cornwall and Norfolk, where they are in greater numbers. The Council are in great perplexity, as is clearly shown by the printed answer they made to the Cornishmen, who asked for the mass, matins, confirmation and other observances to be restored to the condition they were in at the time of the late King's death, because, they said, nothing should be changed during the King's minority. The Lord Privy Seal who was sent out to them, has not succeeded in quieting them. It is said that if the threats contained in the printed answer made to them referred to above, to treat them as Turks and infidels unless they disband, has no effect upon them, then my

* This letter is partly written in cipher; the rest is autograph.

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Lord Grey who is gone to assist the Lord Privy Seal with a great number of noblemen and foreign troops, such as Germans and Albanians,* and some field artillery, will fight them. Things are in a very bad way here, and all the worse because the people are angry that Dimock's infantry and other foreign troops are employed against the English; and they are so resentful that they say they won't leave a foreigner alive in England. Heaven watch over us! London is very closely guarded; there is artillery at the gates and outlets, and Hacfort's band, which was to remain at Guines, and in the Boulonnais, was suddenly sent for to come to England. Presumably it is intended to guard the King, who has been at Richmond up to now and, they say, is going to Windsor to-day.

Sire, I wrote lately how certain servants of the Lady Mary had been sent for to go to court, and that I was expecting to hear from them an account of what took place before the Council, to inform your Majesty of it immediately. The Lady Mary has since written to me, confirming what her controller had told me himself, that great pressure was put upon him to undertake to persuade the said lady to accept the new laws and religious practices, and conform with the King. He refused to accept such a task, and made application to be relieved of it; for it was nowise suitable that a servant should act otherwise than in obedience to his mistress's orders, and discharge of his domestic duties. I put off writing to your Majesty until I might hear what was happening about the lady's chaplain who was sent for at the same time, and was detained longer. He has at last gone back to the Lady Mary, with letters of which she promised to send me a copy. I am expecting it hourly. But as it seemed to me that she was being worried over much by the pressure put upon her old servants, and by the inhibition made to other worthy people not to join her service, under pretext that they (these people) were the King's servants, and all because of her religion, I determined to speak to the Protector, not on her behalf, but on account of the common reports about the affair: for in truth people are talking a great deal. I went yesterday to see him. I told him I had heard the rumour that he intended to worry the Lady Mary and induce or compel her to change her religion. This I said, would be in absolute contradiction to his former assertions, and could not fail to displease your Majesty; who, by your last letters, had charged me again to make the observation to him that because of the close relationship between you and her and the perfect friendship that your Majesty had always borne her, you could not desist from attempting to encompass her immunity from vexation, and her freedom to practice and observe the old religion. I urged him to consider how much better it would be to leave the Lady Mary her liberty in religious matters until the King came of age, as he had formerly told me he intended to do, though rumour now affirmed the

* *Arbannois* in the original, possibly Albanian mercenaries, or perhaps a secretary's mistake for Almains.

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contrary. He might well suppose, I said, that your Majesty and the King of the Romans would be displeased if she were either openly or indirectly pressed to change her religion; for as I had told him before, I knew well that even if she were wholly inclined to change, your Majesty would look for means of preventing her, and not see the spectacle of so near a relative falling away from our holy faith and the general practices prescribed by the Church. I added that I had had letters from your Majesty on this subject the very day Paget came to bid me farewell, but I had put off speaking to him, believing I should have no necessity to do so, particularly as I put my trust in his (the Protector's) word. But as things were going differently, according to public rumour, I could not forbear from fulfilling my duty and laying what I had just said before him, so that the matter might be arranged without bitterness; for your Majesty would undoubtedly be greatly displeased to see the Lady Mary in distress in the cause of religion. To this he answered: "I remember well what I said to you on this subject;" and he repeated everything he had said to me on other occasions; but, slurring over the point I have so often made, that your Majesty would not countenance her changing her religion through inducements or other means, he repeated that he hoped her prudence and wisdom would make her yield to the arguments of learned and lettered men, and conform her practice with the King's, and with his laws. He said that since our last interview, the Chancellor and Secretary Petre had been sent to see her; and he gave me an accurate account of all that passed, as I had heard it from her, and written it to your Majesty. He told me what happened with her servants, and quite lately with her chaplain. He first asked him, he said, whether he held the King's laws to be good laws and in conformity with Holy Scripture; and the other answering, "Yes," he was asked why he had broken them by saying mass. The chaplain replied that he was the Lady Mary's servant, and had obeyed her orders in her own house, but that it would be found that he had not broken the laws at the place where his living was, and whence his income came, and begged that what he had done might not be taken in bad part. I observed: "I see that you are trying to deprive the Lady Mary of mass by taking her servants away from her." He replied: "We have not forbidden the Lady Mary to hear mass privately in her own apartment; but whereas she used to have two masses said before, she has three said now since the prohibitions, and with greater show;" and went on to say that the chronicles of the time would give evidence that all the mischief in the kingdom came from the differences between him who wore the crown and those who were nearest to him; inferring that as the Lady Mary is nearest to the crown she ought to obey the laws all the more strictly. I made the reply that appeared suitable to me, taking my ground on what your Majesty had written. He could not quite swallow what your Majesty said, that nothing should be altered till the King came of age, for that was one of the points maintained by the Cornishmen. The answer that was made to them was compelling

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enough. The same answer being made to me, I said what appeared suitable; and finally: "You see what comes of all these divergencies in religion," said he; "not that I wish to accuse the Lady Mary in any way; but still, the fact remains that the head of the Cornish rebels was her chaplain once, as I heard four days ago." I replied that if matters had been left as they were before, none of the present evils, which I had often foretold him, would have happened. He did not acknowledge that I was in the right; on the contrary he said he had foreseen these trouble two years ago, because of the price of victuals, and that if the people had not risen in revolt matters would have been put right. He ended by saying "I have told you all that has happened with regard to the Lady Mary; we must hold by the King and enforce his laws, and if she does not wish to conform with them, let her do as she pleases quietly and without scandal." The interview came to an end here; and as far as I can see they do not propose to leave the lady alone and unvexed unless your Majesty sees to it in some way or other. The good lady is sorely troubled and distressed, perceiving herself and her household to be in so dangerous a pass, and she has written to me this very hour, sending at the same time the translation made by her own hand of the instructions given to her chaplain with the object of persuading her. She would never have listened to them at all, as she affirms, were it not that she wished to show no partiality. I shall send my man to visit her and comfort her to-morrow, if he can get past the rebels; and according to the condition he finds her in I will send him to M. de Granvelle so that your Majesty may be more amply informed of everything. I do my best always to dissimulate the intelligence between us to save her from all suspicions. I am sending word to her not to write again to me in these troubled times, for fear the letters may be intercepted. The Protector made no mention to me of the success of Controller Paget's mission, and your Majesty may consider whether by these means it might be possible to help the Lady Mary and set her mind at rest once and for all, by speaking to Controller Paget and so obtaining an assurance in her favour.

Before opening my negotiations with the Protector I inquired about two cases, one concerning a certain Sebastian, a Frenchman, the other Sebastian Cabot, the pilot in your Majesty's service. The Protector has broken his word, which he gave to me personally, and not fulfilled promises he made to me indirectly, with respect to both these men. The French Sebastian's business is of a private nature, as he is suing for the restitution of his goods in virtue of an agreement made in the year '45 when Paget was with your Majesty in Brussels, and I have not pressed the Protector beyond what his temper will stand. Paget has always furthered the business, and just before his departure recommended it to the Protector, who had come to a reasonable decision. He wished me to enter into certain recognisances that he was doing it all, because the man is your Majesty's subject and because I pushed the affair personally, and then as far as I can see repented of it, after I had presented my thanks to him;

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for he now denies that he ever granted anything, and denies too that he gave me the answer I wrote to your Majesty about Sebastian Cabot, though I tried to bring it back to his memory by producing circumstantial evidence. Being disappointed in his belief that Cabot would never admit it to be a matter of importance to your Majesty that he should deliver his letter of credence in person, he now wishes to find an excuse out of all reason and likelihood. I said as much to him and added: "As you say you never gave me the answer I claim, I acquit you entirely now; but give me my answer, and let it be suited to the friendship between his Majesty and the King of England. His Majesty asks that a servant of his, a man who was in his service for forty years, being the bearer of a letter of credence from his Majesty on business of great importance, may be free to go and deliver the said letter without hindrance from the King." I got nothing from him except a statement that he would repeat to me then briefly what he had said on the earlier occasion to make me understand that the King wanted to employ Cabot himself, and that had he not been required he would have been entirely at your Majesty's disposal. I could not really let that pass, and I challenged the unworthy retort, affirming that neither he nor Cabot's secretary who came to me several times at his request, had ever said that Cabot was being detained here on service duty; on the contrary I had always been told that he was here because he needed rest, being an old man, and I had replied to this that the receipt of your Majesty's letter could not have aged him much. But I now perceived, I said, that all the excuses that had been made were frivolous, and intended to frustrate you Majesty's wishes since they refused to allow Cabot to be sent to Paget, and receive his discharge from your Majesty, while his person would be answered for to their (the Council's) satisfaction. I could get nothing out of him except that your Majesty could send somebody to the said Cabot, who would give all the information he had to give. I then proceeded to speak about the Lady Mary, as I have set forth already. On all three counts he (the Protector) broke his promises to me, as I have said, and I thought it best, not knowing how matters were progressing over there, to go no further for the present; but meanwhile inform your Majesty of everything. I am astounded to find that men nowadays can be so tough and so slippery.

London, 19 July, 1549.

July 26.
Simancas
E. 80.

The MARQUES DE CORTES (Governor of Galicia) to JUAN VAZQUEZ DE MOLINA.

I have written many letters, and long ones too, to your Grace concerning the affairs of this kingdom*, and have received no answer to any of them. I wish you had told me what is to be done, in the service of his Majesty which I have so much at heart, especially with respect to the guarding of the coast; for pirates

* Galicia.

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are robbing and plundering while we, open-eyed, cannot assist ourselves. I have done all that it was possible to do, as your Grace must have heard from me; for I have given you full accounts of everything. I proposed the remedy which seemed to me opportune; and I began to negotiate with this kingdom about the share of assistance they were to furnish. But seeing no interest is taken in the matter at the court of Castile and receiving no particular orders from headquarters, they are not setting about it as earnestly as the case requires. I beseech your Grace to read the report I have sent, and to send orders as you think well, because promptness is what is needed most. A worthy man, domiciled at La Coruña, wrote me the letter I enclose. He is master of a ship and trades to and fro between La Rochelle and other ports as his business requires. He is a Fleming born. The letter sets forth that the robbers are Frenchmen; but we can get no further information until their prisoners return home. This sea-coast will soon be peopled with French and English pirates, and I live in daily apprehension of their assaults. I have had two English ships seized in two separate harbours: they were too well armed. One of them, as it turns out, provisioned herself from a Spanish vessel without paying for what she took, and it may be inferred, did other damage as well. The other comes from the Canaries and is laden with goods from those countries. I expect something fresh every day. I shall conclude the collection of evidence on all that has occurred, and forward it immediately to your Grace.

Santiago de Compostela, 26 July, 1549.

July 26. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have delayed writing to you during Controller Paget's negotiation, because we desired to put off doing so until we could inform you of the conduct and the result of it. He is now dismissed, and yesterday took his leave of us before his departure, and we do not wish to defer any longer writing to you to give you information on the substance of the business, so that you may conform you answers, if you are spoken to on the subject, with the answers made by us to him.

The said Paget came to Brussels, where we first gave him a public audience; and, without entering into details, he certified the good-will of the King his master and his chief ministers to the preservation of our friendship and increase of it, adding that good grounds for alliance would be found. He declared that, because of the terms they were on now with France, and in consequence also of the fact that our friendship was theirs, skirmishing and attacks had become matters of daily occurrence on all sides. He gave as his opinion that the present state of affairs was altogether unsuitable, and that it would be greatly preferable to be openly at war or wholly at peace.

The Council had considered the appointment of commissioners deputed by France and England to settle the differences between them, in order that the situation might be cleared up; and he believed they had met already. He assured us that in no case

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would anything prejudicial to the amity between us and the King of England, directly or indirectly traversing the treaty of closer friendship, ever be done; and, after touching lightly on the King his master's desire to profit by our advice, he stated that if we would show him a certain degree of favour, the means whereof should be proposed later, he might uphold his rights against France and lose nothing, whereas on the other hand, if we refused, they (the English) would be compelled to look after their own interests as best they could.

We replied to the general statement in general terms, with gracious professions of the affection we bear the King, of our desire to grant him all things that might favour and prosper him, of our trust that he and his ministers would give all due heed to the treaties signed, and commit no breach of them. We extended ourselves in enquiries on the health of the King, of the Lady Mary, and such like courtesies, and concluded by saying that he (Paget) might communicate with our ministers, and that our good-will towards the King his master would be plain to him in all respects except where fairness and duty forbade. Paget presented at the same time the letters he carried for the Prince our son, and visited him as he was charged to do, his courtesies being duly returned.

We afterwards commissioned the Duke of Alva, M. de Granvelle* and the Bishop of Arras to negotiate with Paget, and hear more particularly what his mission was, and the means he wished to propose for making the friendship closer. The next day they met by appointment Paget, and the English ambassador resident here. Paget kept to the same general terms without entering further into details than he had done with us, except with regard to the marriages. He professed a strong desire that the marriage between our cousin the Lady Mary and the Infante Don Luis of Portugal should take place, repeating what he had touched upon to you of the good repute enjoyed by the said Don Luis as prince of a house so closely allied to us, and as so virtuous a lord. It was replied to him that Don Luis was indeed possessed of all the qualities for which he was renowned, and for this reason we had always borne him great affection and held him as dear as if he were our own brother or son. Paget and the ambassador were requested to mention the dowry and allowance the English would give to the Lady Mary, for we necessarily must be informed on that point in order that the marriage might be favoured by us. It was declared to be entirely in accordance with our wishes, as it had been said already and desired by us for the good of both parties, to whom we were closely related. It was affirmed that we desired it particularly for the welfare of England, the bridegroom-elect being a personage entirely suited to the interests of the country; and as they well knew, the first point to be discussed in this negotiation would be the dowry. They (Paget and the ambassador) went over the same courtesies again, paying homage to the virtue and high accomplishments for which

* Nicholas Perrenot, Seigneur de Granvelle, father of the Bishop of Arras afterwards Cardinal de Granvelle.

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Don Luis is renowned; and praised the Lady Mary, saying she deserved the best of marriages for her virtues alone. Paget then declared that the late King had made but scanty provision for the lady, but that he had left to the executors of his will power to increase her portion, according to the quality of the marriage she might make; and he desired to know what possessions Don Luis had, and what provision he would be prepared to make for the Lady Mary.

He was answered that we had no information on that point; but as Don Luis was brother of the King of Portugal, we supposed his means were suited to his condition, and that his brother would treat him all the better for his dutiful conduct and the assistance he had always given in the affairs of the realm, giving a good account of himself in all matters entrusted to him to the entire satisfaction of the King, the people his subjects, and everybody concerned. We might write to the King of Portugal and ascertain the extent of Don Luis' means; but the negotiation would be more above-board if they would first openly declare the dowry. Paget replied that he could give no particular information until the means of Don Luis were ascertained; but he did not mind saying that 100,000 crowns as dowry*, or in place of it the income now enjoyed by the Lady Mary, which according to the English ambassador amounted to 40,000 crowns, seemed a likely proposal. The negotiation went no further; it was set aside on the understanding that we should do our best to obtain information about the means at the disposal of the said Don Luis; and if these could not be ascertained indirectly, we should write to Portugal. Nothing more could be done until we knew what they on their side had to say: and the English must reflect meantime whether the dowry could not be increased.

After this point was disposed of as above, they reverted to the conference on which the French and English were both engaged, expressing in general terms their willingness to enter into closer alliance with us, confirming the existing treaties and amplifying them to include that which might seem most suitable and advantageous to both sides, according to certain proposals which the English were about to make. They enlarged on the scanty reliance we could place on the French, on the ease with which England could hold out against France, and concluded by saying that at any rate the treaties might be ratified by the Prince our son. Before actually doing this it would be well to clear up certain points which, in spite of the declaration made at Utrecht, still seemed obscure. This involved an inspection of the actual treaty. So the matter was put off till the following day when the text of the treaties was to be produced and examined.

The following day, we ordered the said Bishop of Arras, the two Presidents Viglius and de St. Mauris, to meet Controller Paget and the English ambassador with the treaties, so that after reading them over they might declare what they had to

* Jeanne d'Albret received this sum as her dowry.

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say about them, the terms of the proposed ratification, and the nature of the elucidations they desired to make.

The Bishop of Arras and the two Presidents met the Controller and the ambassador. The treaties and the declaration of Utrecht were read out from end to end. Controller Paget and the ambassador took up only four points: first, the 6th article of the treaty, asking for a definite reply to an imaginary case they would submit to us, which, according to them, was within the range of possibility, so that they might know what would be expected of them and how we should interpret the obligations imposed upon us by the treaty. The case was the following one: if the Scots were to invade England with an army of over 8,000 men,—England being a contracting party in the treaties—and if the French were to help the Scots with say, 100 or 200 men, or give them assistance of any kind whatever, would we, according to the terms of the declaration of Utrecht, consider ourselves bound to declare war on France or not?

The second point had reference to the 7th article of the said treaty, in which it was specified that if assistance were granted against an invasion, and if the invader withdrew and the invaded decided on pursuit, he might use the troops originally granted for the purpose of defence, conditionally on the pursuit being carried on in the manner set down in the treaty. Now the terms of the treaty allowed the invaded nation to demand assistance either in men or money; but if the troops might be kept indefinitely, the stipulation which provided for an alternative grant equivalent to four months of the troops' pay was an empty form.

The third point he touched upon was the article concerning reprisals. He desired to obviate the possibility of their being undertaken too lightly, and asked how the clause concerning the withholding of justice should be interpreted. He had a doubt, he said, that if increase of business caused them to delay and on occasion they were unable to administer justice to our subjects after the receipt of a particular request to do so, we might authorise reprisals on the grounds that justice had been delayed or withheld. He proposed as a remedy that ten members of the Council of England should be deputed to hear any complaints our subjects had to make and that we on our side should name ten persons to concern themselves with the redress of injuries and compensation for losses claimed to have been sustained by English subject from our own subjects.

The fourth point dwelt upon by the said Paget was the confirmation of the treaties. He desired that the treaties might be confirmed by the Prince our son and the King of England, and also by the various states under the dominion of both parties. It was objected to him that such a course would entail delays and be a very unequal proceeding, if our states, as separate fiefs, were to confirm the treaty; for they were numerous, diverse in their customs, and each negotiated its own affairs separately, whereas the English had one Parliament for all. It was further objected to him that it was not suitable that subjects should

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be so particularly informed of the negotiations of princes; that the various lords and princes were in possession of the treaties, approved them and adhered to them, so that there was no fear of any hitch in their execution, and no need to obtain further consent from the various states. It seemed unsuitable to make an attempt to bind the said princes by diminishing their authority, and we saw no cause to ask that this should be done, since all treaties made by the princes of our dominions with all and sundry had been scrupulously observed, this being exemplified by the hereditary league with the Switzers, and other instances; while the English had seen how enduring was the nature of such treaties by our inviolate observance of all that had been arranged between us.

Paget admitted the reasonableness of all this. He said plainly that he had urged his points with the earnest wish that the matter might be made so safe that the friendship should endure inviolate for all time; and he left it to us to seek the best means to that end, with the confirmation of the treaties by the King his master and the Prince our son. The Bishop of Arras and the two Presidents undertook to report his words, and his remarks on the other three points, as mentioned above. They gave no definite answer on the first point and entered into no long argument over it, holding it to be a delicate one, and giving ground for something more than a mere negative or affirmative. For that reason they preferred to wait until we had been informed.

At the outset of the negotiation Controller Paget took the Bishop of Arras aside and said to him, that as he knew him personally better than the others because of the various affairs they had transacted together before, he wished to address himself to him and tell him that the French and English commissioners were to meet and settle those differences which, treaties notwithstanding, caused them daily to resort to arms. This he had declared on his arrival; and the Bishop might remember, he added, that he had incidentally mentioned that their course of action would depend on the support we were prepared to give them, though they would not act, directly or indirectly, against the existing friendship, as they were bound by the treaty of close amity. He would go further, he said, and make plain his wish that we might be requested to apply the treaties of close amity, and include Boulogne on the same footing as the other territories and places specified in the said treaties. He offered, as a counterpart, to accept on the same terms another town equivalent in importance to Boulogne, to be named by us. He made use of all the persuasions in his power, revealing the evil intentions of the French, enlarging on their jealousy of our might, and how they were only waiting for an opportunity to manifest their ill-will, asserting that they were intriguing on all sides to traverse both public affairs and our private business; that they had broken their treaties with us, and particularly the Treaty of Crépy, in several ways; that with good reason and fair cause we might show resentment of the help they had given the Scots for the invasion of England with 8,000 men, adding

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too that sooner or later war would be forced upon us by their attitude which it was hopeless to expect they would alter; and that the English wished to see it done now, with the help of the King of England, who would be able to hold his own and retain Boulogne. He pointed out that by acting in concert we should bring the French to reason more easily; and he added that if we would not accept the (proposed) inclusion of Boulogne, the English would be compelled to give it up to purchase peace and save the expense of guarding it, and that when the King their master came of age, they would exonerate themselves by saying that they had to give it up to purchase peace for lack of help and assistance.

By the letter of the treaties, as he very well knew, he said, we were not bound to undertake the protection of Boulogne; thus his master would have no cause for complaint against us, but rather good cause to rejoice at what we might do for him. The English would look upon it as all the greater favour, and laying a greater obligation upon them, because of the present tender age of the young King.

The Bishop of Arras answered, point for point, in general terms, acknowledging us to be bound by our promises and treaties to all alike, as we had ever considered ourselves to be. The proposed inclusion of Boulogne would involve a specific breach of our treaty with France, to which England had given her consent, and would plunge us suddenly into war, thus raising fresh turmoils in Christendom. The invasion of England by the Scots with an army of 8,000 men would provide a meagre excuse for overt acts of hostility, considering that the invasion was not of such a nature, nor had matters come to such a point, that it was deemed necessary to ask for our assistance, particularly as the English were now at peace with France, and had undertaken nothing on the Scottish Border or elsewhere which might be interpreted as a declaration of war. The Bishop of Arras supposed therefore, that merely (*two illegible words*) would pass between them. But Controller Paget, without discussing the answer made to him by the Bishop, said he was not using mere (*two illegible words*); but as it was one of the principal points of his mission, on which great hopes rested, he had laid it before him for the purpose of obtaining an answer from us.

Soon after this negotiation was held, the date appointed by us for the taking of the oath by the Prince our son arrived, and with this opportunity we excused ourselves from giving our answer to Paget until our return to Brussels. But having heard from him that he wished to go to Antwerp, and that, as rumour had it that we were proposing to stay only a short time at Brussels, he would go as far as Ghent, which was on his way, we gave him an appointment for that place, where we stayed six or seven days only, and were continuously occupied with the Flemish Parliament. We were compelled, therefore, to put him off till the present time. He showed some resentment of the long delay to the Bishop of Arras and President de St. Mauris, who were sent by us to offer him our excuses. On our arrival here, after having

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held several communications upon the matter, and debated it thoroughly, especially the points put forward by the said Paget concerning the treaty, we commissioned the Bishop of Arras and the two above-mentioned Presidents to transmit our answer to him, for which purpose they met him yesterday together with the English Ambassador.

Concerning the first point we replied that the letter of the treaties was plain, and having made a plain statement at Utrecht during the lifetime of the late King, we should not willingly consent to make any declaration about the treaty during the minority of the present King. The suppositious case put forward by Paget, to find out whether we would or would not assist them if the Scots were to invade the country with the help of 100 or more French soldiers or otherwise, had no application, for no such event had taken place in reality; and considering how faithfully we had adhered to the treaties in word and letter, they should rest with the assurance, which we repeated and confirmed, that in any eventuality we would be strictly bound by what was written down.

With regard to the second point, we replied that it was self-evident that the side called upon for assistance was bound to provide it in both contingencies, whether men or pay were asked for, the option of the nature of the assistance being arranged in favour of the applicant. Paget replied that he had construed the meaning in that sense.

As to the third point, dealing with reprisals, and the expedient proposed by Paget (to obviate delay), we replied that it seemed likely that the proposal to bring before a new body the complaints already formulated in England, would bring about fresh delays in prejudice of those who had suffered, and who had sued for compensation so long without obtaining any. It would be much better, in our opinion, to satisfy the just demands of our subjects before entering into fresh devices of a different nature for obviating reprisals. We requested him most particularly to do his best to ensure the granting of the compensations applied for.

With regard to the confirmation of the treaties, we sent this answer, that they were undertaking an office which would more suitably have been ours, seeing that by the grace of God we who had signed the treaty enjoyed life, whereas the late King—(might God forgive him)—was dead; and the ratification of the treaty might well have been sued for by us from the new King.

The intention here was not, we said, to excuse the Prince our son from signing the proposed ratification. We were assured that they (the English) shared our determination to observe the treaties of perfect friendship inviolably, and there was nothing to fear, therefore, if abundant assurances were required of us. But it was our intention to prove that the beginning should have been made by us. Nothing had been proposed concerning the surest means of clinching the ratification, and considering that their King was so young, Parliament should, we thought, confer sufficient authority on the King's governor and guardian

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to enable him to ratify the treaty (in the King's name) notwithstanding his tender age. When this was done, our son, whose age was sufficient, would willingly ratify the treaty too.

As to what concerned the inclusion of Boulogne, having signed a peace with France by the Treaty of Crépy, with the consent of the late King of England, we could not outstep the bounds of honourable conduct by acting contrary to it. The inclusion of Boulogne would constitute a direct breach of the treaty; and our present circumstances did not warrant a declaration of war on France. Beyond this, Paget might assure the King his master that we would do everything in our power for him, where honour and our duty to others did not interfere, and that we bore him the same fatherly affection we had borne him until now, as towards a son and our good brother. It was our wish to see him at peace with France; and Paget ought to know it, for he had knowledge of the good offices we undertook during the lifetime of the late King to bring about a friendship between them. We trusted that the King of England, for his part, would make good the assurances Paget had given us on his behalf, and keep his word honourably, and would not negotiate anything which could, directly or indirectly, be termed a breach of good friendship. We hoped rather that when they (the French and English) came to terms, some consideration might be taken of the damage sustained by our subjects from the Scots for their sake, all the more because of the courtesy shown to them by us. It was mentioned incidentally that the Scots daily solicited our friendship.

Paget said that he would make no reply, but on his return to England would diligently and particularly inform them (the Council) of the answers he had received on the five above-mentioned points. But he could not forbear from expressing a wish that we had spoken more openly, and if we were desirous of ratifying the treaties to some good purpose, he thought more light might conveniently have been thrown on those points which were still doubtful, in his opinion, although the sense, taken literally, seemed plain enough. He found it strange that the minority of the King should be mentioned in connection with the confirmation of the treaties, as if implying that he was powerless to accomplish anything, whereas by the laws of England the King had the same authority to pass laws and treat affairs whether he were one, or forty-five years old. With respect to the damages sustained by our subjects, he had always done his best, he said, as we must be aware; but on the other hand it must be remembered that if satisfaction was given to each within the other's dominion, still it could only be done according to the laws of the country in which they (the subjects) found themselves, and the occurrences must be judged in the light of such laws.

It was replied to him that the answer made on our behalf was so entirely justified that we hoped that he, and those to whom he made his report would be satisfied with it. The King's tender age had not been mentioned, we said, with the intention of diminishing his authority by one particle; but he must know

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well that English laws, though in full vigour within the country itself, were without effect in the case under discussion, the custom being to abide by special laws* (*lois communes*) when treating affairs with a foreign prince.

With regard to our subjects' wrongs, we were aware that in intercourse (with a foreign country), they must abide by the laws of the country in which they found themselves; but nevertheless we requested that more alacrity might be shown in making inquiries into the damages and wrongs inflicted upon our subjects, and that judgment and compensation might promptly follow.

Although Paget suggested that unless help from us were forthcoming, they might hand over Boulogne as the price of peace, yet we could not believe, we said, that they would do any such thing, considering how solemnly the late King had enjoined them to keep it, and that the country wished it to be kept.

In any case, even if Boulogne is given up, we desire you (*i.e.* Van der Delft) to keep close watch, and send us information on the trend of affairs in England, because, whatever promises the French may make, they will never abandon the Scots, but will go on helping and bolstering them up to the bitter end; and we desire you to be warned on this point.

The Bishop of Arras met Paget again, to attempt to get out of him something more concerning the marriage between Don Luis and the Lady Mary, and induce him to mention a higher sum as dowry. But as he remains firm in his reply, that he will mention no definite sum until the means of Don Luis, and the provision he would be prepared to make for his bride, are ascertained, the matter now stands thus; that we are to write to Portugal, and inform the English of what we hear.

Paget has since come to take his leave of us. He asquiesced in the answers given him on our behalf in the matter of his negotiation, saying he would make a careful report. We did not think fit to discuss the subject further with him, as he did not request us to do so. After excusing ourselves for not having been able to despatch his business sooner (which he seemed to take in good part), we repeated in emphatic terms our assurance of good-will and affection towards the King his master, together with our unconditional determination inviolably to observe the treaty of closer amity, and our trust that in this matter we should find them of the same mind as ourselves, remembering the assurances he had given us on his arrival here, in case they came to terms with France, and on which our ministers had dwelt with sufficient insistence. We found an opportunity of speaking to Paget about the subject of your last letters, concerning the Lady Mary our cousin, and the religious question too, as Paget had expressed a wish that we should do so, and insisted specially on it with the Bishop of Arras at Brussels. We began by saying that we had heard the resolve he had expressed to the Bishop concerning the marriage of the said lady with the Infante Don Luis of Portugal; and as he could go no further in the matter

* Laws made by common consent of both parties.

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of the dowry and the allowance they could give her until the means enjoyed by Don Luis could be ascertained, we would undertake to write and obtain the information as soon as possible and would let them know. Then we proceeded to express our great astonishment at the pressure which we heard from you had been put upon our cousin to accept the changes in religion made in England; for we held for certain that if the late King, her father, had lived he would have left her undisturbed in the practice of the old religion, and we trusted that if the King her brother were now of age he would do the same. Were she inclined to accept the change, we assured him that we would do our utmost to dissuade her, our close relative; for we and those of our blood would grieve exceedingly if she were to change, and we resented all the more that attempts should be made to induce her to be untrue to the faith she had held up to this day, in which her forebears lived in holiness. We desired to be reassured, in writing or otherwise, that she should not be included in the regulations made by Parliament about religion or be kept in suspense on the matter. He might gauge for himself, we said, whether we could suffer the (new) laws to be applied where the Lady Mary was concerned. Paget interrupted us here, saying that this was not their intention, and that nothing more should be attempted. We replied that we had spoken thus, because we had often seen it happen, particularly in England, that some made laws and others, who came into power afterwards, applied them; and he must not find it strange that we should ask for some further statement and assurance from the English, who had been known to execute their queens. We desired to inform Paget ourself, of the great danger lurking in religious changes, danger to the soul, greatest of all, and danger of another kind also, for the people became insolent and disobedient, as their own experience must teach them; and that we were moved to speak by the affection we bore the young King of England, the Protector, and particularly for the good memory we kept personally of him (Paget) from other days, since when our affection towards him had remained undiminished. We would urge them to consider the odium they would have to bear for attempting so much during the King's minority. Their neighbours kept watchful eyes upon them, planning to take the first opportunity to wreak their ill-will; the Almighty was wroth when thus defied, as had been made manifest lately in Germany. We spoke of what had been accomplished in that country as being rather the work of His hand than the outcome of human effort and counsel, and exhorted him in the name of God to profit by the example, and to remedy all that was wrong as promptly as possible.

We spoke, recommending to him the Knights of Rhodes, praising their order and the good work they continually did among the Infidels, devoting their riches to it, wherefore all Christian princes held them in great respect. We adjured him to bring it about that they should be favourably treated in England, and their property restored to them. His answer to everything was,

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that he would report all we had said, and do his best to further our wishes. Our above-mentioned ministers spoke to the Controller about a bulwark the English are building again near Gravelines, along the river, a great part—almost half—of which is built upon our territory, so that they could cut off water from us and dam up the water from Lower Flanders, to the detriment of our country and ourselves. The ministers of the King of England have repeatedly been warned that they have no right to, and should not put up the encroaching bulwarks; and our cousin, the Comte de Rœulx, sent in a protest to this effect by the captain of Gravelines, the Lord of Vandeville; but no answer has been received, beyond a general assurance that nothing should be done to our detriment. But the building proceeds in the meantime. We requested Paget to see that the matter be put right immediately after his return. We also told him of the just complaints of our subjects, to whom wool is being sold in England at much higher rates than is fair, contrary to the intercourse,* while we on our side observe the rules strictly. He put off giving us an answer on either point, saying he had no information on the subject. He promised to satisfy our just demands as soon as he could get to the bottom of the matter. You will press it with the Council, and use this detailed account of Paget's negotiation if perchance they speak of it to you.

With regard to Sebastian Cabot, your answer was quite right. You will insist that he may be allowed to go to Spain to deliver his letter and fulfil the mission he has received from us. Repeat your instances to this effect, and inform us of the answer you receive from the Council.

Brussels, 26 July, 1549.

July 28.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extracts from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, since my last letters to your Majesty, the King has given as pretext a pretended discovery that your Majesty is secretly raising troops to help the English against him, to sound the drum all through his kingdom, and is ordering part of the legionaries to assemble at Abbeville by the 10th of next month. He has put Sipières, Humières, Count de la Chambre and Entragues in command of the light horse, and from the preparations he is making it seems that he is forming an army of 20,000 or 30,000 foot, 1,000 men-at-arms and 800 light horse, which he declares he intends to lead against the English if they refuse to give him back Boulogne and all of their new conquest they hold on this side of the sea. However, he proclaims that he will do nothing against your Majesty, though if you help the English he will take care to defend himself. In this frame of mind he is making for Compiègne, where he will leave the ladies and ambassadors, and will himself proceed to Abbeville to hold a general muster. It is believed that the King will lead his army in person to avoid rivalry between MM. de Vendôme and

* Commercial convention.

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d'Aumale, and some say that the Constable has persuaded the King to act thus in order that he may rule, and nothing be done without him. I have observed that the said lord (*i.e.* Vendôme) has no great share in this undertaking, and is displeased with the Constable; so much so that it is said that the marriage between Mlle. de Nevers, his niece, and the Constable's son has been broken off by him. He arrived here on the 26th of this month on his way to meet his wife, for whom he has sent to visit Mme. Vendôme,* who is ill and cannot be moved. So, though Vendôme is Governor of Picardy, all business goes through the Constable's hands. During these preparations the English ambassador has twice held communication with the Constable on possible means of peace or truce, but the Constable answered him that the King was well aware of Paget's mission, the object of which had been to put the town of Boulogne into your Majesty's hands and negotiate something to the King's hurt, which he could not pass by without resentment. Then, turning his talk into general statements, without making any definite reply to what the ambassador had proposed, he said that the King of France had always desired, and still desired peace with all Christian princes, on the condition that each one should act reasonably towards him, and that as often as the King of England cared to behave in such manner he should learn how ardently the King of France desired peace. However, he went into no details about the commissaries' task, nor did he settle anything. It is true that the King has been afraid that your Majesty might accept Boulogne town, and now, with the frivolous character natural to the French, he is arming against the English because he sees that their kingdom is a prey to sedition on account of religious disputes and the seizure of common land by the nobles. According to information Chevalier Marino† sent me, it all may vanish into smoke unless the King is able to take some forts, especially Boulemberg, or perhaps the King, after making a few raids and revictualling his frontier fortresses, may abandon the war with the same frivolity with which he undertook it; and Marino asked me to tell your Majesty that the King will not turn his arms against you, whilst the Navarrese, on leaving Paris, told me that the King was sending express instructions to Count de Tendes to continue his preparations and plots against Nice until he received news from the King, and keep himself ready to carry out the enterprise in case he should hear that the campaign against Boulogne had been successful. The Navarrese also said he could find an opportunity for speaking to Count de Tendes before going to Milan in order to obtain better information. However, as your Majesty has long known French faith, I will leave your Majesty to draw what conclusions you please from their plans.

The Lyons man says he has heard that, if your Majesty takes any share, open or secret, in the English war, the King has

* Presumably Vendôme's mother.

† In a minute of instructions from the Emperor to Simon Renard of the 17th December, 1549 (Vienna, F. 32.), it seems that Marino and Ippolito, two informants often mentioned by Renard, were brothers.

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decided to make part of his forces winter in Lorraine, fearing that M. de Granvelle, on his way through those parts, may brew some trouble for next year or try to occupy strongholds and passes in your Majesty's name. I do not consider this likely, nor have I been able to find out anything more about it from other persons. . . .

About three days ago the Constable proclaimed that he had heard from Beccaria that all the Swiss cantons had granted the league, and that the King of the Romans had refused to renounce the Empire in our Prince's (*i.e.* Philip's) favour, and resented your Majesty's request that he should do so. These are the news that Christopher Truchemant brought back from Germany, whither he was sent to put the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Württemberg on their guard, through them to find means of placing obstacles in the way of your Majesty's journey, and to raise soldiers in their countries. Whether these princes grant what is asked of them or not, it is quite certain that a number of lansquenets are being sent to Württemberg and are taking their wives and children with them, for I am informed of it by one of my men whom I am keeping at the Iron Cross inn in the Rue St. Martin, where they lodge.

To-day the King has had a solemn mass sung in the Sainte Chapelle for the success of his journey; and he is taking a piece of the true cross and one of Our Lord's thorns to carry on his person. . . . .

Paris, 28 July, 1549.

Aug. 2. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 32.

The EMPEROR to SIMON RENARD.

(Extract from a minute.)

As for M. de la Croix's mission to the Pope, you will see to discovering as much about it as you can, especially if there is any question of renewing the league between his Holiness and the King of France in the event of the Holy Father's not being satisfied with the reply we gave him about Piacenza. But do so in so dextrous a manner that we may not appear to care greatly what negociations they may carry on together. Touching the league with the Switzers, we have been informed by our ministers in that quarter that five of the cantons have not given their consent, though the French certainly tried to get them to go in with the rest. We have received a copy of the text of the league as we have already written to you, and have seen by it that the Switzers have added clauses enabling them to refuse to be bound on the principal points which the French are trying to achieve, for they have reserved all leagues and confederations of an earlier date than this one. When the French speak to you about it, behave as if you gave the matter no heed or attention. . . .

We sent Controller Paget off after having communicated with him on various points touching our treaty with England. You may certify that nothing has been done with him against the treaties we have with France, or that might damage the friendship existing between the two countries, which we desire to maintain inviolate as long as the French will do the same, as they have so

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often assured us they wish to do. There is no need for you to treat on this point, and it will be quite enough, if they speak to you on the subject, to reply according to these instructions. We may inform you that, as far as we have been able to calculate, Paget's mission to us was intended to give the French a fillip in order that their commissaries may go to work with ampler powers, rather than anything else. And you will do well to let us know as much as possible of what happens in the negotiations between France and England. . . . .

St. Omer, 2 August, 1549.

Aug. 7. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, after the return of Controller Paget, who sent me your Majesty's letters, I would have gone at once to the Protector to make more demands about sending Cabot, though they have replied to me on this point with a good deal of resolution, and also to speak about the bulwark the English are making between Gravelines and Calais. But the Controller, having reported his negotiation abroad to the Protector and Council, sent to me to say that he greatly desired to speak with me before I went to the Protector. So he has been keeping me waiting from day to day, and I believe he has not had an opportunity of leaving court because of the continual consultations that are being held to prevent or remedy the peasants' evil, which is swelling daily. The matter is grave since the peasants came off victorious in an encounter they had with the Marquis of Northampton, brother of the Queen, lately deceased. The Marquis entered the town of Norwich where there was a great gathering of peasants both within and without the walls, but after remaining under arms all night was forced to retreat with all his men, among whom was Charles de Guevara's company. But the Marquis was unable to make good his escape without losing several gentlemen killed, among them Lord Sheffield, and eleven pieces of artillery. This happened with the Norfolk rebels about twelve miles from the place where the Lady Mary resides. It is said that the Protector was to have gone there in person with the German infantry that remained near London, and Hacfort's company. Hacfort, Sire, asked me what he should do, and it seemed to me that if he were asked to go he might say that he had come with your Majesty's permission to serve the King of England against the King's Scottish enemies, but not in anything touching religion; therefore if the Protector wanted him for this work neither he nor his men would consent without first learning your Majesty's good pleasure, as they were in duty bound to do. And this he will put into effect if the matter goes farther.

In the west and in Cornwall, the Privy Seal has been greatly reinforced by the arrival of Lord Grey and Herbert, and together they have revictualled Exeter, which is besieged by the peasants, who began by taking the ports of Falmouth, Dartmouth and Plymouth on the coast opposite to France. So, Sire, things are

* All but the first few lines of this letter is written in cipher.

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going very badly, and we hear nothing but that if foreigners begin killing Englishmen, Englishmen will not leave one foreigner alive here. Thus for our own security we do not know whom we ought to wish to see victorious.

Nothing is being said here about Scotland. The Earl of Warwick has gone to Wales to keep the people in order. I have heard that the French have sent several ships and galleys to attack the island of Alderney which the English are fortifying, but have accomplished nothing, for their force only got as far as Jersey, where they hoped to surprise some vessels, but these escaped into the harbour with little harm, as a servant of the captain of that island who has just come here told me. If the Controller does not speak to me to-day, Sire, I will not fail to go to court to-morrow, and will then advise your Majesty more fully of everything.

London, 7 August, 1549.

Aug. 8. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire, noticing that the King was going out of Paris in order to treat of his enterprises and affairs with greater secrecy, and was holding two or three Council meetings daily, I followed the court as near as I could with the pretext of several matters which I had negotiated at Villers-Cotterets, where I demanded audience as your Majesty may see by the separate letters which contain accounts of those affairs. My object was to find out the reason of so many Council meetings, to get to the bottom of the French plans against the English, and to hear what was being said about politics. In order to avoid rousing suspicions I have always adopted the course of prefacing my demands for an audience by saying to the Constable that I was unwilling to intermingle business with the King's diversions while he was enjoying himself at the chase, and desired not to make myself importunate, but would rather leave all to the Constable's discretion and judgment, that he might give me an audience when he saw fit. He sent to tell me that if I cared to go to the place of assembly I should see the sport given by a stag the King was going to hunt, and the Chancellor would invite him and myself to dinner, after which I might negotiate as much as I pleased. To avoid suspicions, I decided not to go to the assembly, but went to dine later at the Chancellor's house. While there I found out that they had been discussing whether the King should accompany this expedition in person or not, for the King's will inclined towards going, but the Chancellor, seeing that the Constable had several reasons for wishing to dissuade him, remonstrated that as this was the first expedition he had undertaken since he came to the throne it would be more fitting that he should show himself with a brilliant company and accomplish the journey with the honour his authority deserves, and that as this enterprise had been decided upon rather late, it would be difficult to get together a sufficient force of infantry, so that recourse would have to be had to the legionaries, and it would be difficult to obtain any foreign troops

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unless they were to be Switzers. If Switzers were to be engaged and a powerful army set on foot only to take a fort or two that could not be relieved by any hostile force, it would arouse your Majesty's suspicions. Also the matter could not be undertaken without great expense, which would weaken the forces available for next season, and all the more because French finance was in low water and there was much popular discontent about the taxes the King desired to impose and the tenths he intended to levy; and all the expedients for raising money had been tried as it was. If in the King's absence any move were to be made in the Terre d'Oye* and the older English conquest on this side of the sea, which your Majesty was obliged to defend if asked to do so by the English, it would be much easier to mask it and pass it off than if the King were present. Moreover, the issue of such an undertaking was doubtful, and it seemed probable that the English had furnished their frontier strongholds with all things necessary for their defence, beside the fact that your Majesty was pricking up your ears to listen to what was going on in order to make your profit out of it, and might make this an excuse for showing the English favour if you saw them in a weak position, as you neither desired to see the French prosper, or to allow the English to become powerful. The King might be quite certain that your Majesty had cavalry on the frontier ready to be used if the spies informed you that need was arising. Also your Majesty was a prince who understood the conduct of war and all such matters as well as any man in this world, for you had seen and directed them for many years with varying success, and your Majesty's reply to Marillac's questions about the soldiers he supposed you to be levying in Germany, was such that this question ought to be weighed carefully. It seemed to him (*i.e.* the Chancellor) that the Constable might well be entrusted with the command, and the King could follow from one town to the next, coming as near as possible in order to be informed of the events of each hour, and if he cared to he might even visit the camp. The Constable concurred in this opinion, but in order to avoid envy and rivalry proposed that the command should be given to M. de Vendôme or M. d'Aumale, though professing his readiness to obey the King's commands. This happened in M. d'Aumale's presence, who by the advice of the Duchess of Valentinois offered to fulfil the King's wishes and to follow the Constable. The upshot of the matter was that the Chancellor's plain obtained, in accordance with which the Constable and M. d'Aumale left Compiègne on the 5th of this month for Montreuil, where the army is to be assembled on the 12th, and on the 15th is to march in battle order with a view to recovering Boulogne by taking two forts, one called Ambleteuse and the other Boulemberg. Judging by the report made by some people who have reconnoitred Boulemberg, the French make sure they will take it, saying that its fortification

* Oye (Lat. Anseria) is a small place on a stream of the same name between Marck and Gravelines. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it and its surroundings constituted a county.

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has been wrongly understood, for part of a hill-side which ought to have been enclosed by the wall has been left out, and under cover of this hill they will be able to bring up 10,000 or 12,000 men in battle-array and batter two bastions of the fort from thirty or forty paces. While this is going on they will mine the hill-side and cause the curtain between the two bastions to fall in, which curtain they take to be of earth-work without admixture of wooden binders or posts. When once the curtain is demolished they believe there will be no possibility of throwing up another rampart and that by these means they will take Boulemberg*. This done they are sure of taking the fort of Ambleteuse which lies beneath Boulemberg by the sea and serves the English as a second port to revictual Boulogne; and the one reason for constructing Boulemberg was to protect Ambleteuse, which the French propose to batter with fifty cannon from two sides. Besides this they intend to divert the course of a little river that enters Boulogne harbour and into which the tide flows, and to sit down before Boulogne and besiege it until they starve it out. In order to split up the English force they have sent out a fleet under the Prior of Capua, which will do nothing but pass up and down to occupy the English and prevent them from assisting Boulogne, and in Scotland they intend to make raids and harry the English as much as possible.

I have been assured of the truth of the above by Captain Hippolyte and Chevalier Marino, who have also informed me that the defect in the fortifications of Boulemberg might be made good in three days, taking into consideration the facility for obtaining wood they have at Boulemberg, for they might advance their wall, strengthened with plenty of wood and stakes or with good double wattles, so as to guard the approaches and trenches. From what the said captain has seen of the fort he considers that if this fault were remedied it would be difficult to take, and both the captain and the chevalier are of opinion that it would be in your Majesty's interest not to have the two forts taken this year, but nevertheless leave this to your Majesty's better judgment. They have assured me that things are going worse here in France than ever before, for the Council is undecided and badly afraid of your Majesty, especially because it cannot make out your Majesty's intentions towards them. The French know your Majesty to be hostile, but see you avoiding every occasion that may be avoided of looking as if you wished to pick a quarrel with them, and standing things they never thought your Majesty would stand, such as the league made with the Switzers for the purpose of keeping the Duke of Savoy's lands, their open negotiations with Turks, Moors, pirates, infidels and Protestants, overlooking the Pope's plotting and the treachery made known the other day by which it was proposed to hand over the fortress of Gaëta, though this was discovered in time to reinforce the garrison with 300 Spaniards, and above all ignoring the French-

* This fort is usually referred to in modern books as Boulogneberg, but as Boulemberg is the form almost invariably used in the documents, and is probably nearer the pronunciation, I adhere to it.

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men's public boasts, that they are waiting for nothing but your Majesty's death to make war on our Prince (*i.e.* Philip), because of their envy of his greatness and fortune. In addition to this I perceive that your Majesty's prohibition to your subjects to go and serve the English causes the French to doubt, for it seems to indicate that your Majesty takes no interest in this war or in any of their doings. Also the fact that your Majesty allows no reprisals or counter-exploits, whatever outrages be committed upon your subjects by Scots or Frenchmen, and only demands justice and reparation, which are never given, by means of your ambassadors, leaves them quite unable to understand what your Majesty is about. The parties and factions about which I have already written are daily becoming more restless and will further be excited because the Constable's commission will leave M. de Vendôme, Governor of Picardy, without his post. The Constable spied upon M. de Vendôme's absence in order to get his own commission granted, though he first declared to Vendôme that the King wished to command his army in person. They say that Vendôme will be here with his wife on the 7th* of this month, and I will endeavour to find out all about his discontent in order to inform your Majesty of it.

Chevalier Marino tells me that the Prior of Capua has taken some English vessels, and that Colonel Melun and another French gentleman have each had a leg carried away by cannon-balls. Captain Hippolyte advises me that the King of France has had news that Paget returned to England after an ungracious dismissal by your Majesty because of the religious question, and that your Majesty had refused to make any reply to a marriage proposal until the said business of religion should be settled. He says your Majesty's reply to all the points laid before you by Paget was uncertain and vague, and that if the French had heard that your Majesty had but lent an ear to these proposals, the King would not have gone on with this expedition, which he has undertaken because of Paget's ill-success and the still unquelled revolt in England. The French say that the English have killed not a few foreign soldiers, which will deter any others who may be sent for from going to serve that country, and that the revolt is founded on extra taxation, religion and enclosures of common land made by the gentry. Hippolyte has told me that the King and Council have come to the conclusion that if they are to remain on bad terms with the English and yet fail to recover Boulogne they will expose themselves to a greater danger than ever before in case your Majesty were to declare war on them, because Boulogne would leave a door open by which France might be attacked by land and sea, the Bretons, Picards and Normans harried, and the King's forces divided. The King finds his forces less strong than he imagined, for it is impossible to obtain infantry unless it be composed of legionaries or pressed men, because the troops are not paid and there are no seasoned men

* This letter, though dated 8 August, was obviously written over several days, as was often the case.

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available, besides the fact that they have no love for the present King, who is astounded that in all Gascony he was only able to raise 1,000 men for this war, for the people showed openly that they had not forgotten the Constable's harsh cruelty.

The very day on which the Constable left this place the King sent a servant of his with five or six archers of the guard to arrest the English ambassador at Poissy and prevent him from speaking with anyone, and it is said they have sent someone to rob the ambassador's servant whom he sent to England, and take his letters from him. I believe this was done in order to call back the French ambassador in England, if he has not already made good his escape as some suspect, and to keep the Englishman from advising his Government of anything he might have heard here. Thus do the French treat their ambassodors, and into such deeds do they convert their fair words. The purveyors had already chosen and taken a lodging for the English ambassador here in Compiègne, and the last time he had speech of the Constable he was received with the greatest possible favour. The French nature is thus disposed to trickery at the very moment when they are making protestations of friendship; and the ambassadors here are greatly scandalised by such proceedings and treatment; not that I write this for what may concern me, for I hold my life cheap in your Majesty's service, but because of the example and encouragement given by the French to other princes to violate all law and right, encroaching on the personal security of ambassadors and disregarding the respect that is due to them because of the persons they represent. According to Carneseque's account the Venetian and papal ambassadors find these doings very ill, and are unable to refrain from saying so. As for me, Sire, I maintain that the King has acted in the very wisest manner to make quite sure of recalling his ambassador from England. Carneseque also told me that the King of France was going to leave all the ambassadors at Compiègne on my account, and had said to the Venetian ambassador that he could not take the others with him and leave me behind alone, for that would be declaring himself too openly; meanwhile the others are begging to be allowed to go as far as Amiens. It is true the King has as yet said nothing to me about my remaining in this place, and I suppose he will not do so until he is on the point of departure, which they say will be in four days, and that then he will proceed to Amiens. . . .

Compiègne, 8 August, 1549.

Aug. 13. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

I wrote in my last letter to your Majesty that I was putting off going to court until Controller Paget should come and talk with me as he had sent to say he greatly desired to do. Last Thursday he came to dine with me and told me, among other things, that he had made a good report (of his mission to the Emperor) to the King and Protector, and given them such good

* This letter is written in cipher.

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assurance of your Majesty's affection that the King in particular was overjoyed to hear it. His reason for wishing to speak with me before I met the Protector was that your Majesty, among several general statements, had gone into some detail on one or two points, namely the administration of this kingdom and the change in religious policy, in order that he might bring the Protector to a more reasonable attitude. It seemed to me that your Majesty had made an impression upon him regarding the scant observation of the late King's will manifest in recent innovations which are to blame for the trouble the English are having with their subjects, and also in the disrespect shown to the Lady Mary, but I was not pleased with the Protector's trick of giving no reply on these questions. Therefore I told Paget how the Protector had treated me in his absence, that he had taken back his word on three separate points, and that it was unseemly in one who was pretending to rule to promise and then contradict himself without any regard for truth. Thus I could not hide from Paget that I considered him personally to blame for all the evil that had befallen this kingdom, since he had been the principal instrument in setting us up a Protector who would certainly never do any good. In reply to this Paget said : "He has a bad wife." And I rejoined that that amounted to a confession of his unworthiness, since he allowed himself to be ruled by his wife. We finally came to the conclusion that Paget should secretly inform the Protector of the bad opinion I had formed of him because of his conduct of affairs, and that I should show no sign of it, for Paget said to me : "He thinks very highly of you, and may perhaps take care to conform his actions more to your desire."

Since then the Protector has sent Secretary Mason to tell me that the passages have been closed because war was being declared on France, and all the Frenchmen here were arrested the same night. Noticing that communication was continually being held with the French ambassador, I demanded audience yesterday in order to find out what was happening, and stayed very late with the Protector, who appeared to be well-pleased with what the Controller had brought back with him, and repeated it all to me, saying : "Finally the Emperor has shown me such favour that I shall remain obliged to him all the days of my life, and would gladly serve him with my person and property, for he has spoken in such a manner that my father himself could not have shown me greater affection. This I would willingly repay with my service, and I beg you to thank his Majesty most humbly on my behalf." To this I said that I would have liked to see his government more successful because of the affection I knew your Majesty held for the King, the kingdom and even for him, and that he might remember I had frequently gone so far as to admonish him not to allow himself to be deceived by these new apostles who were enemies of the mass. He answered that they had retained the mass, and there was no change beyond the fact that it was said in English and without consecration unless communion were to be held. After long arguments he confessed

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to me that he also was of opinion that there would be no harm in one person, namely the priest, communicating alone, and did not deny having said formerly that he was sorry things had gone so far. In the same tone he owned that what they had done had been for the purpose of putting down the perverse sects that existed here, which had contaminated certain of the foremost men in the kingdom, so that in order to avoid a worse thing they had been forced to take these measures. At last he said that he would send me the Bishop of Rochester (*i.e.* Nicholas Ridley), a most learned man. I replied that he well knew the said bishop to be a great clerk but of the new religion, and I had no desire to dispute with him, being no theologian but contenting myself with God's grace and a firm resolution to remain in his holy Catholic faith; but the Protector still insisted that he should come to me. Thus, Sire, I can but think the Protector would like to see these innovations consented to, but greater moderation preserved as for the rest, as he has seen the result of their doctrines, and I saw clearly that he wished to unbend to me, for he admitted that I had always given him friendly advice. After this conversation I exposed to him what your Majesty had again commanded me to say touching letters to safeguard the Lady Mary, and also about the bulwark that is being thrown up near Gravelines, the rents of the Knights of Rhodes, Sebastian Cabot, and the private affairs of your Majesty's injured subjects in general.

As for safeguarding the Lady Mary, the Protector said there would be no need to do so, for he would allow her to live in the practice of her religion now as before, and he could not forget that she was the daughter and sister of kings and a near relative of your Majesty, besides the desire he had to serve her in every way in his power. When I said that your Majesty would not be satisfied, for the causes given, unless she were insured in every respect, he said he would do all he could to please your Majesty, would think the matter over, and then talk to me again.

Touching the bulwark, he did not think anything had been done to your Majesty's hurt, but if your Majesty cared to send two commissaries to examine the place he would do the same, for he was unwilling to do anything that might infringe your Majesty's rights. However, he desired to beg your Majesty to allow him to hold the bulwark for some short time, even if it were found that the English had been in the wrong, because of the present state of affairs between England and France, and he would give surety that it should afterwards be destroyed at your Majesty's pleasure. Speaking of the request of the Knights of Rhodes, he begged to be excused, and that your Majesty might see that he could not reasonably diminish Crown revenue, to which the late King had applied the said rents, whilst some of them had been sold and transferred into several hands so that there was no possibility of putting the matter straight before the King's coming of age. Cabot, he said, was old and infirm, and did nothing but pray that he might be allowed to remain in this kindgom. This, Sire, is pure deceitfulness, for Cabot came to me only four or five

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days ago and begged me as hard as he could to get your Majesty to take him out of this country, but I dissembled with the Protector to save Cabot's face, and the Protector ended by saying that if your Majesty cared to write him a word or two to the effect that you would send Cabot back, he would allow him to go. As for private matters he will appoint two commissaries within two or three days to dispose of them, and granted me several petitions on the spot.

This finished, he said to me : " I wished to speak to you to tell you how we stand with France. The French ambassador came to me a few days past and, after a long harangue about his desire to see amity between the King his master and ours, declared that he had been recalled by his same master, who was also going to send our ambassador in France to Calais, because he was unable longer to endure the outrages the English were perpetrating." The Protector replied to this that he was quite amazed at hearing such remarks from the ambassador at the very time when he had expected that they would hit upon some settlement of their differences, as they had resolved to do. But as the King of France thought to take them by surprise now that they were having trouble with their own subjects, and their own King a minor, and without any just cause, he hoped that with God's help they might defend themselves and that punishment might overtake him who was the cause of this, for they for their part had put up with many grievances (which he specified) and all to avoid war. But as the Protector maintained that the ambassador, having come to England with letters from his master, ought to be recalled in the same manner, the matter was postponed until the Protector should give a reply after consulting with the Council. So Controller Paget went to the ambassador with a repetition of the Protector's reply : that if the King of France would give surety that their ambassador in that country should be allowed to reach England without hindrance, they would do the same here for the Frenchman. Among other remarks, the French ambassador said reproachfully to Paget that, when the deputed commissaries were going to meet to settle English and French difficulties, he had gone over to the Emperor to arrange some hostile combination against France and treat of the closer alliance by means of a marriage, adding another point that the Protector forgot to tell me about. Paget replied that he had attempted to negotiate nothing to the prejudice of France, for the English desired to remain friends with the French, as they had had a good chance of seeing by the many injuries the English had suffered in the hope of avoiding war, and it seemed to him that all the ambassador said proved that he knew much more about his (Paget's) mission and instructions than he knew himself. " And so," said the Protector to me, " we are expecting a declaration of war from hour to hour, and it is being made precisely for the resasons I have exposed to you." We had some talk on this subject, and I said that perhaps the French were boasting and threatening in this way in order to see if there was anything to be got out of the English. He returned that they were quite mistaken on that score, and added

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that nine French galleys and two or three great ships had fallen in with five English ships near Guernsey, and he was informed that the French had lost over 1,000 men and over 150 drowned, but that they had landed and burnt several houses. Also the French were fortifying an island* near that place which had always been deserted and the English claimed as their property. He begged me to inform your Majesty of all these occurrences. Four days ago the Privy Seal met the Cornishmen who had been besieging Exeter, and split up their force and defeated them, so that over 2,000 peasants were killed and about 300 taken prisoners, and the Privy Seal only lost fifteen men on his side, though more were wounded. So Exeter was relieved, and they hope here that the danger is over.

The Earl of Warwick with 8,000 or 9,000 men that he levied in Wales is marching against the Norfolk rebels, and my Lords of Derby and Shrewsbury will come up from another quarter with a great force of their vassals to surround and starve out the insurgents, who are now dwindled in numbers; for since the Cornishmen were defeated many come in and make their submission every day. I will let your Majesty know everything I hear of this matter from day to day. There are no news from Scotland except that the Protector has complained that the peasant's revolt has prevented him from building a fort on the coast which he could easily revictual, so that he might abandon Haddington which it is hardly possible to hold.

London, 13 August, 1549.

Aug. 13. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

EDWARD VI. to the EMPEROR.

Three or four days ago the King of France declared war on us through his ambassador resident in our court, of which it has seemed good to us, by the advice of our dear and well-beloved uncle the Duke of Somerset, governor of our person and Protector of our realms and dominions, and of the remainder of our Council, to inform you, and to declare to you as our good and perfect friend that the said King is actually our enemy, and that we hold him as such. Thus by the provocation of our adversary, who hopes to take us unawares, we are forced to take up arms in defence of our kingdoms and subjects. We confidently hope to find on this occasion that the friendship of so long standing between the two houses will endure, and that in accordance with the treaties passed between our father of good memory and you, you will aid us to bridle our enemy's insolence, as we would never fail to do in a similar case for you.

London, 13 August, 1549.

Aug. 15. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 32.

The KING and QUEEN of BOHEMIA, REGENTS of SPAIN, to SIMON RENARD.

You will already have heard of damage and siezure inflicted by subjects and vassals of the King of France upon our subjects in the past, and how all possible steps have been taken for the

* This island is Sark.

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recovery of stolen property and the prevention of such conduct in the future. But though we cannot believe that the Christian King intends to injure us deliberately, we have heard that a few days ago certain subjects of his made a pretence of being Scots, to seize and rob many ships belonging to our vassals in Flemish waters and also on the way to and from the Indies, and that they are continuing so to do in earnest. According to information received through the consuls of Burgos, during the last two months they have taken nine of ten ships belonging to that corporation and laden with iron, cloth and other goods, and other injuries have been received from them to the amount of 500,000 ducats. As this appears to be and is a violation of the treaty, amity and alliance between us and the Christian King, which amity it has been our constant aim to preserve and foment in the past, as we also intend to do in the future unless we are forced to adopt another course, we have decided to write to you the present letters and command you to speak to the Christian King on our behalf and give him the letter that shall accompany these in your credence. You will request him to give orders that the seized ships and property be restored at once to the men of Burgos, their owners, because these are persons whom we particularly wish to favour because of the good service they have always rendered us, and that all property that has been stolen by subjects of his, whether they pretend to be Scots or not, may be returned to other of our subjects who have thus been victimised. Also tell him that as we believe him to desire peace and the preservation of the alliance now existing between us, we trust he will take steps to prevent a repetition of these acts of violence, and will refuse to allow the Scots that shelter in his ports, the granting of which has encouraged them to commit most of these depredations. Make known to him how glad we shall be to see all this done, and we make sure that you, being so faithful a vassal of ours, will do your best to bring it about, and remind the King of it as often as you may judge it be to necessary. If satisfaction is not given it will be impossible to prevent our subjects' just resentment from breaking bounds and causing the French to be used as they have used us, which we should be very sorry to witness. You will do us great service and pleasure by advising us of whatever action may be taken in this matter.

Valladolid, 15 August, 1549.

Aug. '15. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire; the day before yesterday I wrote my report of occurrences here to your Majesty. Since then I have received your Majesty's letter touching the arrest of two ships laden with alum belonging to your Majesty's subjects, the commands expressed in which I have already executed, as I have explained at greater length to M. d'Arras. These two days have brought nothing new, except that all the gentlemen to be found in this town have been sent to join the Earl of Warwick, who is to arrive near the Norfolk

* With the exception of the first few lines, this letter is written in cipher.

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rebels' camp the day after to-morrow. These insurgents are still holding out obstinately, though some of the more important peasants have left their ranks and, as I hear from some who have been in the field, most of them are now nothing but young serving-men and riff-raff. However, they still hold a large number of gentlemen prisoners and intend to put them in the forefront when they fight. Orders were given here that everyone should lay in provisions for one month, but since the Cornishmen were defeated this was repealed, though I hear that matters in Cornwall are not progressing as well as they say here, and that the peasants were not so badly beaten but they assembled again in arms, in order to guard the road to their country, after the Privy Seal made his way into Exeter. So, though these gentry make parade of great joy, nothing is being said about victories in Cornwall, which makes me suspect that everything is not to their liking. Neither does anyone at court or out of it say anything about the expected war with France, which I cannot explain otherwise than that they are waiting for a reply to what the French ambassador here wrote to his master in consequence of the conversation he had with Controller Paget, though this conversation can hardly have been otherwise than as the Protector told me and I wrote to your Majesty. Still, Sire, I cannot help thinking there must have been something more, and that the English will do everything in their power to avoid war, though without consenting to anything against their treaties with your Majesty, for in this I do not suspect them of lack of good faith.

London, 15 August, 1549.

Aug. 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extracts.)

Sire. I have it from a good quarter that the King and Council are sorry they undertook this war and followed the gossip's (*i.e.* the Constable's) advice, because of the way the English are going about the defence of Boulogne and their forts, and the difficulty the French will find in reconnoitering the places they imagined to be pregnable, in the short time that remains before winter sets in. They have had a foretaste of what a sudden change to cold, wind and rain may mean, in the bad weather that has prevailed here for the last ten or twelve days, which these dainty Frenchmen do not find at all pleasant for sleeping on the hard ground. And now that they have reconnoitred the forts more thoroughly than before, and seen that Boulemberg is in good repair they are in suspense whether to abandon their first plan or to besiege Boulemberg and other places, all of which are garrisoned with soldiers, as their eyes now tell them is the case. They have had some practical experience of this fact too, for these last days M. de Rochepot's company, led by his lieutenant M. de Rochebaron charged some soldiers who had made a sally from Boulemberg to fetch timber, from a wood* that stands not far from the fort

* The valley of the little river Selaque, that joins the sea at Ambleteuse, is still wooded in parts, and it seems more probable that this is the wood referred to rather than Boulogne forest, which is some five or six miles distant.

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for the purpose of repairing the same, when it was surrounded and charged in its turn by more soldiers from the fort with such good effect that besides a number of killed, reckoned at about 200, M. de Rochebaron himself was wounded, and M. de Dampierre and two other gentlemen whose names I could not discover were killed. This event has not encouraged the French, and has demonstrated to them irrefutably that there are people in the fort. It also caused the King to leave Amiens on Tuesday the 14th instant, though he had intended to remain there over the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady; and so he went to Abbeville, and from Abbeville to Montreuil. He then visited the forts, and afterwards returned to Montreuil, whence he sent the Chancellor and his Privy Council back to Amiens, and nothing is seen but couriers rushing to and fro to hurry on the companies, men-at-arms and legionaries that have been levied in Gascony, Périgord, Tours-en-Touraine, Orleans and elsewhere, for the French were unable to get together enough men without having recourse to the legionaries. Also, Sire, disguise the exploit I have reported to your Majesty as they will, it is true the Prior of Capua attempted it off the Norman coast and lost 200 or 300 men over it, among them Colonel Melun, who has died of his wounds at Rouen. The common saying runs that it is bad to attack when you are being attacked, but it seems to be the fashion here to publish victory even when you are beaten. The King has been advised that the garrisons in the English forts have been changed, and that Spaniards, Italians and some cavalry that your Majesty allowed to pass through your dominions, have been placed in them. The King is greatly astonished at this, and it is said the Constable knew all about it. It is repeated here that the captain of Calais has been to your Majesty and crossed the French frontier to do so, and the French are very suspicious of him, though I suppose the captain, if he really did go at all, only went to salute your Majesty; but the French are confused in their deliberations by the overpowering fear they have of your Majesty. . . .

I am sending to your Majesty two newly-published edicts on the reform in dress, and the value of gold coinage in which neither the Flemish crowns of two *deniers* and fifteen grains weight nor the *au soleil* crowns nor yet the *taupez* (?) of forty-two and a half *sols* have been forgotten. It is believed that the King is thus raising the price of gold and will subsequently send it down to its former value in order to make his profit on merchandise, which is swelling the hatred his people and merchants already bear him, and rousing foreigners to discontent, because his meddling will prevent foreign bankers and dealers from doing any business. . . .

After finishing my letter, Sire, I have heard from the silversmith that the King is sending Germanicus Saphrenain, a relative of the nuncio and papal ambassador in the King's court, to make plans for the erection of certain forts which the King desires to throw up between Boulemberg and the wood near by, in order to prevent timber being supplied to Boulogne and the English forts, and to

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attack and finish off Ambleteuse before attending to Boulemberg, for the King has noted that the error in Boulemberg's fortifications has been made good. The said Germanicus departed to-day, having been solemnly admonished by the nuncio to use all his industry, wit and knowledge in the King's service. I have made inquiries about Germanicus' special qualities and experience, and heard that he is from the Friuli and has always applied himself to the study of military science and fortification. He was banished from Venetian territory for manslaughter, and has a brother called Giulio Saphrenain who is still in the Venetian service, a man of great wit, judgment and renown, according to the account of him given me by Ambassador Contarini's secretary.

The Marquis of Mantua, brother of the Duke of Mantua, arrived to-day in this place on his way to pay the Dauphin a visit, and before going to St. Germain where the Dauphin now is he came here to salute the Queen and the Lady Margaret with thirty-five horse in his train.

Compiègne, 20 August, 1549.

Aug. 27. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

Sire; since my last letters to your Majesty the King has been unable to refrain from visiting his camp, where he still is at the time of writing. He made his entry there on the 19th instant, clothed in a coat of Louviers cloth, and then returned to Montreuil, where he stayed one day, and the next went back to the camp. He then moved his army a league nearer the fort (*i.e.* Ambleteuse) and on the 24th besieged a small fort called the Garden, which his men entered while the captain was treating with the Constable for terms, and once inside they let the Englishmen they found there go without harm. On the same day he marched to Viltrefort, not far from Ambleteuse, which is called *le Paradis*, and which surrendered without a blow; and my man tells me that the Englishmen in it had heard nothing from the Protector for a long time, and there was no likelihood of their being relieved.

At about the same time the Prior of Capua (*i.e.* Leone Strozzi) took an English ship loaded with women and children, which had slipped out of Boulogne harbour by night. The King has decided to besiege Ambleteuse, which it is thought he will take, and has left before Boulemberg 3,000 or 4,000 men in order to prevent the garrison from sallying forth, for he decided not to besiege Boulemberg after having reconnoitred it more thoroughly. Now he is trying to devise some means, with his Council's advice, of surprising Boulogne; but if he is unable to accomplish its downfall this year he will erect the fort, of which I wrote to your Majesty, between Boulemberg and the wood. The captain told me that the Council of War was considering the making of a floating fort composed of three vessels bound together, which could be used as a battery and yet not be battered itself, but he said this was not yet certain, for it might possibly be rendered useless by artillery or artificial fire.

The French are making as much fuss about the taking of these two forts as if Boulogne had fallen, and they are puffed out with

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joy and boastfulness, heralding their King's greatness as if he had won an important victory. In truth, Sire, if he succeeds in this enterprise, the Frenchmen's hearts will grow half as big again, and he will make an enormous profit out of the voluntary contributions to which his subjects are consenting because they have been persuaded that it is entirely necessary to the welfare of France that Boulogne be taken. I leave it to your Majesty to think whether or no the Frenchmen are preventing couriers from carrying the news of the King's good fortune to Italy. My man tells me that the nuncio has the King's permission to keep a secretary at the camp, and here am I shut out for the reasons I wrote to your Majesty. Two days ago a messenger arrived from Rome to inform the King of the reply given by the Pope to your Majesty touching Piacenza and the revenue your Majesty was willing to grant in the kingdom of Naples in recompense. And I have heard that the Pope refused absolutely to treat about Piacenza except it be restored to him, and that before going further with the Council (of Trent) he wishes to realise the reformation that he has long been proposing, for he desires to be the first to reform himself. I leave it to your Majesty once more whether this is is not meant to deceive the storks.* It is true the Pope has given the King permission to levy infantry and cavalry in his dominions as often as he needs them, and that the King has had money changed for Italy as surety for the captains and payment of the troops, but I have been unable to ascertain whether the sum amounts to 300,000 crowns. And though Carneseque gave me information to the contrary, as I wrote to your Majesty, he himself has now told me to assure your Majesty that it is true the Pope has given the King permission to raise troops, and that this was the principal point of the Cardinal of Ferrara's commission when he was sent hither by the Pope. There was also the matter of the pontifical election, but the Pope has not dared to contract an open alliance with the King for fear of exposing his partisanship. Carneseque also said the King had news that Don Fernando (Gonzaga) had taken Roccabianca, which the Pope formerly held near Parma, and which originally belonged to the house of Pallavicini, and that the Pope was levying troops to send in that direction. The King has sent the English ambassador to Langres because he suspected that certain merchants in Paris were negotiating with him. . . .

The silversmith told me that the Queen received letters yesterday by special messenger from President Bertrandi announcing that Ambleteuse castle had been taken, and that those within had declared to the King that if he besieged Boulemberg he would take it easily, for they had neither ammunition nor provisions to hold out long.

Sire; just as I was about to close my letters the Queen sent me her maître-d'hôtel, M. de Morette, to inform me that she had had letters from the King by a gentleman of his privy chamber

* Doubtless a reference to the fable of the frogs who elected King Stork in place of King Log.

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that told of the taking of Ambleteuse fort and castle by capitulation, and how the English garrison had left carrying the white rod. She affirmed she had been instructed to communicate this to all the other ambassadors, but I perceived that it was a put-up game, and that the King had ordered the other ambassadors to be informed for my sake. The poor gentleman was so out of breath that he could scarcely speak. The King's plans will largely depend upon his success in this campaign.

Compiègne, 27 August, 1549.

Aug. 28. Simancas E. 80.

Deposition concerning Piracy.

In the town of Avilés and on the 28th day of August of the year 1549, Juan de Las Salas, corregidor (King's officer) of the said town appeared before the most noble Alvaro Cuerbo, judge of the said town and its district, and said that it was true and a matter of public knowledge in the said town of Avilés . . . that in the month of May last Licenciado Pedro Alvarez de Valdés, King's officer's lieutenant of this principality (*i.e.* Asturias) and by virtue of a patent from their Highnesses (*i.e.* the King and Queen of Bohemia, Regents of Spain) ordered the said Juan de Las Salas to fit out, arm and man a galleon of 100 tons, and with her go in search of a certain prize of cloth and other property belonging to Spaniards, which the patent stated to have been taken by a French corsair off the coast of Galicia near Cape Finisterre. The said Juan de Las Salas in obedience to the orders contained in the patent and to what the said lieutenant commanded him by virtue of the same, armed and fitted out the galleon, put forty men on her, and sent her in search of the prize, as is certified by a public writing drawn up at the time, to which the said Juan de Las Salas appealed, and stated that the galleon, while searching for the prize, was driven out to sea by great storms and gales. Compelled by the gale to run to the Irish coast, the galleon fell in with two heavily armed ships of which Tommy* (Tomasin) of Calais and Captain Brown were in command. These ships boarded the galleon, which was unable to escape, and the Englishmen made a furious attack and took possession of her, robbing the captain, mate and sailors and ill-treating them. They seized the galleon, together with everything they found on board, and are still detaining as prisoners her captain, Hernando de Las Salas, and an artilleryman called Guillén Girón, for whom they are demanding 1,000 ducats ransom. The said Juan de Las Salas asserted that without counting the 1,000 ducats demanded for ransom, he had lost 3,000 ducats and more, the cost of the galleon, her and the sailors' outfitting and equipments, without reckoning private property in arms and other things belonging to the men to the value of over 600 ducats more. Of all the above the said Juan de Las Salas desires that an account may be given to his Majesty and their Highnesses, and begs that what is due to him in reason may be paid. For this purpose he requests

* For more information about this person, who was celebrated in his day, *see* the letter from the Marqués de Cortes to the Emperor, dated March, 1549. His name may have been Thomason, which is still a Cornish name.

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the judge that information be obtained from various witnesses whom he has produced. . . . (There follow several depositions all of which repeat the above account with more or less additional detail.)

Avilés, 28 August, 1549.

Sept. 2. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

The man I have at the camp has written to me that last Wednesday the fort of Boulemberg was abandoned by the captain and soldiers who were in it. Before leaving it they set the place on fire, and most of the houses where the soldiers were lodged were burnt. If M. de Brissac had not taken it in hand everything would have been destroyed, but as it was, a good quantity of artillery and stores was found there, and there seems to be ground for suspicion that the King did not undertake this journey without having some understanding with the English who were garrisoning Boulemberg, for the place was still tenable. A rumour is circulating in the camp that the little Count de la Mirandola,* brother of the Count de la Mirandola, arranged this piece of treachery with his Italians, though it has not really been discovered. After the Captain of Boulemberg and his men had left the place they retreated to Boulogne, where the gates were opened to them. When once they were inside, the Commander of Boulogne wished to know why they had abandoned the fort and, perceiving treachery, killed with his own hand the Captain of Boulemberg, giving orders that all the men should be hanged. Such are the news my man writes. The King of France had already been informed of it by a man who slipped out of Boulemberg; and so the King has got possession of all the forts once held by the English except Ardres tower which the Council intends to bombard. I am informed that now the King will soon return, for he says he has accomplished that for which he set his force on foot, and old M. de Morette, who is here with the Queen, has confirmed this. The same person has told me that news have come from Scotland to the effect that the English have been defeated there, though no details are given.

I have heard from the Queen's gentleman, who came from the camp a few days ago, that he had been expressly instructed to countermand and send back several captains and soldiers who were on their way to the camp, for the King was expecting only a certain number of pioneers and carpenters who had been sent for to repair those of the forts that the King wished to keep up.

There is a report that the English have been fighting among themselves in England, but I know no more about it than common hearsay tells. I cannot refrain from advising your Majesty that these first exploits of the King have rendered the French so insolent that they proclaim that their King's acts agree well with the devise of the crescent which he has taken for his own. The populace, which was disgusted and ill-affected before, is

* This person was in the French service, and other members of his family resided at the French court.

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beginning to be more cheerful, and is more willingly paying taxes, loans and contributions than it would have done had it not been for this enterprise.

The King summoned the English ambassador from Langres to Amiens at the request of M. de Selve, French ambassador in England, to obtain that the English should allow his wife to cross to France. She arrived in Paris twelve days ago and found her father, named Montmiral, dead.

Several persons are of opinion that this war will end with an arrangement by treaty, and that the English, being attacked in Scotland, at Boulogne and at home, and robbed of all resources (specially of help from your Majesty, who all thought would intervene) will be obliged to come to terms to their own disadvantage.

The other day I met the Venetian ambassador, who said that people were amazed at the manner in which your Majesty allowed the French to prosper at Boulogne and in Scotland, considering that your Majesty had it in your hand to stop the King of France by making a single sign without incurring any expense, for the one power the King of France feared was your Majesty. He added considerations upon the age of the King of England and the fact that the late King his father had entrusted him to your Majesty, saying that this war was a direct violation of the last treaty between France and England, besides which your Majesty held the Scots as his enemies because of their recent raids and depredations against your subjects. He went so far as to remark that even the French did not know what to make of it, but I, perceiving that this conversation was in reality a cross-examination, and that he desired to get something out of me, told him that your Majesty was a prince who wished to observe all treaties you had made with this and the other country, and not being obliged to defend Boulogne you were unwilling to give the King of France a chance of altering the friendly relations between the two countries, and particularly desired to avoid harming Christendom by picking a quarrel with the King for no valid reason. In this I took care to specify nothing, and indeed, Sire, even if I had wished to make any definite reply I should have had to invent something, as I know nothing of your Majesty's intentions. The ambassador answered that the King of France was quite well aware of the conditions Paget had offered your Majesty, and that if such a chance had passed through his hands he would not have let it slip. To this I said that your Majesty's intentions were thus all the more justified in the world's eyes. He went on to say that in Italy people made sure that your Majesty would have trouble with the Pope over Piacenza, for the Pope had absolutely refused the conditions offered by your Majesty, and the Cardinal of Ferrara had sent a gentleman to the King, on purpose to inform him of this, which would cause the Council to be put off again. I judged these words to be intended to draw something worth while from me, so I was unwilling to talk longer, but merely said that I did not know in what state affairs were. He ended the conversation by saying that the

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Seigniory of Venice intended to remain in the same disposition towards your Majesty as in the past, which gives me cause to suppose that if such is the case it will not be by the ambassador's doing or advice, for I take him to be suspicious and an adversary to your Majesty's cause. . . .

The King is waiting for the Swiss commissaries to ratify the league, and has sent towards them treasurers and commissaries as far as Nevers to welcome them and pay their expenses. The Grisons have passed the league for 20,000 crowns which the King has promised to pay.

It is said here that a sitting has been held at Baden in which the King obtained what he wanted, and that your Majesty's commissaries who, they say, were sent there not only wasted their time, but were outraged by the peasants on their return, but I believe the last news to be unfounded. The King is trying to obtain money on all sides, and 50,000 to 60,000 crowns raised in Brittany are being taken to camp. In spite of the French boasts that they have had the best of it in Scotland, as I wrote to your Majesty, it is said they really got the worst. *Mercurius* has told me that your Majesty may be certain that the King is working hard against you and that his intentions are of the worst. . . . I have sent to M. d'Arras a chronicle of the Kings of France that has newly been printed with many corrections and lying suppressions of facts.

Compiègne, 2 September, 1549.

Sept. 2. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received your letters of the 7th, 13th and 15th of last month, and have been glad to hear such detailed accounts of happenings in your part of the world; we consequently request you to continue to ascertain as much as possible and send us news from time to time.

We have also noted your conversation with Controller Paget, and specially the good offices he said he had performed with the Protector by remonstrating to him what we said to Paget concerning the changes in religious affairs, about which, as your letters state, the Protector has since spoken to you. As it seems that this matter is progressing favourably, particularly in what concerns the Princess (*i.e.* the Lady Mary), you will continue to urge the Protector to give you the assurance in writing, about which we have already written to you, in order that hereafter she may remain in our ancient religion, and not violate the laws of the realm by so doing. And you may found your solicitations on the Protector's own words when he said he would think about it when last you were with him. For the purpose of furthering the cause of our ancient religion in England while they are still unsettled in their policy, as you inform us, you will take care to lose no opportunity, when you see any favourable one arise, to coax the conversation in that direction with the Protector or any other persons as you may see fit, and persuade them with all possible dexterity to restore religious matters, if not to their original condition, at any rate to that in which the late King

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left them at his death, urging them to avoid the danger of being accused at some later time of having introduced innovations during the King's minority, or to leave the whole question to the General Council and meantime to conform to the Interim, though it seems that the best course would be to put matters back into their condition at the time of the late King's death.

As for the bulwark that the English have recently built near Gravelines, it can no longer be of any use to them as they have lost the forts they had made in the direction of Boulogne, and might only furnish the French with an excuse for attacking their older conquest (*i.e.* Calais and its surroundings) if it were found to have been built on French territory. If they maintain that it was not built on French territory but on ours, you will vehemently insist on its immediate demolition, but if you are unable to move them, accept the Protector's proposal for sending commissaries to the spot, and urge him to do so as soon as possible. You will inform us who they are and of what condition, and when they are to arrive at the said place, in order that we may send ours. If a good opportunity offers, you may speak again about the matter of the Knights of Rhodes, basing your remarks upon what we wrote to you that we had said to Paget; but do not go into details unless we give you fresh orders. We are grateful for your zeal in our private subjects' interest, and request you to favour all their undertakings as much as you can. Touching Sebastian Cabot, you will take the course that seems to you best calculated to obtain him freedom to go and execute his commission in Spain, or come over here.

The English ambassador here resident presented himself before us at Valenciennes with letters of credence from the King his master, by virtue of which he exposed to us the manner in which the French had pretended to treat with the English until their forces were prepared, when they had declared war upon them, and thought to keep their ambassador prisoner. But the English had adopted the same policy, declared war on France and arrested every Frenchman in England, as answering for the French ambassador, in order that theirs might return safely to England. He declared in general terms that his King had wished to inform us of this, as we were his good father and brother, and he confidently hoped that we would not fail to grant him the help promised in the treaties, and would favour him as much as in reason we could. We replied that we were sorry matters had gone so far, and were happy to see the King treat us with so much confidence in having us informed in detail. We would certainly not fail to do for him everything to which the treaties bound us, whilst acting in an honourable manner towards the King of France. Before arriving at Valenciennes, while we were still at Arras, an English gentleman sent from England brought to M. de Reux* certain articles concerning the treaties, upon which he demanded explanation. M. de Reux replied in the sense of the apostil written in the margin of the said article,

* Variously spelt Reux, Reuil, Rœulx.

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of which we are sending you a copy in order that you may be forewarned, in case they should speak to you about it, and reply in the same tone.

We will inform you that the King of France has also sent us a gentleman related to the Constable, called M. de Pot. This gentleman, giving as his reason the fact that the King his master and ourselves were near the frontier and one another, informed us that his master had long tried to persuade the King of England to cease the injuries he was doing him in violation of the last treaty and make amends for those already committed. The King of England seemed for a long time to wish to negotiate amicably, but instead of offering to make amends had demanded conditions that seemed strange in the King of France's eyes, insisting on the payment of old pensions claimed by the English and on the abandonment of Scotland by the French, who were to hand over the Queen, that her marriage with the King of England might be consummated. Rather than abide this, the King of France had decided to declare war, and was informing us of the facts in order to be justified in our sight. We replied that we were sorry things had gone awry between the two Kings, as both were our good brothers and friends and it would have given us the greatest pleasure to see them find a means of agreeing. Both pretended to be in the right, but as we were no judge, we did not wish to pronounce sentence. The said gentleman then went away without any more words; and we are telling you of this because we imagine the English to have heard of this gentleman's mission, and as they are suspicious you may tell them exactly what happened, in order that they may not imagine any extravagancies about it.

Our sister, the Queen Dowager of Hungary, has recently written to us of an outrage committed by certain English warships in Gravelines harbour, whence they not only carried off, by force and by night, some French ships that had put in there when pursued by the said Englishmen, but also seized and kept prisoners certain of our subjects whom the Captain of Gravelines had set to guard the said Frenchmen. We straitly charge you to speak very sharply to the Protector in the sense of our sister's letter; and mention it elsewhere as you will, making the English understand that we have no intention whatever of putting up with such treatment, and that they had better see to remedying the matter in accordance with our sister's letters.

Mons-en-Hainaut, 2 September, 1549.

Sept. 10. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

It seems to me, Sire, that though the King and his gossip (*i.e.* the Constable) are making a great to-do about their capture of the forts near Boulogne, they are not in reality as satisfied as they thought they would be. Besides, they expected to carry Ardres tower, and have been unable to do it because of bad weather, which has forced them to raise their camp and leave in the taken forts some infantry and 2,500 lansquenets who were

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in those parts before, and 200 men-at-arms who are very badly off for clothes and accoutrements, for they have suffered heavy losses in horses. They all complain of their losses and give endless reasons why it would have been wiser of the King to pay up his 2,000,000 crowns to the English as he had agreed to do by the treaty than to spend 2,000,000 in building a great fort over against Ardres tower as he is now doing, and in other hazardous enterprises. And be their conquest as it may, I only know by the witness of my own eyes that I have not seen one smiling face among the people returned from the front.

The King has sent the English ambassador to Montreuil to hand him over to his countrymen; and it is said that the ambassador is greatly surprised by the arrest at Montreuil of two servants of his whom he had sent to England.

Amiens, 10 September, 1549.

Sept. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

Summary of what Van der Delft instructed his man Jehan du Bois* to say to the Emperor.

When the ambassador (*i.e.* Van der Delft) urged the Protector to grant an assurance for the Lady Mary, the Protector promised to send his reply by certain lords of the council, and a few days later the Great Master (of the Household, Lord St. John) and Controller Paget went to see the ambassador. They said to him that the King, Protector and Council would have preferred that the Lady Mary, like a wise and prudent lady, should have conformed with their laws and decrees in order to avoid any discord arising from diversity of religion and that they might not find themselves in such trouble with their subjects as they now had to lament. However, as she remained so fixed in her views that such conduct would do violence to her conscience, and as they desired to serve and please her, being the King's sister and the second person in the kingdom, in every possible manner, above all in everything that concerned his Imperial Majesty, they would assure her by their promise given to M. Van der Delft in his capacity as the Emperor's ambassador, that she should freely and without hindrance or interference continue divine service as she had been accustomed to have it celebrated in her house, and that her priests and the members of her household should incur no risk. To this the ambassador said that the Controller had well understood what his Majesty's desire was, and that he might consider how little satisfied his Majesty would be unless he obtained letters patent to the intended effect. And if he were to speak his mind, he thought it unsafe to trust to their spoken words and promises, for he had had several others given him by them, and afterwards broken, as he exposed in detail. Besides this it might happen that the Councillors who gave this promise might subsequently be absent, and others who had no knowledge of the matter might cling to the decrees. The Great Master and Controller did not contradict this but, as if in agreement, said that they would make their report and see how the lady might the better be assured, for such was their aim.

* or Duboys.

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While this report was being made it seemed good to the ambassador to visit the said lady, who had come from Norfolk to New Hall* principally in order to communicate certain things to him. So with the knowledge of the Protector, Great Master and Controller Paget, who sent their humble recommendations to her Grace, the ambassador went to New Hall and told her what his Majesty had done for her assurance, for which her Grace said she could never thank his Majesty humbly enough. With regard to the assurance, however, she would demand nothing beyond the verbal promise, if it seemed good to his Majesty, because if letters were accepted she feared they might amount to a recognition of the laws against religion, which she would always deny, for these innovations were no laws, nor had they the force of laws, for they were not duly given, but contrary to (the service of) God, to her father's will and the welfare of the realm. Nevertheless, she leaves the whole question to his Majesty, as not only the one person in this world whom she may look upon as a father, but her one refuge and comfort. The two (the Lady Mary and Van der Delft) together decided that if either she or he were asked how the Council's promise pleased her, they should answer with one accord that she had no doubt that the Protector and Council would treat her as a person of her quality deserved, and would not urge her to load her conscience, but let her live in quiet with all her household unmolested, though in the past they had troubled her a trifle too much, for which she desired to blame no one in particular, but would pray God for the whole Council in general, that He might repair the wretched condition of the realm in His service.

The Lady Mary had received trustworthy information that there was much rivalry and division in the Council, for the Earls of Warwick, Southampton and Arundel, and the Great Master were working against the Protector and his new Council and sending to sound her to see if she would lend her favour to an attack on the Protector, whom they wished to impeach for lese-majestie. She therefore begged the ambassador to send his secretary to his Majesty in order to obtain his good advice as to how she was to behave if matters went further, as they doubtless would all the sooner if she were to lend an ear. However, if pressed, she would say as she had said before that she never interfered in government nor would she do so now, but was sad to see the realm going to perdition so fast that there was no longer any knowledge of God nor of reason, for which she could blame no man more than another, because by their common advice things had fallen into their present disorder and desperate condition. All that she was able to do was to pray God, as she continued to do every day, that He might have mercy upon them and that matters might at least be restored as they were when the late King her father left them ; and if they insisted she would excuse herself on the ground that she could do nothing in this world without his Majesty's advice. She said further that she feared

* New Hall, in Essex, was successively occupied by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, Mary and Elizabeth. The house still exists, and is now a convent.

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Paget might have to suffer because of his great friendship with the Protector, but he was wise and would know how to look out for himself. So on account of her requests and the likelihood of something coming of the matter, the ambassador told her he would not fail to send his man to his Majesty.

The ambassador stayed at New Hall four days, and received many favours from her Grace. On his return to London he heard how the Earl of Warwick had defeated the peasants in Norfolk, killing some 3,000 of them but with greater loss on his side than he cared to confess. Desiring to send these news to his Majesty and also the last word on the assurance, the ambassador sent to the Protector to obtain it, but the Protector made answer that Paget was out of town and that as soon as he was back, which would probably be on Tuesday next, he would send for the ambassador, as he had other things as well to tell him.

Meanwhile the ambassador sent his secretary to call on the Earl of Southampton and find out something about the above-mentioned faction, for though it was said that Southampton was ill, he suspected this might be an excuse for not going to court, as Southampton knew the Protector bore him no good will. The Earl spoke freely, though in confidence, to the secretary, repeating his customary assertions to the effect that if the English were wise they would regard his Majesty as a father, and that he regretted to see public affairs fallen into such confusion, but hoped, with God's help and his Majesty's favour, that they might be remedied. As for his indisposition, he was so far on the road to improvement that he was able to go to court, but he trusted the ambassador so entirely that he would not conceal from him that he desired not to hurry his return to court on account of the Protector's ill-will towards him. The secretary told him that he was on the point of going over to his Majesty on private business, and that if he (Southampton) knew of any good plan for improving affairs the ambassador would not fail to solicit his Majesty on the subject, but as for himself he saw no other way than to take a stand on the late King's will. To this Southampton said: "That would be going too far, for it would look as if it came from me or from some other private individual, but you may tell the ambassador that the Council has decided (if the Protector's new council does not reverse it) to send someone to his Majesty to inform him of the manner in which the King of France has invaded us and to tell him in what necessity we are, begging good advice and assistance of him as of a father." The ambassador considers that his Majesty might reply in that event that, unless they intended to set matters in better order in religion as well as in the law, neither he nor any other Prince in Christendom would be able to advise them. When the secretary sounded Southampton on the promise for the Lady Mary's assurance, he replied: "I think that those who have molested her will do so no more, and even though they were to begin afresh she has many good servants, of whom I hold myself to be one."

It is evident from the foregoing that this government has many enemies in the Council. The ambassador has heard the

same story from a person of trust, to whom Controller Paget appears to have lamented, with tears in his eyes, the condition of the realm. The ambassador replied that he could impute no blame to any but those who had set up a Protector who, besides giving rein to his fancy in innovating in religious matters at his wife's instigation, had not enough capacity to fulfil the duties of his important post.

As the Protector delayed giving a reply concerning the Lady Mary for several days, saying that he was obliged to communicate again with the Council, and had other matters of interest to his Majesty to speak about to the ambassador, the ambassador decided not to put off sending his secretary longer, in order that his Majesty might be informed of the Lady Mary's affairs and form an opinion on the rest, and that the ambassador might learn what course to adopt.

The French ambassador is still in England, which causes his Majesty's ambassador to suspect that if Boulogne is restored or lost the English may treat with him, for the late King says nothing about this point in his will, and Boulogne has always been a burden to the English, of which they have desired to find some good means of getting rid. Certain members of the Council have several times said to the ambassador that they would rather hand it over to his Majesty than to the French.

Forces are being sent to Scotland, where a company of Spaniards has been taken by surprise by the French not far from Berwick; and the ambassador believes it to be true that the English will have to abandon Haddington.

Sept. 15. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.*

Sire, since my man's departure I have twice been to see the Protector. On the first occasion he complained bitterly of the answer I had given to the Great Master and Controller Paget when they told me the Council would give me its promise in the matter of the assurance demanded for the Lady Mary. He said that I had made a reflection upon his honour by rejecting his word as if he had at any time broken it, for though he might occasionally have granted me something which he afterwards did not put into effect, he ought not to be blamed, as in private affairs he was bound to be guided by the information he received, but he would never be found to have fallen short of his word in matters of importance or anything concerning your Majesty.

Then I repeated to him everything I had said to the Great Master and Controller, as my man has informed your Majesty, and gave so detailed an account of the shortcomings I had noticed in the keeping of his promises that he saw fit to change the conversation, and said to me: "I wish to speak to you, and communicate to you something we have got into our possession, and which will enable the Emperor to understand what he may look for from the King of France." With this he showed me two letters

* This letter, a few short passages of which are in cipher, is written entirely in Van der Delft's hand.

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from the Governor and Lieutenant of Marseilles, and desired to show me the seals and signatures because he wished to send copies of the same to your Majesty through the English ambassador. As your Majesty will have seen these I will not repeat the contents of the letters here.

Next he gave me a long lecture on the kind of friendship the French entertained for your Majesty, and finally came to the point: that he wished your Majesty would undertake some enterprise with the English against France, for they, he said, would give your Majesty such assistance that you would soon get the better of the enemy. I told him that your Majesty had no cause for going to war with the French unless they broke the treaty you and they had made with the late King of England's consent, as Controller Paget also heard definitely from your Majesty. The Protector then made lament about the peasant rising both because of the loss of men it caused them and the obstacles it placed in the way of their other affairs; and so ended our talk without his speaking of the forts taken in the Boulonnais.

After receiving your Majesty's letters of the 2nd instant, I went to the Protector again and laid before him what your Majesty commanded me touching the newly made bulwark near Gravelines, in order that the English might have it demolished. However, as the Protector sticks to it that the bulwark is within their territory, I finally accepted his offer to send commissaries to the spot to end the difference with those deputed by your Majesty and, also, if it please your Majesty, to settle the matter of the Frenchman seized near Gravelines harbour. For the remonstrance I made in accordance with your Majesty's letters profited me not at all in obtaining restitution; on the contrary the English persist that the prize was not taken in your Majesty's territory but in the enemy's, for the land in question was given by the King of England to M. de St. Paul, who was still a feudatory of the King's. As I cannot carry this dispute further without instructions from your Majesty, I will await the same unless it be your pleasure that the question be examined by the commissaries deputed by both sides for the matter of the bulwark, whom the English desire your Majesty to appoint first. On this point I said to them that as they had first suggested this remedy for trouble caused by the English, they ought to name their men first, in order that your Majesty might send yours at the same time. Thus they took two days' delay to make the appointment, and I will not fail to inform your Majesty at once of the quality of their nominees. Matters in this realm are restless for change. The split in the Council is not so well hidden but that the ill-feeling between the Protector and the Earl of Warwick is well known. Paget begged me the other day to sound the Earl and try to bring him round to a better disposition regarding religion, but I have not yet attempted to do so, as I am waiting for your Majesty's instructions sent by my man.

London, 15 September, 1549.

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Sept. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

What the Emperor commanded Jehan Dubois, Secretary to Van der Delft, to reply to the points which he was instructed to lay before his Majesty.

The ambassador's reply to the Great Master and Controller Paget was very much to the point when he dealt with the promise both offered on their honour that the Lady Mary and her household should never be troubled because of the laws recently passed in the English parliament concerning religion. He did very well to insist that the assurance be given in writing, and his reasons are of the best, wherefore his master commands him to continue to solicit for it, now that certain of the Councillors seem favourable, especially as it may be hoped that the Protector, being in the situation described by the ambassador, may give in out of fear, be his own will inclined thereto or not. And it is far better to adopt this course rather than, by giving importance to the point, raised by the Lady Mary, of the questionable validity of laws on the ground of their being contrary to religion, lose this opportunity of obtaining the assurance in order to avoid danger into which she might hereafter fall, which is only too likely when the fickleness of the English and their small regard for promises are considered.

As for certain Councillors' machinations against the Protector, it does not for the present seem opportune that such an important change take place in England, for it is necessary to take into account the actual state of the country and the opening such events would supply to the King of France to encroach further on the English, together with the late unrest among their subjects and the discontent caused by the loss of their forts, and failure in Scotland. In any case it would be exceedingly hazardous for the Lady Mary to take any share in such proceedings, and it may well be suspected that she is being approached on the subject with the Protector's knowledge, because of his resentment that she alone should have opposed the decrees which he, urged by his wife, has obtained and published on religion. It may be that he dares not attack her directly, as she is supported by his Majesty, and is looking for another way of revenging himself by accusing her of plotting against the government of the realm. Again he may desire to find out exactly how she is disposed towards himself, and afterwards intend to avail himself of this knowledge to treat her accordingly. Particularly as she displays entire dependence from his Majesty, it may be suspected that the Protector's object is to discover his Majesty's disposition towards him and his affairs, in order to model his relations with France profitably. Therefore the ambassador will approve her late reply, and exhort her to repeat it in whatever manner she be approached, saying always as she prudently has said that she desires no intrigues and will accuse no one, but only wishes, because of her duty and affection towards the King, her lord and brother, that the affairs of the realm be properly conducted and put in such order that when he comes of age he may be satisfied, which she constantly implores the Creator to bring about, supplicating Him to inspire the Councillors, for other

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means of furthering the cause has she none. His Majesty also commands the ambassador to have a care, when he is conversing with anyone, to show no passion against the Protector and those who rule the country for the above reasons, but merely to desire its repose, tranquillity and prosperity. He will listen carefully to all that is said to him, and send reports of all happenings from time to time.

The secretary brought a ring which the Princess received some time ago from his Majesty, and which she gave him as a token, as well of his written instructions as, it is supposed, of her desire to leave England, a matter in which, saving correction, the said lady ought not to be encouraged, because of the great difficulty that would be met with in getting her out of the realm, and the problem of supporting her over here, for in such event nothing might be expected for her from England.

Since the above was written the English ambassador has informed his Majesty, on behalf of the King, his master, and the Protector, that he has heard a special envoy is to be sent hither. And the ambassador declared in great confidence, begging his Majesty to keep it a secret, that the English were in dire need of money, and that the King of France was making the greatest efforts to recover Boulogne, which they, for their credit's sake, would be unwilling to give up, saying in conclusion that they were in a most difficult position. He consequently implored his Majesty to remember the trust the late King had reposed in him when he so cordially recommended his son to him at the end of his life, and to consent to advise the English as to what they should do in the present case. In meditating his reply, his Majesty remembered the opinion expressed to the ambassador by the Earl of Southampton, and though the English ambassador refrained out of modesty from pressing the point, it seemed to his Majesty suitable to show him that he was anxious to comply with his desire, and therefore he instructed the Bishop of Arras to answer, in substance, that his Majesty deeply regretted, because of his affection for the King, every occurrence that might disturb him, and also his present need, which his Majesty would keep secret as the ambassador desired. As far as his Majesty understood the situation, and consequently could give advice, it seemed to him that the principal cause of distress was the divided state of the realm brought about by the change in religious matters, and by lack of justice and order. And as all Christian princes were repelled from the affection they naturally would bear England for this very reason of religious change, it seemed to his Majesty that the English might seize the opportunity offered by this winter, while bad weather protected them from attacks from France, and after strengthening all their strongholds for fear of surprises, to remedy the condition of religion while there was yet time, to conform with all the states of Catholic Christendom, to reform justice and administration, and to put down revolt. Thus when next year came they might the better resist all attacks directed against them. M. Van der Delft is to be informed of this, in order that if they speak to him in England on the subject he

may reply in similar terms without showing in any way that he has heard from his Majesty about the English need of money, as they requested so particularly that the secret might be kept.
Antwerp, 17 September, 1549.

Sept. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Since the King's camp before Boulogne was broken up, he has heard that the English have made an attack upon the Rhinegrave's force and have killed one hundred and six score men and taken as many prisoners, whilst the garrison of Guines have killed the standard-bearer and several men-at-arms of M. d' Enghien's company. In addition to this, news have come that 400 or 500 horse from Cleves have entered Calais, and that the English are raising infantry to send to the same place in order to supply the lack there was of it. The King has therefore been moved to send two companies of men-at-arms towards Boulogne, besides those he has in that quarter already, and all are to winter on that frontier. According to what I have heard, if this campaign were to be begun afresh it would not be carried on in the same way, for people here are led by what they hear and see to believe that this attack on England will dispose your Majesty all the more to make war on France if you have any mind to do so, and that if your Majesty joins the affray the English will take heart to revenge themselves here and there while the French have their hands full with your Majesty; for the English are irritated by the cruelty shown to their men in Salaich (?) fort and the strange fashion of opening hostilities while friendly negotiations were proceeding, breaking the treaty of peace that was passed so short a time ago. The French also know that whenever your Majesty cares to do so, you may make a good reason for war against their King out of the leagues into which he has entered, on conditions contrary to the friendly relations he is always talking about, in order to retain possession of the territory he has usurped. I presume that your Majesty has already been informed that he is urging the members of the leagues to include the countries he now possesses and may hereafter possess, showing openly his hostile-intention towards your Majesty, and at the same time the fact that he wishes to dissemble until he is strong enough to fight. It is said publicly that if the King had listened to M. de Vendôme and the Italian captains he would have temporised with the English, not out of fear of their strength but of your Majesty, for this campaign must split up the French forces and devour much money, and they lay little store by the taking of the forts near Boulogne or by the new one they have put up. They say that there is about an Italian mile of sea by which Boulogne harbour may be approached, and that the English will not cease revictualling the place because of the loss of the forts nor because of their recently built one, since battering ships from that distance will be uncertain work, and two out of every three will succeed in reaching the harbour. Also the advice of those who are trying to persuade the King to sink ten or twelve heavily

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ballasted ships in the entrance of Boulogne harbour is unprofitable because the sea is too deep at high tide and at low tide it would be possible to burn the wood; so without taking Ardres tower it will be very difficult to capture Boulogne unless it be ruined, which is believed to be hardly possible because of the character of the ground. I observe that the King now understands these arguments better than he did before this campaign, and shows and confesses his fear of your Majesty; for he has forbidden his governors and captains in the neighbourhood of Boulogne to enter your Majesty's territory or make any incursions in the English Older Conquest. He has expressly ordered M. d'Albret to disband the men he had collected, and to send his lansquenets by different roads towards Boulogne, for whose payment he has ordered 20,000 crowns to be raised in Guyenne; and this is true whatever may be said to the contrary. To satisfy all the commands expressed in your Majesty's last letters, I will add that M. de Vendôme is going to Vendôme to refresh himself until All Saints' day, when he is to bring his wife to meet the King in Paris or Fontainebleau. . . .

The goldsmith tells me that one Franc-Cœur, who has been in the habit of frequenting the English, has been approaching the Captain of Boulogne to hand it over to the King of France for 50,000 crowns. . . .

Compiègne, 17 September, 1549.

Sept. 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

. . . The King has been informed during the last few days that M. de Thermes has taken two places in Scotland that were held by the English, and that M. de Châtillon was bombarding the break-water the English have made in Boulogne harbour and call the Dunette, which they hoped would afford protection from bombardment from fort Châtillon.

News have come from England that the English have been fighting among themselves about religion. . . .

Compiègne, 20 September, 1549.

Sept. 23. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17. VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

As the members of the Council only assemble on Sundays at Hampton Court, where the King now is, I sent thither one of my men to learn whom they wish to depute for settling the matters of the bulwark near Gravelines and the seizure of ships; for the result of all the steps I have taken since I last wrote has been nothing but a statement from the Protector that the affair was of such importance that he was unwilling to come to any decision on it without obtaining the common opinion of the Council. And so I am expecting my man back to-day or to-morrow, but as I have the opportunity presented by the departure of this courier, I wish to inform your Majesty of the delay, though I hope I may send the names and condition of the commissaries by the next.

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Last night, Sire, my secretary arrived here, and I shall follow your Majesty's commands, and exhort the Lady Mary to repeat her former reply and avoid entering into any intrigues or accusing anyone, however insistently she may be pressed. At the same time I shall take care to display no prejudice, but, Sire, were it not for your orders I should ill be able to conceal my dislike of such a poor and wicked government as this, that is going from bad to worse and cares for nothing but abolishing our ancient religion, as has been manifested once more by the action that has been brought during the last week against the Bishop of London* who was formerly ambassador in your Majesty's court. When the Bishop attempted to defend his opinion touching the holy sacrament and other articles of his sermon preached in his cathedral church of St. Paul by order of the Protector, it profited him nothing to justify himself with the aid of holy Scripture, common law, and even the written and customary law of the realm, the principal charge against him being that, of the four articles the Protector and Council gave him in writing to be read out to the people, he omitted the first, which stated that everything constituted and decreed in this kingdom since the late King's death has been duly done, notwithstanding the King's minority. After a lively defence of his action he was taken out of his house by night and thrown into a prison where common thieves are confined; and this was done last Friday, when the suit was prorogated until Monday, which is to-day. He has continued his defence this morning, though as a prisoner, and everyone is scandalised that he should suffer the penalty before sentence and thus have no freedom in defending himself, while two of the greatest heretics of the realm are being allowed to preach and malign him, and have been bribed to bear witness against him. It is true that in his reply he decked them out in such apparel (*les habilla de telle sorte*) that all the audience could tell that pure malice, and the desire to strike the Bishop down and take his see, which they say will be confiscated by the King, was the cause of the whole matter.

On the other hand, no improvement is observed in the keeping of order or the administration of justice, and the people are all in confusion, and with one common voice lament the present state of things. The chief pirates who have so often robbed your Majesty's subjects come and go at court, are favoured in their malpractices and made use of. There is no decent administration at home or abroad, for if things are badly managed within the kingdom they are even worse looked after in the Boulonnais and Scotland, as we have already seen, and I have now heard that Lord Clinton, commander of Boulogne, does nothing but cry out for more men, whilst here they are disbanding those they had in readiness, like Hacfort's and Malatesta's companies, and they say the same will be done with Germain's. I also hear that the English army in Scotland has lost much ground since the Spaniards were defeated and their captain, Julian, taken

* Dr. Edmund Bonner, the great heretic-burner of Mary's reign.

prisoner, and it is considered certain that they will have to abandon Haddington which has cost this kingdom so dear, and all because they are harnessed to the Protector's fancy against the opinion of the other Councillors, as they have often told me.

So, Sire, considering the disgust felt by everyone for what is going on here, I cannot believe that the Protector will be able to stand much longer. He seems not to care greatly for Boulogne, perhaps because of the small hope he sees of relieving and keeping it. However, I perceive that he hopes that your Majesty's friendly relations with France, though he was unable to draw you into a war by sending over Paget, will not last long, and he bases his expectations on the intercepted letters about which I wrote to your Majesty not long ago, above all on one sent from Switzerland to the French court, in which it was stated that M. de Granvelle had arrived at Besançon and was going with the Prince of Piedmont to raise troops for some undertaking your Majesty intended to carry out, which was greatly alarming the Switzers and putting the men of Berne on their guard. Thus the Protector's manner of persuading himself (*i.e.* of the likelihood of a war between France and the Emperor) makes him dally all the more before spending money on making his position secure against France. Meantime the English are very badly off, and the Protector himself in an exceedingly tight place. His chief care is to avoid expenses, and seize every opportunity for delay and temporising; for whatever petition or suit I take to him, he grants it me and pays in words without any practical result, as recently happened with regard to the assurance for the Lady Mary, and the affairs of Sebastian Cabot and of several private individuals entrusted to my management by your Majesty.

Your Majesty may know, in order that you may the better understand the intentions of the English, that Paget himself told me he had had a dispute with the Protector, but that he found no one willing to help him, complaining of the Protector's character, who could not see two Councillors speaking together without becoming jealous, and telling me in great confidence that some other means of maintaining the kingdom would have to be looked for. Since then he has sent to me one Dr. Brun, a native of Metz in Lorraine who is in the King's service here, in good repute with the Protector and a great favourite of Paget—though Brun did not wish me to know Paget had sent him to me. This person told me he knew he had offended your Majesty, but though it were to cost his blood he did not wish to fail to communicate his opinion, in order that it might be seen what course was best in accordance with your Majesty's interest. He then gave me a long rambling account of the need in which the English were struggling, and said he could wish to see your Majesty make more open profession of your friendship for the King, in order to keep the English devoted to you; for he feared that if your Majesty did not do so, someone else might interfere and reconcile them with France, which would not be in your Majesty's interest; but the English would certainly be forced,

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Boulogne or no Boulogne, to court the friendship of France unless your Majesty helped them. To this I replied what seemed to me opportune.

After the King left for Hampton Court, the Earl of Warwick stayed here, and on his way to Greenwich where he was to retire, came to see me at a house I have in the country. But before his arrival I was told that he was coming by a trusty and secret friend of mine, a native of your Majesty's dominions and also a man in the earl's confidence, who told me everything the earl had said about me, the upshot of which was that he doubted if he could trust me because he well knew I was a great friend of the Protector and of his party, which made him afraid that I would inform the Protector of what he should say to me. However, he would confide in the friendship I had always shown him, and come and converse with me. After I had congratulated him on his safe return and the exploits he had performed, we talked on various subjects, and at last he displayed his discontent with the Protector, saying that now was the time for your Majesty to come forward as the King's father. I assured him that your Majesty desired nothing but the King's and his realm's good, and would be glad to see everything here in such condition that God might thereby be served and the kingdom prosper, for your Majesty had no other object in view, as he (Warwick) might have heard from the English ambassadors. He then said: "You must know that Ambassador Hoby is entirely devoted to the Protector, and his creature." As he put off our conversation until another day, when he said he would come and dine with me and some other Councillors, I kept back what I intended to say about religion, for I hoped to be able to sway him, which is more than may be expected of the Protector, who, whatever hopeful words he may utter, is in reality quite hardened and won over by his wife to continue persecuting good people and advancing and favouring the wicked. Wherefore, Sire, I humbly beg your Majesty to let me know as soon as possible whether, while not taking any part as ambassador, I might not as a private person say what seems to me necessary to the restoration of our ancient religion and preservation of friendly relations between the King and your Majesty, though without showing any personal prejudice against anyone.

The English ambassador coming from France arrived at Dover yesterday, and I think the one from here will also have reached his country by now. I also have hopes that God intends to suffer no longer the seductions practised by Martin Bucer, for he is so ill that a long life is unlikely in his case.

The Rhinegrave, who has been here, came to say good-bye to me and told me he was well speeded by the English, but would never consent to serve here without your Majesty's permission and favour. However, I have heard of a place where he confidentially complained that his parting was as poor and miserable as all the rest have met with, so there is not one nation that is satisfied.

London, 23 September, 1549.

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Oct. 2.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter in cipher.)

. . . The King has had trustworthy news that Boulogne has been revictualled and the Dunette* repaired. He is sending the 2,000 lansquenets, who were in M. d'Albret's territory, together with 2,000 Gascons, to the forts before Boulogne. They are to pass through Poitou to Normandy and there take ship, as the goldsmith tells me.

The French are making fun of the King's journey and return, saying he will have to go to Rome to be absolved of the oath he swore never to come gack before he had taken Boulogne; and the people say that the gossip (*i.e.* the Constable) suffered from cold feet.

M. de Morette and three or four other gentlemen went towards your Majesty to witness the entry into Antwerp, and are not yet back. . . .

Compiegne, 2 October, 1549.

Oct. 4.
Simancas E. 1196.

FERNANDO GONZAGA to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

A few days ago the Pope summoned to Rome the gentlemen of Piacenza who conspired, sending the writing of which I join a copy. I thought the matter over, and then ordered the said gentlemen to give me a memorial in which mention should be made of the summons and of the reasons that had moved them to conspire against the person of Duke Pier Luigi, telling them I would give them further instructions. When the memorial had been presented to me, in the terms your Majesty will see from the copy I am sending, I decreed with the Council's advice that, on hearing the reasons adduced in it, the gentlemen should not consider themselves bound to present themselves in Rome, and commanded them not to do so under pain of confiscation of goods, and committing rebellion, because, as they were of Piacenza and under your Majesty's jurisdiction, anyone who had anything against them ought to apply directly to me. My motives for so doing were two: first, the obligation your Majesty has to protect these conspirators, and that I also owe them, not merely as your Majesty's minister but for the other reasons well known to your Majesty; and second, my opinion that no other reply ought to be given to such empty pretensions to continue a sort of indirect jurisdiction over Piacenza on the Pope's part.

Milan, 4 October, 1549.

Oct. 8.
Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Sire, on his return from his house about sixty miles from London, the Protector summoned some lords of the Council, such as the Earls of Warwick and Southampton and others who were here, to go to Hampton Court where the King was, but they delayed in going so long that the Protector began to suspect

* The breakwater in Boulogne harbour.

they were brewing something against him, specially as he and the Earl of Warwick had shown their dislike of one another in letters. Last Sunday the Archbishop of Canterbury was summoned by letters from the King, and caused a preacher to proclaim that all those who were loyal to the King should repair to Hampton Court where his person resided, and the same day the same appeal was made in all directions by letters from the Protector. The result was that over 4,000 peasants immediately assembled at court, where the Protector was without any members of the Council except the Archbishop of Canterbury, Controller Paget and Dr. Smith, one of the secretaries. On the same day, early, assembled in London the Earls of Warwick and Southampton, the Great Master of the Household, the Earl of Arundel, Mr. Baker,* Mr. North,† the first secretary Dr. Petre, other councillors, the Marquis of Northampton and several more lords, and summoned the Lord Mayor and all the city authorities, all of whom at once came to an agreement, seized the Tower of London, and put a garrison of their men into it. The Protector, immediately informed of this assembly and its doings, produced the King in the presence of the court. The King said he was displeased that an attempt should be made to take his uncle the Protector away from him, and prayed that all would help him in resisting, for he himself was clothed, and ready to arm. The Protector also voiced complaints that his destruction was being plotted on false accusations, and that he should never be found guilty, for it all sprang out of malice and rank treason. He then had the peasants divided into squadrons, and assigned them quarters as if he expected to fight; but about five in the afternoon he sent his wife off to her house, and she went out weeping, very badly handled in words by the courtiers and peasants, who put all this trouble down to her. Immediately afterwards all the peasants were sent away to their homes; and at about seven o'clock the King and the Protector departed with the guard and other members of the court for Windsor, where a great number of peasants are daily assembling. When they left, Controller Paget went up to one of my friends and said: "When you return to London tell the Emperor's ambassador in what condition you saw me, and that he was a great prophet." Then, with tears in his eyes: "Recommend me to him." Monday, which was yesterday, the Council met here in a public house in the middle of the town, and commons and nobles conferred at length both before and after dinner. The same day Lord Shrewsbury, one of the most powerful men in the kingdom, the Lord Chancellor‡ and all the others who were expected arrived, so now the entire nobility is here in arms, except for the Earl of Derby, who is to come to-day. The same evening very late the Lord Warden§ and Mr. Wotton (Dr. Nicholas Wotton), who was ambassador in France a short while

* Probably Sir John Baker.
† Edward, first Lord North.
‡ Richard, Lord Rich.
§ Sir Thomas Cheyne. Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

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ago, came to me and said that the lords of the Council had sent them to inform me of what had occurred, in order that I might the better inform your Majesty. They then made a long speech on the state of the kingdom at the late King's death, and how it had afterwards been brought so low by the evil government of the Duke of Somerset, who had been moved by ambition to manage affairs for his own private profit and according to his will, without heeding the Councillors, who had endured so long, because he was a near relative of the King, in the hope that he would eventually be amenable to reason. But seeing that it availed them nothing, and that everything at home and abroad was going from bad to worse, as I myself had seen, and that Somerset persisted in his wickedness and called in the peasants to oppress the nobility and make himself master and tyrant of all, the lords of the Council, to whom the late King had entrusted his son and the kingdom, seeing the danger in which the King and the first estate of the realm were placed, had taken matters into their hands and hoped to put them into such shape that the country's welfare might be a little better assured. With your Majesty's favour they hoped to regain the esteem and reputation they had lost in so short a time through the bad government of the Duke, who had had no care but to build houses for himself and deliver the realm to the enemy. In reply, Sire, I said I was very sorry that things had come to such a pass, for I had hoped that better means for setting everything aright might be found; but as they said they had tried every means, and no way of remedying matters had been found, I doubted not that, like the wise and discreet men they were, they would act as God's service and the King's and his realm's required; for your Majesty loved their realm as much as your own, as Mr. Wotton, who had been ambassador in your Majesty's court, could bear witness. To this they said: "Things shall be righted now or never." And with this they took their leave.

I perceive, Sire, that the Protector will be so loaded with crimes that he will never get himself acquitted of all of them, and it will cost him his life if he falls into his enemy's hands. The Council have some 5,000 horse and plenty of infantry with them, and there is not a man in town who does not curse the Protector. I am unable to think what makes Controller Paget stay so long with him, and I hope he will come to-day and conform with the rest, as several of the smaller fry have just done. I assured those who came to me of his integrity, which is well known also to themselves, and he will amply prove when he bears witness. I trust that nothing but good may come of this change, especially because it has been accomplished by common accord and without confusion; and it is affirmed that the Bishop of London will be taken out of prison, as it is thought will also be done in the Bishop of Winchester's case. As all the foremost Councillors are catholics, it may be that the Earl of Warwick intends to range himself on their side, for he has forbidden his household to eat meat on Fridays under severe penalties. In two or three days' time these people will set out for Windsor, which cannot hold out long;

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and it may be anticipated that when the Protector has been proclaimed a traitor by them, the very peasants will forsake him. However, it is said that he is making ready for defence, and summoning peasants from all sides by letters written in the King's hand. I will send news immediately I receive any.

The Lady Mary has sent to me, asking me to despatch one of my men to her at once, as I am doing, for I am sure she wishes to have my advice as to what she had better reply if interrogated. A rumour is on foot that she is to be set up as regent, but I doubt this, as I have heard nothing from the Council to such effect, but only that they would show her greater respect than in the past. I have recently informed the lady in question, by means of her servant, of what your Majesty commanded on this point. May it please your Majesty, when you have heard of the present state of affairs, to tell me what I am to do.

Ambassador Hoby arrived last Saturday at court, before the trouble began, and repaired to his house the same day; but on Sunday he came back, and I hear he is now at Windsor. He has sent me your Majesty's letter.

The Protector had told me that he had appointed commissaries on the question of the bulwark, the Lieutenant of Calais castle, Brian, and the Controller of the same place, named Hall.

London, 8 October, 1549.

Oct. 4. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Sire, after my last letters to your Majesty, dated the 8th instant which was Tuesday, the Protector persisted in fortifying himself at Windsor, keeping the peasants round him, and the King in his hands. But when the Council had made its proclamation in which the Protector was declared to be a traitor for having destroyed the kingdom by his avarice, taken everything for himself, unsettled the people, and finally carried off the King in order to make himself sovereign lord of all in defiance of the commands left by the late King, and in spite of the repeated admonitions of the Council, those who remained with him began to fail, until on Thursday evening news came that Paget had succeeded in depriving him of the possession of the King's person. Informed of this, the Council immediately sent a number of horsemen, servants of the King, to Paget, and on Saturday morning all the lords of the Council, accompanied by a fair number of men, though not enough to constitute an army, left for Windsor. As far as I have been able to hear they held no communication with the Protector, who was there under guard, but did so with Dr. Smith, whom they taxed with the proclamation made at Windsor against the Council, of which he was the author. Tuesday, that is to say yesterday, at about five in the afternoon, the Protector was conducted through the town by some 300 horse as a prisoner, and with him Mr. Stanhope,* the Protector's brother-in-law

* Doubtless Sir Michael Stanhope.

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and first of the King's gentlemen, Mr. Ling, the Protector's steward, Mr. Wolf, of the King's privy chamber, and a Mr. Bree (Bray ?)* who had charge of the administration of justice in the county of Kent and was a great partisan of the new religion. In passing through the streets the Protector had scant respect shown him, and said repeatedly to the people that he was no traitor, but as faithful a servant of the King as any man. I do not know what will become of the Archbishop of Canterbury; nothing at all is being said about him, and I have not yet been able to find out what they intend to do with the Protector, but as they say the King, who arrived at Hampton Court yesterday, will be here with all the Councillors within two hours, I imagine that they will then send me some communication of their plans. I suspect they will despatch someone towards your Majesty, as well in order to justify their conduct as to make sure of your Majesty's favour, for when this undertaking was begun the Earl of Warwick had me told that they would soon send over a person who should be to your Majesty's taste, which led me to hope it might be the Bishop of Winchester or the Earl of Southampton, for at that moment Paget was not in good odour with the Council, though I hope he may have gained his point by now.

I hope to be able to write more fully to your Majesty within two or three days, but dare not omit to inform you of the above by the present courier, whom I am sending on purpose. I implore your Majesty to tell me how I am to behave now.

I have heard that Ambassador Hoby was not particularly well received by the Protector, and as I wrote to your Majesty his arrival fell at an unlucky time. Though he has always been devoted to the Protector, as his creature, he has not tried to do anything for him in the present business, for he was offended that the Protector should have given certain offices that became vacant at the death of Mr. Denny,† a Councillor, and were coveted by Hoby, to other of his henchmen. This is said to have been one of the causes of his return.

London, 14 October, 1549.

Oct. 14. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received your letters of the 8th instant, and greatly appreciate the despatch with which you have informed us of the present state of things in England, concerning which we are of the same opinion as yourself. If the enterprise against the Protector is being organised by the Council's common consent, and if they already have so large a number of horse in such good order, whilst the Protector has only peasants and not in great numbers, together with the ill-will shown by the greater part of the kingdom against the Protector, he will have his hands full if he is to extricate himself. We could have wished, as we said not long ago at Bruges to Controller Paget, that he had not

* He is referred to later as being "really called Gree."
† Sir Anthony Denny.

introduced so many changes during the minority of the King, especially in what concerns religion, for, as we also said to Paget, such is the fruit that is usually gathered from them. As we spoke to him so clearly, you need not fear, when opportunity arises, modestly to exhort those who have influence with the King to consider the evil results of religious change, and return to the old faith outright, or at least put matters back as they were at the time of the late King's death, so that when the present King comes of age he may not resent the alterations made during his minority. They should also have a care, as we recently said to the English ambassador, to do their utmost to put the kingdom into a better state of defence, and hand it over whole to the King when he grows older and wishes to take up the reins of government himself. And this may serve as a reply to what your said letters contain touching this point.

As for your desire to know how you are to behave in the present troubles, it seems to us best that you should meddle in nothing, and only show, as you have done heretofore, that you regret all disturbances that may distress the realm, and that you are sure we do also regret them. Therefore see to it that you temporise, and let us know from time to time of occurrences. If they urge you to say something more, leave it all to us, and we will be careful to reply to you according to the course events will take.

We think it best for the present that the Lady Mary, our cousin, should also limit herself by what we wrote a short time ago. If she is pressed for a reply, she will demand time and consult you, and we will consider what she had better say when we hear from you how affairs are progressing. We recommend you to be most careful always to inform us of what happens, and inform us quickly.

Brussels, 14 October, 1549.

Oct. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Having the opportunity offered by the merchant's courier, I cannot refrain from informing your Majesty that to-day, 17th of this month, the King entered London after dinner, accompanied by the Councillors and all the nobles of the realm. He certainly looked as if he had had a surprise, for while he was in the Protector's hands, the Protector persuaded him that the other Councillors wished to harm him personally. So when he saw them come to Windsor with so great a number of men, though separated from the Protector by Paget's exploit, he still feared danger, but was soon afterwards disabused; and when he went from there to Hampton Court and dismounted, he thanked all the company for having rid him of such fear and peril. I have heard that though the lords of the Council arrived at Windsor on Saturday, they only spoke to the Protector on Monday, and that in full Council; but what happened in the hour and a half they spent with him I have as yet been unable to learn. It is true that when they first appeared they showed Paget no favourable countenance, which disturbed him greatly, but after he had been

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with them in Council he came out very joyful and showed quite a different face from before. Since then he has had long conversations with the Earl of Warwick, whom I had not omitted to assure of his integrity and loyalty beforehand. So, Sire, all the Councillors are now of one mind, and conduct affairs unanimously and in good order, and it may be hoped things will look better than they have in the past.

The Archbishop of Canterbury still holds his place in the Council, but I do not believe they will leave him there unless he improves, and it is probable that they are now tolerating him merely that all may be done in proper order. For the same reason they are not yet making any show of intending to restore religion, in order that their first appearance in government may not disgust the people, who are totally infected. But every man among them is devoted to the old faith, except the Earl of Warwick, who nonetheless is taking up again the old observances day by day, and it seems probable that he will reform himself entirely, as he says he hopes his eldest son may obtain some post in your Majesty's court where he may serve you.

The Protector's wife is still in her brother Mr. Stanhope's house, Mr. Stanhope himself being a prisoner in the Tower, as I wrote to your Majesty the day before yesterday, and a Mr. Bree (who is really called Gree) is also there. No one remembers Boulogne or Scotland, but they have abandoned Haddington.

London, 17 October, 1549.

Oct. 22. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

The day after I sent my letter of the 17th instant to your Majesty, I received your Majesty's letters by this courier, and will shape my course in accordance with them and meddle in nothing. However, it seems to me that they have less respect for me because of my indifference, and they are also very busy, for they have sent me no news except by the Lord Warden (*i.e.* Sir Thomas Cheyne), who came last night and told me he had been ordered to go over to your Majesty, and was going to start to-day, though he said nothing more. Seeing that his conversation stopped at that point, I asked him if he was going to reside in your Majesty's court. He replied that he was not going to stay, and hoped to return shortly. When I asked him if he was going alone, he answered that Mr. Philip Hoby was to accompany him, and without any more talk took his leave, begging me to give him a letter to your Majesty, which I am sending him. As far as I can conjecture, Sire, his mission is likely to be to relate to your Majesty all that has happened here and the Council's motives for acting, and to beg your Majesty to assist and favour them for the sake of the confidence the late King declared he had in you before his death. Subject to correction, it seems that your Majesty might well reply to this in the same terms in which you answered Ambassador Hoby, to encourage those who are well disposed to restore religion, and give better guidance to the wandering, in order that all things may be governed in this country to the service of God and the good of the realm.

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Nevertheless, Sire, I fear they will have plenty to do in this respect, for the common people are badly infected, but as they say Parliament is shortly to meet, one may hope that affairs may be reformed by common consent, for they are already beginning to manage business in a thorough manner. The said Lord Warden is a knight of the Order (*i.e.* of the Garter), treasurer of the King's household, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and his name is Sir Thomas Cheyne. In the late King's day, just after the peace with France, he was sent to that country in his master's name to educate the son of the present King of France. He is a good man and of the old religion, and I believe this honour to be shown him because he is one of the oldest men in the Council named in the King's will, and the most proficient in the French tongue.

The Venetian ambassador went to court yesterday to congratulate the lords of the Council on the success of their undertaking, which pleased them very much, as he told me. It may be that they are a trifle suspicious of me because I do not discover myself more. In any case, Sire, if it were your Majesty's good pleasure, I would gladly take a more prominent part in these doings, in order to bring them round to the service of God and this kingdom's true interests, and also out of regard for the prosperity of your Majesty's affairs. For I see signs of the greatest inconstancy in these people, especially in the Protector, who, though no man's friend in his government, yet acted as an open enemy to France, and nevertheless set aside this enmity to such an extent as to be willing to treat with France and hand over Boulogne before a single fort had been taken, as I have found out from a French gentleman named Bertheville, who lives here on a fat pension from the King (*i.e.* of France), as I have at other times informed your Majesty. This gentleman says he had instructions to draw up the agreement, but he fell ill at that moment, and after the taking of the forts in the Boulonnais was at once thrown into the Tower. It may be believed that this was done for no other reason than to avoid giving away the secret, for though it is murmured here that he (Bertheville) is suspected of receiving a pension from France, he has as yet been accused of nothing. He has written to a friend of his, asking him to beg the lords of the Council that he may be heard in his defence if they intend to accuse him of anything, which he does not yet know, and requesting him to remember the words he formerly said to him, to wit: that the Protector had instructed him to make an agreement with France and hand back Boulogne. He added that his illness had defrauded him of 10,000 crowns; and I have seen Bertheville's letter that contains all this. I am so prolix, Sire, because I am quite persuaded that the Council were then inclined to make terms with France, all the more because of several of Paget's remarks that have come back to me, and also certain words he spoke when abroad, not to mention the small care the Protector was taking to keep Boulogne well provided.

As far as I know, no communication has been held with the Lady Mary, but if they do suggest anything she will always act

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according tc your Majesty's good advice. She wrote to me yesterday to send her my secretary, and I shall do so to-morrow. The last time he was there, she told him she had heard that the Council had been talking about marrying her, and that one of them had said nothing more ought to be done until news came from your Majesty about the Portuguese proposal. She, however, had not asked to know about the matter, or who had made the above answer in Council, for she would have to consent whatever happened, though she was less desirous to marry than to find some other means of getting out of this realm. She hoped that in any case your Majesty would have her in favourable recommendation.

London, 22 October, 1549.

Oct. 22. Vienna Imp Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

My Lord Warden, who has been deputed by my Lords of the Council to go over to your Majesty with Ambassador Philip Hoby, has asked me to give him a letter to your Majesty. It has seemed to me fitting to inform your Majesty that my Lord Warden is a good gentleman of great reputation, being the eldest of the Council and named expressly by the late King. He is very anxious to serve your Majesty, as his attitude towards your subjects has always proved. I will not speak at greater length here, as he will give your Majesty a full account of events in this quarter.

London, 22 October, 1549.

Oct. 23. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

EDWARD VI to the EMPEROR.

Whereas, by the advice of our Council and dear and well-beloved Councillors, we are now sending to you Mr. Thomas Cheyne, Knight of our Order and Treasurer of our Household, and Mr. Philip Hoby, Knight, gentleman of our privy chamber, not merely to see and visit you on our behalf, to hear good news of you and relate to you ours, but also to expose and recount certain matters which we have instructed them to communicate to you, we beg you to give them good and favourable audience, and believe them as firmly as you would ourself.

Westminster, 23 October, 1549.

Oct. 27. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Sire, may it please your Majesty to pardon me for venturing to write to you again without urgent cause, especially as I have written already for my Lord Warden. My present excuse is that Mr. Philip Hoby, who came here from his house in the country four days after the Lord Warden had left, has solicited me for a letter. I am well assured, Sire, that he has performed good offices here, by exhorting the lords of the Council to set up a good government and follow your Majesty's example by conducting their affairs with prudence, holding up before them how wisely and deliberately you proceed in all things, and remonstrating to them how important it is that they should seek to content you,

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for if they act well they should find in your Majesty not a friend only, but a father. In short, he has concealed nothing of the devotion he has for your Majesty, whom I thought well to inform of this. In three or four days I hope to write more fully.

London, 27 October, 1549.

Nov. 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

Sire, in several of my former letters to your Majesty I mentioned that a defensive league was being negotiated between the Pope and the King of France, and that couriers and messengers were going to and fro daily to come to an arrangement and dispose of the difficulties that had arisen while preliminaries were been discussed. Since the reply made on your Majesty's behalf to the Pope on the matter of Piacenza, the league is being more actively pushed forward than before, and both parties are now favourably inclined towards it. Now I am informed that Cardinal du Bellay has brought back a reply to the articles sent to the Pope with M. de Ville, a Ferrarese, who left Compiègne at the time when the King returned from Boulogne, and which were, in substance, that the King would consent to the marriage of his bastard daughter with Orazio Farnese, the Pope's nephew, whilst the Pope was to hand over Parma to Orazio, who in his turn must turn it over to the King in exchange for the sum of 50,000 crowns, which the King would grant and assign him in France. The King would also make Cardinal Farnese sure of the bishopric of Narbonne, recompense him for the sum of the revenues or benefices he held under your Majesty and might lose, as a result of the league, or if your Majesty were to lay hands on his benefices at Monreale or elsewhere, and receive and protect him in France and show him all favour. For the further assurance and solidity of the league, the Pope means and desires that the King shall immediately deposit in Rome by correspondence and on the security of Lanfredino, the Florentine banker, or in ready money, 500,000 crowns, so that whenever the Pope may see fit and occasion demands, he may take a part of the said sum and convert it to such purposes for the league as the payment of troops, and other necessary expenses.

Beyond this, the King consents that Provence and Brittany may be placed under the papal obedience, jurisdiction and authority as they formerly were. According to Carneseque, this league will yet be arranged, and both parties are trying to gain time with these articles, the Pope waiting to see what your Majesty may succeed in negotiating in Germany. The King is making a stand on the question of the money and the Pope's age. I am constantly trying to ascertain the rest, and to obtain a copy of the articles, which will be difficult over here.

The said Cardinal, besides having brought the reply, is spreading a report that the King has commanded him to go to England and propose certain terms of peace. M. de Blandy has told me that du Bellay had long been soliciting for leave to return, specially since the arrival of the Cardinal of Ferrara at Rome,

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which took all affairs out of his hands, and also because of the heavy expenses he had to meet with his own and other peoples' money, and because he resented all the delays and weariness that kept him so far away from home, his houses, delights, and pleasures. He well understood that the Constable was keeping him out of the negotiations and going so far as to write to the French ambassador in Rome not to inform him of what happened, and all because of some old grudge. It is certain that there is also friction between other persons, though they all understand how to dissimulate, and I see no likelihood of truth in the report of a journey, nor that the King, who considers himself to be the King of England's superior, should be proposing terms of peace, unless the real object be to conspire and plot in England while the troubles that have recently begun afresh last. The French say that these disturbances have been caused by your Majesty's ministers, in order to make them a pretext for leaping over to England and place the Princess on the throne; things which I look on as calumnies and inventions. It is said that such changes have been wrought that the Earl of Warwick, who was admiral before the Protector's brother, now dead, and several other great personages of the realm have taken the matter of religion into their hands, and given the King to understand how evilly and scandalously the Protector had acted in thus risking the ruin and destruction of the land, together with other considerations, which so much alarmed the Protector that he retired to a stronghold with a small following. The goldsmith told me he had been taken and thrown into London Tower, that the estates of the realm were about to provide for the government, that the said Earl had had mass sung, and had the King in his devotion. The French show that they regret this, imagining that if the people of England are led back to the old faith, your Majesty may more easily incline them to your service. . . .

News have reached the King of a sally the men of Boulogne made upon the French near the Dunette, in the course of which 300 or 400 foot and horse were defeated. It is said that Hacfort, a captain from Gelders, and Tiberio, an Italian, were in command, and that several shiploads of provisions entered Boulogne harbour without the French being able to stop them. More trustworthy news may be obtained from the papal and Venetian ambassadors, who have gone to visit those parts. . . . The King is having thirteen pieces of artillery made after the fashion of double canons, and calls them the thirteen apostles. He wished to see three of them fired on the day he arrived here.

Paris, 1 November, 1549.

Nov. 4. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

We have received your letters in reply to our last, and heard what you write of subsequent happenings in that quarter. We have no doubt that more has occurred than you relate, and we must have more exact information, which you will procure.

As to what you say in your last letters of the steps the Venetian ambassador took towards the Councillors, and of the favourable

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impression made by his congratulations on the change in government, and your wish to know whether you ought to do the same because it seems to you that your neutral attitude has caused the Council to take umbrage, we do not see the advisability of your uttering any congratulation after the manner of the Venetian ambassador. However, you may visit the Councillors as soon as you like, and tell them on our behalf that we have heard what has happened over there; and feel certain that they acted with good cause. As they see that their success has been guided by the hand of God without any great trouble befalling they ought to be all the more careful to render thanks to Him and dispose everything as His holy service demands, for their King's good and the kingdom's welfare, being most zealous in restoring religion and furthering the King in the same, that when he is older he may be well instructed in it and the better acknowledge the mercy the Creator has shown him, and not have to resent changes made during his minority. In so doing they will give us the best of reasons for continuing in the deep affection we have always borne, and still bear, to the King and his kingdom's welfare. For your own part, and as if of yourself, you may, with all due modesty, perform all good offices to this end whenever opportunity arises. As neither the Lord Warden nor Ambassador Hoby has arrived here, and we have had from you no precise information as to their mission, we can say nothing concerning it except that we shall wait to see what they say, and act accordingly.

We know not what the Lady Mary, our cousin, will have said to your man, and until we hear it we cannot give an opinion. It seems to us best that she should continue to conform, with regard to recent changes, with the declarations you made to her on our behalf. For the rest, we recommend you to push forward our subjects' private affairs whenever you have favourable opportunity, specially those of Loupes Decains (*sic*) which concern the ships recently taken from certain Spanish merchants, and of the children and heirs of Girard Velrman, touching the rings and jewels taken from them some years ago. You will do everything in your power to enable them to obtain restitution of their property.

Brussels, 4 November, 1549.

Nov. 7. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Sire, I have put off writing to your Majesty so long because I had not enough to say, principally for the reason that the Earl of Warwick had sent me word that he was coming to see me as he wished to talk with me. Thus have I been awaiting his visit for the last ten days, and he has finally excused himself because of an illness that came upon him when he left Windsor. Seeing that the delay was being prolonged, I sent a man to call upon him and find out what course he intended to adopt for the improvement of affairs. He took this in very good part, saying that he would not have delayed so long had his indisposition not retained him, and that he would not fail to come as soon as

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he was better; but he disclosed nothing in particular, either of their ambassadors' mission, or of their plan for the management of affairs, only saying that with your Majesty's favour everything would go better than before, and that the same day he had received news from Lord Clinton, Lieutenant of Boulogne, who had skirmished with the French to such good purpose that he had driven them from the dunes*, whence they had been harming the townspeople. Finally he said that he wished to declare in confidence that he would not so soon have lent a hand to this undertaking to succour the realm had it not been for the talk he had with me when he came to see me in the country. However, Sire, his remarks on that occasion were not so open and clear but that I perceived much more from his looks and facial expressions than from his words. Since he gave me no other message, and as I heard from certain persons that there was a split in the Council, and that Paget was to be shut out or at least kept away from it, and put in the shade with the pretext of appointing him Lieutenant or President of Wales, just as the Earl of Warwick was treated when the Duke of Somerset was made Protector, it seemed to me wise to sound the Earl of Southampton, who is the most experienced of the Councillors and still has most authority with the Earl of Warwick. So yesterday I sent some one to visit him under cover of his not being in the best of health, but as he is lodged at court like almost all the more prominent Councillors, and a great number of lords were calling upon him, he told my man to come back this morning at seven o'clock. In the meantime the courier came bringing your Majesty's letters of the 4th instant, so I told my man to demand audience for me at the same time. After thanking me for the attention, the Earl said that if the matter were not very pressing he would beg me to wait until the Earls of Warwick and Arundel might be present. My secretary said the matter was not one to disturb them, but only to bear witness to your Majesty's affection for the King and his kingdom's welfare, but the Earl still displayed a desire that I might wait for the said lords' return, which also seemed to me best, subject to correction, for the rest of the Councillors take a small part in the management of affairs. By way of reply to my message: that I had heard there was some discord in the Council, and that if he thought it fitting that I should endeavour to persuade any of them to bestir themselves in the matter of religion I would gladly do so, he said that he had always been aware of the goodly affection I bore the kingdom, for which they were all very grateful to me, and that for this reason he would not conceal his hope that with your Majesty's favour, and with time, which must also perform its office, their affairs might be righted. There was no discord between the Councillors, and I should be persuaded of it, for though the lords were of various conditions, every one was animated by the same devotion to the King's service, and all should come right in the end. By this, Sire, I presume he refers to the

* The sea-wall in Boulogne harbour was called the Dunette; it is not very clear whether this wall is referred to in the present instance or not.

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matter of religion, and that like a wise man he will search out the best means and methods to achieve his desire, which is to see things in the same state in which the late King left them. And though he makes no mention as yet of the Bishop of Winchester's release, I am sure he is his whole-hearted friend and abettor. I also caused my man to tell him that I was rather surprised that when their ambassadors came to me they told me nothing of their instructions, and he replied that that was ill done, without making any declaration either.

Sire, I have heard from a secret source that a Florentine merchant called Antonio Guidot (*i.e.* Guidotti) is being sent from here to France in order to find out whether there is no manner of making peace, and it is supposed that this means the restitution of Boulogne, though as neither Warwick nor Southampton have said anything about it to me I am at a loss what to suspect. At the same time men are being sent to Boulogne, and plenty of ammunition, and Captain Germigny* is going with his company of 250 Burgundians. He has told me that he is obliged to stay over here until he is able to serve your Majesty, which he desires above all things. I hear that the English intend to do great deeds again this winter near Boulogne, but in Scotland their affairs are not prospering so well, for the French and Scots have forced back their people, of whom two German bands have been sent to the Boulonnais, and Courtpennick is also to go home. Captain Herry Hacfort† and his men were dismissed in the Protector's time, which was a great disappointment to these lords, as so well equipped and accoutred troops had never before been seen in England. The pay is also very poor, and this is the cause of bitter complaints. Not a word is being said about the Protector or those who went to the Tower with him, but the Council are trying to persuade everyone that he is to be kept there until the King comes of age, which I find difficult to believe, for it seems to me more likely that he will not last long.

The Lady Mary holds by her former declaration made according to your Majesty's advice, though she said the other day to my secretary that she desired more than ever to be out of this kingdom, for she is unable to believe that religion is to be restored while the common people are so infected, and God's punishment is to be feared, as the peasants are not yet entirely pacified, and great disorder among nobles and peasants is evident. Therefore she thinks she is the only person here exempt from scandal and trouble, which are so prevalent that no man may get off without his share. I am exhorting her to remain constant in her patience, since she is assured that your Majesty will not forsake her, but will always study her welfare and safety; and the Councillors have not as yet pressed her or exacted from her anything against her will, for the letter she received from them

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* Perhaps the same person as Captain Germain; see Van der Delft to the Emperor, 23 September, 1549.

† In this case Simon Renard was misinformed about Hacfort's fighting at Boulogne just before this. See Simon Renard to the Emperor, 1 November, 1549.

while the Protector yet held out at Windsor was but a justification of their actions. And so, Sire, she is awaiting the upshot of the matter, not without apprehensions.

The Earl of Warwick has accepted the admiralty, which he held in the late King's day. Paget is to give up his post as controller, and it is said that Mr. Thomas Arundell,* a good man and of the old faith, is to have it. A few days ago he went to the Lady Mary and asked to be received into her service, which the Protector had formerly refused to permit. Even now she has, by my advice, put off accepting him, though in the most gracious manner, that she may not be thought to have had anything to do with the changes, for Arundell was a prime instrument in uniting the lords against the Protector. I have ceased holding communication with Paget, in order not to cause him to be suspected, until I shall have been with the Council. Parliament opened last Monday, but business is sluggish because of the said Councillors' indisposition.

Your Majesty will forgive me for bothering you with the rumour current here: that the ambassadors have instructions to demand in marriage one of the King of the Romans' daughters for the King. The origin of the report is the fact that Ambassador Hoby took with him a striking likeness of the King in painting.

London, 7 November, 1549.

Nov. 11. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(The first part of this letter gives accounts of depredations committed on Flemish and Spanish shipping by the French.)

Among other points touched on by the Constable while we were discussing the foregoing was, that the King was having some ships built at Dieppe and Rouen, and intended to fit them out, but it must not be thought that they were going to interfere with the commerce of your Majesty's subjects, for they were to be used against the English only. I attempted to discover what these ships were, and heard from the admiralty clerk that the King was fitting out twenty, which will be ready in two months at the latest at Dieppe and Rouen, and besides these, twenty or thirty more were being built at Havre and Tréport, and were intended to be thrown into Boulogne harbour and sunk when a good opportunity and a favourable wind should arise, and thus prevent ships from going in there, as was done in the port of Savona. No better means of recovering the town could be devised than blocking up the harbour, and this plan has long been maturing, as I wrote to your Majesty. The Captain,† however, tells me that this might easily be prevented, if the

* Sir Thomas Arundell, of Lanherne.

† This informant was one Tiberio della Rocca, who in June, 1549, offered to arrange with other Italians in the French service that Lyons should be handed over to the Emperor. See letter from the Bishop of Arras to Renard, 29 June, 1549 (Besançon, Amb. de Renard, I). Tiberio, Chevalier Marino, Ippolito Marino, Colonel Melun and other Italians had offered to go over to the Emperor, but his Majesty decided that they had better stay in the French service and serve him as informants.

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English were warned in time, either by burning the ships with Greek fire or by other means, besides which the sea is so deep that it will always be possible to get ships past at high-water. The same man who is conducting this undertaking promises to take Ardres tower after a few days' siege. Next spring the King will reopen hostilities by digging trenches which he intends to make between Boulogne and the said Ardres tower. In some manner which has not yet been explained to me, and notwithstanding these preparations, it is certain that since the Protector was taken and the last turmoil took place in England, provisions and wine have found their way into Boulogne, together with beeves, sheep and other victuals, and 500 Spaniards and Italians who were formerly in Scotland, and that the French have been worsted in the skirmish and sally of which I informed your Majesty in my last letters. The French have heard that the English are restoring religion, seeing to the defence of Boulogne, and looking after their affairs in quite a different spirit from that which prevailed under the Protector, who was blinded by heresies and errors. When they heard over here that the English were sending a gentleman to your Majesty, they succeeded in inducing the lord who is captain of Boulogne to parley with MM. de Châtillon and d'Andelot, who spoke to him of an arrangement, saying that whenever the King of England was willing to act in a reasonable manner, the curses of war might be avoided, for they were sure that the King of France, who wished to be at peace with every man, would make acceptable terms. To such good purpose did they talk that the commission which was ended some time ago was renewed for the purpose of discussing a peace, and d'Andelot has recently arrived here to inform the King of it. I hear that the English are favourably inclined. On behalf of the King of France MM. de Châtillon, de Selve, who was once ambassador in England, and President Bertrandi, have been appointed, and on the King of England's a gentleman of that country who is a knight of the Order, the ambassador* who was recently arrested over here, and the lord who is in command of Boulogne. These are the men who are to negotiate, though time and place have not yet been settled. A good informant told me that the day after the Constable returned from the Boulogne frontier, he said to the papal nuncio that the King would recover Boulogne before Christmas, hinting that the English would treat, and that the place would be handed over for a smaller sum than that agreed upon by the last treaty made with the late King of England; and I know not whether this proposal for an arrangement be made with a desire to deceive the English once more, or out of necessity and fear. The French desire to avail themselves of these means of making good the error they committed when they began this war and undertaking to recover Boulogne by force, in which they have neither succeeded nor will ever succeed if the English defend themselves. I leave the question to your Majesty's better judgment, but many are

* See Simon Renard to the Emperor, 8 August, 1549.

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of opinion that this arrangement is being attempted in good earnest. There was some talk of putting the negotiations into Cardinal du Bellay's hands, but the Constable did not approve, and when the Cardinal excused himself on the ground that he was ill and weary after his journey by post, and suffering from a wound in the leg, and expressed a desire to retire to his house at St. Maur-les-Fossés to rest, the Constable did not press him.

It is likely that the Constable said the above to the nuncio in order that the Pope might be informed of it, and to counter-balance the talk of those who discuss politics in Italy and elsewhere, who have little praise for the manner in which the King set about this war, saying he both went into it and came out of it too quickly, and chose to make your Majesty a spectator of his exploits at a time when failure would mean great difficulties, loss of reputation, dwindling away and breaking up of his forces, exhaustion of his finances and weakening of his country in men and provisions. Or it may be that these remarks were made in the hope of persuading the Pope to enter the league, which Carneseque assures me has not yet been passed, as I wrote to your Majesty, whatever articles and capitulations may have been sent from one quarter to the other. I also submit this to your Majesty's consideration.

Speaking of the league, there is a prothonotary in this court who told me that, on the contrary, an agreement between the Pope and your Majesty was being discussed, on the basis of the restitution of the revenues of Parma and Piacenza to the Duchess of Camarino, whilst your Majesty should keep the citadels and forts and receive into your court and service, or into our Prince's (*i.e.* Philip's), the Duke of Camarino. If this plan succeeded, to which Don Fernando's (*i.e.* Don Fernando Gonzaga) consent might easily be obtained if his advice was asked, the Council* would prosper far more than could have been supposed, and the said league would be not only avoided, but entirely overthrown, and a good way would appear for joining the said towns to the Duchy of Milan after the Pope's death, recompensing Duke Ottavio in Naples or elsewhere. He also said that his Holiness would consent to a fresh investiture of the empire, for he cared for nothing in this life but recovering Piacenza, and your Majesty might hold the forts in order to be free of any suspicion that they might be used against the Duchy of Milan or in an understanding with the King of France. When the King heard of these negotiations he sent post-haste to Rome to dissuade Cardinal Farnese, the Pope and his directors and advisers, and to come to a final agreement about the league, which he would rather pass to his own disadvantage and hurt than lose the chance and thereby open the way for an agreement on the Piacenza question. After making all the inquiries possible, I have not heard that the league has been passed yet, though the French are confident that it will be, and say openly that they have Pope and Switzers on their side. . . . (The letter ends with details of the French dislike of the Emperor's journey in Germany, and an account of rumours

* Of Trent.

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of a French enterprise in Ireland, which are more fully given in Simon Renard's letter to the Emperor, 14 November, 1549.)
Paris, 11 November, 1549.

Nov. 14. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

There is a report in this court that the Protector of England is dead, and that there is great division in the land, part of the nobility and people desiring to maintain the King in his possession of the realm which he has enjoyed since the late King his father's death, and the other faction favouring the Princess, and wishing to transfer the crown to her. But as I have no trustworthy information I cannot assure your Majesty.

It is quite time that the commission appointed some time ago to settle differences between French and English has been renewed to treat for peace, and the French are only awaiting news that the English commissaries have crossed to Calais to send their own, whom I named to your Majesty. The Portuguese ambassador spoke to me of whisperings that the Cardinal du Bellay was to go in order to lend weight to the commission, and the King makes certain that if the commissaries meet they will not do so fruitlessly, and that either peace, or a suspension of arms for some time, will be granted. However, the said lord (*i.e.* the King) and his Council fear that your Majesty may prevent this agreement, and that the English may behave like merchants and sell their goods at top price, meaning that Paget's and another English gentleman's journeys (for they say another has been sent to your Majesty) may work against them, and that your Majesty may be lending an ear to offers of alliance or conditions on which you would assist them, inferring that your reason could only be to seize the opportunity to make war on France. According to an Englishman in Cardinal du Bellay's service, money is all that is wanting at the present time to enable the King of France to rid himself of this war with the English, if the commissaries succeed in meeting. He also said that the King was waiting to settle a great marriage which he is treating but has not concluded. I can think of none other than that of the Lady Margaret with the Prince of Ferrara, or the bastard daughter's with Orazio, and the Captain has also given me news of a secret marriage, the parties to which he has been unable to discover. The Chancellor told me that the Constable had called together four of the most learned men in Paris to consult on the articles of some marriage, but left me in suspense like the others; Councillor Chaillot told me that Advocate Séguier had been summoned, but had excused himself, saying he could not advise the Queen-Dowager of France as he was occupied on the King's business. If your Majesty had not dispelled the suspicions I had conceived from news received and transmitted to you, I would suspect the Prince of Piedmont. It is a fact that the King is making ready a fleet in Brittany and Normandy, and arming some forty ships, for what purpose it is not known, unless it be against Boulogne, as the Constable said to me. Since I attempted to discover

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from M. Chaillot whether they were intended to go against Ireland, I have heard nothing about it from anyone else, and the goldsmith says he cannot believe it, because that country is as sterile as Scotland, and the island of Ireland would bring the King as much loss as gain. They can hardly be meant to attack Zeeland and your Majesty's dominions, for that is incredible at a time when the French are so badly frightened and thinking more of defence than of provocation. It is true I have had wind of something that Chaillot has also confirmed to me: that a few days ago the King instructed a Gascon colonel named Doese to raise eight companies of foot and have them ready by the end of January, but I know no more. Though this information may never be cleared up, it may still serve as a hint to take care with these folk, for such smoke usually comes from a fire, and it is peculiar to the French to say one thing and do another.

Paris, 14 November, 1549.

Nov. 21. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter, the first part of which gives news of the death of Pope Paul III. Preparations for the papal election. The French are setting their hopes on the Cardinal of Ferrara, brother of the Duke of Ferrara and a cousin of Don Fernando Gonzaga. The King of France's desperate efforts to raise money.)

According to what I have heard the King has got together in this place 800,000 crowns, and hopes to be able to raise it to 2,000,000 in gold before Easter by the above-mentioned methods. For he puts all his hope in the papal election, being confident that if he has a pope at his beck and call he will combine spirituality with temporality, and free himself of his dread of your Majesty, for which purpose he is determined to give all. In the meantime he is trying all possible means of coming to an agreement with the English, as I wrote to your Majesty. I have heard from the Captain that on the 26th of last month a congregation or assembly took place in England, in which many questions were debated, and while discussion was in progress many persons of importance showed themselves to be well-disposed towards your Majesty's side, but that the other party included a man who was said to have been Chancellor of England in the Protector's day, and who declared that your Majesty offered many favourable conditions, but it was necessary to think what they would lead to, and in particular the offer of 20,000 men, that he said your Majesty had tendered, would give much trouble because of the difficulty and embarrassment of paying troops, and that the King of France himself could ask for nothing better calculated to reduce and impoverish the English; moreover that so large a force might be suspected of an intention to seize and overpower the kingdom, so it would be better to come to terms with France than to continue the war. He concluded by saying that your Majesty was an eagle that lorded it wherever you soared. My informant could not tell me what was decided,

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but the King of France is half-persuaded that he will get his way by means of money.

Paris, 21 November, 1549.

Nov. 24. Paris K. 1488. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

The death of the Pope having been confirmed by many couriers sent by the Cardinal of Ferrara, the King of France caused the cardinals then in France to depart.

An intimate of the Cardinal of Ferrara told me that he thought none other than Cardinal Cibo would be Pope, for Cardinal Farnese and all his party would give him their support.

I held a mighty interview with the Constable about this creation, telling him that your Majesty's will on the subject was the same as what he asserted the King of France's to be, that was to say: that the Pope should be such a one as should have the welfare of Christendom at heart. The Constable told me it was true that the King had commanded his cardinals to elect the man who should seem best fitted, though the way of cardinals was to dissemble out of hypocrisy while they were cardinals, and to reveal themselves later; he desired they might elect someone agreeable to your Majesty, and who would do his duty towards Christendom, repress heresy, further the cause of the faith and reform morals, but he still believed in the proverb: "A good cardinal makes a bad pope," and preferred to leave the matter to the cardinals whose business the election was, rather than burden his conscience with it. He said the King desired to continue in his ancient friendship with your Majesty, as he had shown by declaring to you his intention to carry on the war against England, which he would not stop until he achieved his object, for he wanted no more than was his own, and justice and reason demanded. He not only hoped God would help him in this, but God was helping him, as might clearly be seen from the sedition and discord sprung up between the factions in England, which were a divine chastisement.

It is said that the King of France would rather have the Cardinal of Ferrara elected than the Cardinal of Lorraine, and that Ferrara is being favoured by the Duke of Ferrara, who has sent money for his cause. I believe that the King of France has given your Majesty these loving messages because he wishes to avoid any chance of your Majesty stopping his cardinals on their way through Italy; for he believes that if neither your Majesty nor the Council intervenes, the election will go in his favour, as he disposes of more means of influencing it. The French cardinals had quite made up their minds for what member of their party they would vote, before they left this country.

The Portuguese ambassador told me he had heard that if the Cardinal of Ferrara were elected he would make a point of giving way to the Duke of Ferrara on his claims against the apostolic see, and for this reason he thought the King of France had instructed his cardinals, at the Queen's request, to vote for Cardinal Salviati.

1549.
Nov. 26.
Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Sire, the Earl of Southampton sent word to me, as I wrote to your Majesty, in reply to my demand for an audience, that he would rather put it off until the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, who were then ailing, might be present. So as soon as the said earls were in health again, I presented myself before the lords of the Council and made the declaration your Majesty commanded me in your last letters. They replied that they had no doubt your Majesty had considered that they had not acted without just cause, for God had sent them success without any great attendant trouble, and for this they rendered Him thanks, as your Majesty told them to do, hoping that henceforth all things might here be led in accordance with His holy service and to your Majesty's satisfaction, whom they took to be the King's best friend and only patron. As this reply seemed to me to be vague, and as not one of the said earls was present at the Council meeting though they had been informed of my coming, and the Earl of Arundel had spoken to me just before I went in, and even settled the hour at which I was to appear, I was not at all pleased, but became suspicious of some dissention between the Councillors. I also noticed that Paget looked very odd, and dissembled with him when I saw he did not seek me out. I had heard that the King had demanded of the Council that Paget should not be sent off to Wales, where they intended him to reside as president, but might stay here in his place in the Council, and that this had been arranged by the Earl of Warwick, with whom Paget is now great friends and constantly engaged, which makes me fear he has gone over to the new religion, for the Earl persists in, and wishes to maintain it. Consequently, Sire, I thought it prudent to make inquiries and seek to dissuade the said Earl with goodly reasoning from his error and contumacy, and yesterday went to see him in his house, to which he has retired from court as if suffering again from his illness, though this seems to me less likely than that he is using his indisposition as a blind for the purpose of gaining authority and the first place, for the whole Council comes to him every day and all business is transacted in his house. We had a long discussion, and he himself began talking about religion, but I found him exceedingly stubborn, and finally said to him he must admit that the late King had never wished to go so far, but in spite of all his enmity towards the Pope, had stuck to the old faith to the very end, and had left behind him Councillors for his son, not kings of the country who might, according to their whim and fancy, change things with which no king or prince in the world had ever tampered but to his ruin. As God had set up princes to govern this world to his glory, it little became those who had a king to usurp an authority that the king himself arrived at riper years, would not use lightly. He himself (Warwick) had seen what fruit these sects yielded here and elsewhere, and how the new apostles sought nothing but voluptuousness and human pleasures, abusing the world. Therefore, as one who wished well to this kingdom, and also

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to his own person and house, for which I had no less affection than he had always shown me, I begged him to consider well what road he would choose, that he might give good account of all when he should be summoned to do so, which would be far more easy if things had been left as they were at the time of the late King's death.

After hearing these words he put on gentler mien, thanked me warmly for wishing him well, and said: "I am not as opionated as you think, but we have a law here which was made not by the Duke of Somerset alone but by all the members for the kingdom, and previously the matter of religion had been thoroughly gone into by the bishops and learned men." While we were discussing this law the Chancellor and Controller Paget came in, for which the Earl of Warwick was sorry, as he sent me word to-day, and hoped we might soon have another opportunity of conversing together.

The said Earl complained that in their extreme need your Majesty had refused them a certain number of soldiers, for whom they had offered to pay, and had thus forced them to recall troops from Scotland and send them to Boulogne. I told him I was unaware of what had been demanded from your Majesty, or what your Majesty had answered, but would remind him that on another occasion your Majesty had given the English just and most evident reasons, that were even advantageous to themselves, for your attitude towards such demands, and that they had been satisfied, but I hoped they would have no need for soldiers now, as Guidotti, the Florentine merchant, had been sent over to France to make peace, with Boulogne up his sleeve, as I had heard. The Earl laughed loud at this, said: "He is a poor man and heavily in debt," and changed the subject. I repeated my request, that I had already made to the Council on behalf of your Majesty's private subjects, in the presence of the Chancellor and Controller Paget, and then left the three together. They have appointed to be General in Boulogne the Earl of Huntingdon, a brave and hardy man but not over experienced in war. It is said they are forming over there a camp of 10,000 or 12,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and if they do not intend to recapture some of the forts, they must mean to build new ones. Men are also being sent from here to Calais every day.

Sire, the Earl of Southampton is very ill and in danger of death. If he were to fail us now I should fear matters might never be righted, for he is still in good hopes of accomplishing this, and good part of the Council is now well disposed, but would go astray and follow the rest without him, for there is not a man among them of sound enough judgment to conduct opposition. So if the Earl of Southampton does not recover, and the Earl of Warwick remains stiff in his opinion, we shall see terrible confusion and destruction in this realm.

The Duke of Somerset has not yet been brought to trial, and I hear he is not to be judged by this Parliament, which is but a continuation of the last, and will break up next week. It is said that another is to be opened shortly, and there is a prophecy

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here that one who has ill governed the kingdom shall be condemned to death in jubilee year. The Protector's secretary and chamberlain were thrown into the Tower to-day.

London, 26 November, 1549.

Nov. 27. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The EMPEROR to VAN DER DELFT.

As you informed us in your last letters, the purpose for which the Council sent the Lord Warden to us was to give us a detailed account of what they had done concerning the Protector, which we believe them to have done in order to justify their actions in our sight. After he had made this declaration, he proceeded to tell us how English affairs were prospering over the sea, laid stress on their fear of losing Boulogne unless we were willing to assist them, and begged us to allow them to raise 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse. He said that unless the English could obtain these troops promptly, in time to use them this winter to recapture the forts the French took last summer, in which they would take advantage of the winter season, as the King of France would then be unable to keep the field because his army is out of forage, they would be unable to recapture their forts, without which they could no longer hope to hold the town of Boulogne. He also asked that they might be provided with carts and provisions, for without these they should not be able to do much even if the troops were accorded them. After having the question thoroughly discussed in Council, out of our wish to do all we could for the English without infringing our treaties with France, we came to the conclusion that to give them such open assistance, especially in a matter concerning Boulogne, which is a recent conquest and not included in our treaty of closer alliance with England, which was expressly reserved by that of Crépy, would amount to a rupture of the said treaty of Crépy. But in consideration of the fact that unless some help is given them they may easily be lost, we replied to the Lord Warden that our former behaviour towards their King must have convinced the English of our affection for him, and that they had witnessed how we had left nothing undone that we could reasonably do in his favour, but we were obliged to abide by our treaties with other countries, without breaking which we could not allow them to levy such a large number of troops, and still less permit these troops to march through our dominions, as well because of our treaty obligations as for the resentment roused here not long ago when Ruffelberg passed through this country. Nonetheless, to show them that we would neglect nothing that might be done for them, we would consent to wink at their raising 600 German horse, which they could send, a few at a time, through this country, and as for infantry, they might get together 4,000 or 5,000 and send them by sea, though we advised them to do this immediately, that the men might be on board before the French heard about it, and that the French might not take it as a pretext to levy a greater number themselves. As for provisions, we had prohibited their exportation from all the harbours in our realms because of our great need of them, and the excessively high prices

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that might be the result of such exportation. And as for transport, the treatment inflicted upon our subjects during the last war between France and England had been such that without compelling them by force and deputing officers for the purpose it would be impossible to get them to serve, and we could not go so far without infringing the treaties and declaring ourselves openly against France. For the rest, with the hope of making them see they ought not to give up Boulogne lightly, we said that we regretted not being able to do more, not only out of our affection for the King, but also, and particularly, for the Councillors' sakes, in order that they might hold Boulogne and give the King no cause for complaining against them, when he should come of age, on the score that they had lost the fruits of the late King's conquest, which he had so much at heart. And the ambassadors appeared to be well pleased with our reply, saying that they would make a report of it to the council.

We also reminded them of Controller Paget's proposal for a marriage between the Infante Don Luis of Portugal and the Lady Mary our cousin, saying we had determined with Paget that we should write to Portugal, but had as yet received no answer. As the proposal was made in the Protector's day, we wished to know whether the Councillors remained in the same mind, that we might know what to reply when we should hear from Portugal.

Beyond this we recalled to them the suits you were conducting on our behalf concerning Sebastian Cabot, the bulwark near Gravelines, and the ships belonging to our subjects which the English had arrested with the pretext that the said ships belonged to the French. We also asked to see the originals of the Count de Tendes' letters to the Constable, of which Ambassador Hoby had already shown us copies. We command you to continue the pursuit on this point and all others mentioned in our letters, presuming as we do that the Councillors have laid down an orderly procedure for the despatch of business.

Just before his departure, when the Lord Warden came to take leave of us, we once more refreshed his memory on the point of religion in the same terms in which we spoke to Controller Paget at Bruges, as you were informed, adding that this (*i.e.* a return to Henry's VIII.'s settlement) would be the real way for England to defend herself, with God's help, against all comers, and to take out of the mouths of the French a weighty argument against her, of which they avail themselves in all Christian princes' courts, making her hateful in all eyes because of her religious changes. Jointly with this, they ought to set about consolidating their kingdom this winter, for that would best help them to put up a good defence next summer. We have informed you of the foregoing matters in detail in order that you may conform with the spirit of them in your negotiations.

Brussels, 27 November, 1549.

Nov. 29. Simancas E. 1196.

FERNANDO GONZAGA to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

Yesterday evening the Count di Lodrone (*i.e.* Ippolito Pallavicini) came to me from Duke Ottavio and made two

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proposals. One was that the Duke had arranged with his brother, Cardinal Farnese, that for your Majesty's service and consequently their house's welfare, the said Cardinal and all his party should adhere entirely to your Majesty's will in the papal election, and that the Cardinal, persuaded that this course was most likely to benefit their house, was well-disposed to adopt it, and desired that Don Diego de Mendoza and the Cardinal my brother (*i.e.* Cardinal of Mantua), might be informed of the Farnese's intentions and wishes, in order that they might work together in due and fitting manner. The other point was that the Duke and the Cardinal his brother desired that, as your Majesty and I now saw how devoted they were to your service, I might consent to give them some hope that your Majesty would exchange Siena for Parma, to which plan they would gladly agree, and yield to your Majesty not only Parma and the district of Piacenza, but also Novara and everything Ottavio possesses in the kingdom of Naples, would leave all the strongholds of the Sienese country in your Majesty's hands, even if you wished to fortify one, within the very city of Siena, and would send Ottavio's little son to Spain. I replied highly praising and commending the good decision they had arrived at, accepting it in your Majesty's name and giving them thanks, and on this theme I harped as long as I thought fit. As for exchanging Siena, I excused myself with many arguments, saying that to promise anything great or small concerning the said exchange would be to exceed the authority and commission your Majesty had given me, and calling their attention to the fact that it would be wrong for me to give my word on this point only to have to take it back later in case your Majesty were displeased at my having gone beyond my office, which seemed not unlikely, especially in a matter of so great importance as the fate of Siena. Finally I said that, though I refused to give any promise, I would nonetheless do all I could to assist them in obtaining the result they desired, as they should clearly see by my actions. The said Count showed the greatest satisfaction at all this, and so we agreed that we both should write letters, he to the Duke with an account of all that had happened, in order that the Cardinal might be informed of it, and I to Don Diego de Mendoza and the Cardinal of Mantua in the terms your Majesty may see by these enclosed copies, so that they may take concerted action with the Farnese.

Milan, 29 November, 1549.

Nov. 29. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

The commission that was negotiating so secretly between the English and French for the purpose of hitting upon an amicable fashion of settling their differences has been cooled by the conditions said to have been laid down by the English, by the news of the Pope's death, and, principally, by the confidence with which the English look for help from your Majesty. Speaking of this Councillor du May told me that the King was well enough informed of what the English ambassadors

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were busied about with your Majesty, and that it was nothing to France's advantage; but nothing further did he say. On investigating the matter, I found that the English wished to maintain the terms of the last treaty of peace between the late Kings of England and France, that the indemnity for this last war might be paid to them in a measure determined by the commissaries, and that further negotiations should be held on the questions of Scotland and the pension and arrears that had accrued. The King of France, on the other hand, insisted that difficulties should be discussed and settled without any regard for the said treaty, which he held to be null, contrary to reason, and the fruit of iniquitous facts and of force, and that the commissaries should go carefully into the cause of the last war and which side had begun it, that any indemnity might be calculated according as the blame lay. I see small likelihood of the commission achieving anything, and it seems plain that the King intends to carry on the war, for he is making great preparations, hurrying on his armaments on land and sea in order to put his plans into execution in the spring. The Goldsmith tells me the King makes sure of getting 4,000 to 6,000 lansquenets out of Germany by way of Switzerland and Lorraine, and as many more soldiers from Switzerland; all of them to be used against Boulogne. He is arming a fleet of forty to fifty ships, among which there is one built with strange artifice to resist artillery, according to the invention of a Gascon called Lesclercs (?) who has been busy on it at Le Havre. The King is also levying from 10,000 to 15,000 men in France, and the commissions have already been sent out.

Paris, 29 November, 1549.

Dec. 5. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

At the hour of his departure the King had news that a number of lansquenets from his fort near Boulogne had returned to Germany, and others gone over to the King of England's service. Those who remained were discontented with the King's commissaries and lieutenant in those parts because of the difficulty they found in obtaining provisions and of the general dearness of living, which was in no wise compensated by their pay, and it was becoming impossible to obtain supplies near the frontier or in Picardy, as the countryside had been impoverished by the King's last expedition there. This year has been a poor and lean one, which also works against the soldiers, and the peasants have been so pillaged and robbed, and the commissaries have committed such abuses—whether out of lack of administration or poverty—that unless the King sees to it all the lansquenets will desert the fort. Besides these tidings, news have come how the Rhinegrave has beheaded three or four of his men to warn the King of the danger threatening him and Louis Van Hebe, colonel of the lansquenets, because of the discontented spirit of his men, who are complaining loudly of the misery they are enduring, of the hard weather, of the constant, rough service

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they have to render, vigilantly defending the fort against the English, who are always watching for an opportunity of surprising and carrying it. At the same time the King heard that the English had sent 6,000 or 7,000 foot and 300 horse over to Calais, and meant to put them into Boulogne to strengthen the garrison under the command of the lord who is captain of the town, to try to recover Ambleteuse, which is supposed to be short of provisions, and wage war in that quarter at a time as unexpected and unfavourable to the French as they know the present season to be. These news have greatly troubled the King and his Council, and caused them to suspect that your Majesty and your ministers have tripped up the amicable negotiations that were proceeding between the French and English, of which I have already informed your Majesty. They believe that the English, had they had no understanding with, or hope of, your Majesty, would never have sent men across to Calais nor dared to contemplate continuing the war, for the French have been informed by spies come from England, that that kingdom is greatly reduced by rebellion and discord, division, inconstancy and sudden changes in government, by revolts of the subjects, punishment of errors in religion, want of money and means of obtaining it, by the youth of the King and sovereign lord, spirit of faction among the vassals and nobles, and by many other notable causes that often work the ruin and overthrow of kingdoms and provinces. So the King is of opinion that your Majesty has treated with the English ambassadors to his hurt, and promised help, assistance and tacit aid to continue the war for the furtherance of your own schemes, which he judges to be to fight him next year. The thing that is sorely puzzling the French is, that they are unable to discover what your Majesty means by your journey in Germany: what you intend to do next, and why you declared to the Estates of the Low Countries that you were returning to Germany to finish the action you had begun with regard to religion. After ripe discussion of these points, the King sent off M. d'Aumale with full powers to levy 500 men-at-arms and 10,000 foot to be sent to the fort, to pacify the lansquenets and take all necessary steps, first of all to prevent the English from undertaking or carrying out anything that might tarnish the King's reputation. M. d'Aumale set out on the first of this month with the Marquis du Maine, several gentlemen of the court, captains and others, and the men-at-arms are being hurried after him, though they are not as well equipped as might be desired, having no horses or mounts but old, broken-winded, rejected nags, no money for their pay, and no desire for martial exercise in the cold winter weather; and they use imprecations, asserting that bishops' benedictions are not what they stand in need of. I leave your Majesty to imagine how amazed the people are at seeing this sudden and hasty return to Picardy; and they think that all is lost and that this war will stir up your Majesty to fight over the Piedmont question. The wits are talking about the Pope's death and the election of a new one, saying that even were he a partisan of the French he could not do much against your Majesty in so short a time, that the Turk is not prepared

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to begin war at the King's instigation, that the understanding with moors and infidels does not promise much, and that the league with the Switzers is of less account than it would be if the cantons of Berne and Zurich had joined.

Meanwhile the King is having provisions and war supplies carted to Picardy and sending messengers to Brittany and Normandy to hurry on the building and arming of his ships. He intends, unless he is prevented, to follow d'Aumale and carry out his enterprise as soon as he can and the weather permits.

Vendôme's partisans say that d'Aumale's appointment is an insult to Vendôme, who is in charge of the government of Picardy and ought to have this commission as the King is not going in person; so that if Vendôme was displeased with the Constable before, he has double the reasons now because of the Constable's manifest ill-will towards him. According to the goldsmith, several people believe that Vendôme will not put up with this affront; but I do not attach much importance to the report, nor shall I unless I receive confirmation of it, especially as the news of the arrival of the English troops allowed of no delay, and Vendôme's absence from court would excuse d'Aumale's appointment.

Paris, 5 December, 1549.

Dec. 5. Vienna Imp. Arch. R. 9.

DON DIEGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

On the first of this month I wrote at length to your Majesty by M. de la Trullera (*sic*) and informed you of what was happening in the matter of the papal election, as your Majesty required of me in your letter of 20 November. Since then what has happened is that on the 2nd instant, after it had been decided that the voting should be made public, the Theatine Cardinal* leaped up with a prosecution, or articles of accusation, against the Cardinal of England† on the ground of certain errors in our religion, which threw the college into confusion. The Cardinal of England replied treating the Theatine as a madman; now laughing and now quoting Holy Scripture in his support, he defended himself so well that there were eight votes in favour of punishing the Theatine in person, and eighteen for withdrawing from his company as from that of an excommunicated man. At this point the question of secret voting was raised again because of this very occurrence, and was urged with the argument that as such important matters concerning a Cardinal might at any time arise, every one ought to be free to vote as he pleased. There were twenty votes in favour of this view, out of a total of sixty, and it is thought that the proposal will be carried next time, which will utterly destroy Farnese, because most of his votes are either Imperialist or French, and if the cardinals know they may vote in secret they will lose all respect and go each one his own way. That very night Farnese tried his skill in England's (*i.e.* Cardinal Pole's) favour, and found great resistance from

* Pietro Caraffa, later Pope Paul IV.
† Reginald Pole.

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the older and richer cardinals, but would like to get him elected by the help of the Holy Ghost. As I hear that he wants not many votes, I wrote to-day to the Cardinal of Jaén to favour him with his in order to attract some of the lukewarm. I believe the first scrutiny will be held to-morrow early. Three important alliances have been made against three persons: against England (*i.e.* Cardinal Pole) by those I have mentioned and the "Dissolutes"; against Santa Croce by certain Imperialists and partisans of Trani, Ridolfi and Salviati; and against Salviati by eleven Imperialists and nine partisans of Farnese.

To-day a slip of paper was found enclosed in a bit of tin and placed, by way of stuffing, under the wing of a capon that was taken out from the conclave; and on it written: "He who was sad has become joyful, because the liar has given him assurance." Since then I learned by a note written by a cardinal that Santa Croce was complaining of Farnese and saying he was his enemy, upon which Farnese sent to him between two and six o'clock last night to be of good cheer, for if he (Farnese) was helping England (Pole), Sfondrato and Burgos, it was in order to keep his promise and preserve his house from ruin, but if, as he believed, it became clear that none of the three could be Pope, and if more French cardinals arrived, he assured Santa Croce that he would put his name forward and get him elected.

I think the first scrutiny will be held to-morrow morning at four, and as in good conscience, and without committing a grave breach, I cannot send any message to the conclave, and as Jaén cannot take one either, I shall put my secretary, Ayala, in as Jaén's man, which is legitimate, in order that he may declare your Majesty's wishes in detail, as your despatch came late, and try to lure a vote or two away from Salviati or Santa Croce, who are the most dangerous men at present. I fear that with all these conflicting elements we may be reduced to Ridolfi or some other of no importance.

To-day is the 4th, and at eight last night they showed me a note from within the conclave, and another this morning at dawn, saying that England and Sfondrato were going very high, and that Jaén ought to hurry. This morning at ten Jaén arrived, for I had sent him four couriers, and though exhausted with fatigue he went at once to the conclave, where all were glad of his arrival, for though he means one vote more he freed the rest of their fear of the Council, Imperialists and Farnese partisans by his appearance.

The French ambassador appeared this morning at sixteen o'clock* in the doorway of the conclave, and tumultuously, without observing due order, summoned the master of ceremonies and sent word to the cardinals, though without producing any letters or messenger, that he had news that his French cardinals had arrived on their way as far as Corsica, where they were obliged against their will to delay some time. On his master's behalf

* *Le venti-quattro* in Italy still means sun-down, and *le venti-tre* one hour before sun-down. It would seem that "sixteen o'clock" meant eight hours before sun-down; in December from eight to nine in the morning.

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he therefore begged the cardinals to put off the election until Saturday at the least, and protested that if they refused, the King would not consider him whom they might choose, without waiting for the Frenchmen as pope, or as having been canonically elected. After dinner he came back, thinking he had made a mistake in not observing due order and speaking insolently without obtaining any definite reply, and informed the cardinals that a gentleman of the King's had just arrived with news that the cardinals would be at Civitavecchia to-morrow. He also told me that they might be expected to-morrow at any hour, but I am unable to believe it because with the weather we are having now it would be impossible to get past Monte Argentaro, and I find several other reasons for doubting it, though it may be true. The cardinals have given the ambassador no real answer, but his manner of negotiating and his protest displeased all of them. Your Majesty will see what heed they pay to his message.

As it appeared to me and to other of your Majesty's servants that it would be well to encourage them to observe the laws, I called upon the cardinals-deputy this afternoon and gave them the letter, of which a copy* is enclosed in mine to your Majesty, and which is enough to meet the occasion.

Trani said that the King of France's ambassador told them that a pope should not be elected in a month; what I saw was that your Majesty's servants looked happy, and your enemies quite the opposite.

To-day I hear that England has obtained twenty-four votes, and needs twenty-eight. Sfondrato is credited with twenty-three, and Burgos with seventeen, but nothing lasting has been done yet.

The common voice out and inside is that England is almost Pope. God guide it as his service requires! What England replied to the Theatine was, that when the Council resolved to proceed against the Lutherans without hearing or waiting for them, he, in agreement with his colleagues, accepted the task of answering for them in a discussion in order that it might not be said that the Lutherans had been condemned without anyone being heard in their defence, and of this Santa Croce and Monte were witnesses, as well as a certain memorial they had given him in order that he should carry out what had been decreed. Santa Croce and Monte confirmed the truth of what England had said.

Monte appeared to-day in the examination, but did not rise high. Your Majesty will understand that these examinations or scrutinies are held by the different parties before proceeding to a (real) scrutiny, in order that, if it is seen that a candidature has no chance of success, votes may not be thrown away nor reputations injured.

To-day is the 5th. This morning I hear that England did not get beyond twenty-four votes, which is the sum of your Majesty's

* The copy is to be found in the same bundle (Vienna, R. 9). In it Don Diego says he is certain the cardinals will not infringe the laws, according to which conclaves must not be interfered with, but thinks he may as well encourage them to scrupulous observation of these laws.

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adherents and the Farnese partisans, with the exception of one vote, which I think is Cibo's. It is believed that he will be obstinate.

The weather has calmed down this morning for the Frenchmen's arrival. If they come we may expect to see a scrutiny every twenty-four hours.

Paris sent word to me before he left home that his instructions were to vote first for Lorraine, second for Ridolfi, third for himself, and fourth for Santa Croce, but that Salviati was not to be supported by the French party because they took him to be a friend of your Majesty's. Salviati has seventeen votes already, and, should the French support him, he would obtain twenty-four.

Now that they see that the weather is calming down for the Frenchmen, and that the seventeen votes are very stiff, the election may be postponed.

Rome, 5 December, 1549.

Dec. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28.

SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

Sire: I would have sent messengers or couriers more often to your Majesty, as you were pleased to write to me to inform you of what was being said and done here with regard to the Pope's death, but that it seemed to me unnecessary. For your Majesty has silenced all talk by granting the French cardinals a passage through Italy, by the reply given to the French ambassador and confirmed by me in accordance with your commands, by the remonstrances made in your Majesty's name to the Roman consistory, and by the moderate conduct observed in Rome by your Majesty's ministers, thanks to which the election has been held in an unexpected manner, and up to the present I have heard nothing worth writing. In addition to this, since the first or second day of the present month, when the cardinals are said to have entered into conclave, the King has had no news save of the Duke of Ferrara's efforts to sway the election in his brother's favour, the simoniacal solicitude Salviati is said to be displaying to achieve this high degree, the less than canonical practices to which Cardinal Ridolfi has resorted in order to glorify his name and family, and much Italic gossip, most of which is wide of truth. And as I am informed that the creation of a new pope has been accomplished, and that the Cardinal of England (*i.e.* Reginald Pole) has been chosen and elected, I am immediately sending off the bearer of these letters; not that I doubt that your Majesty has received the news as quickly at Brussels as the King here at Fontainebleau, but in order to inform your Majesty, apart from the obligations and duties my office lays upon me, that while the cardinals were in conclave the King has been discussing at great length in his Council the qualities of the said Cardinal of England, who has been elected Pope. He has examined and inquired into the said Cardinal's prudence and learning, why he was banished from England, how he has shown himself disposed since he has been a cardinal, and what he is likely to prove to be in the administration of the papacy, in order to arrive at a decision, form hopes or fears and plan a course of conduct in case neither Salviati, Ferrara, Ridolfi or

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any other of that party were to be elected. According to what I have heard from various people with whom I have talked on the subject, the King has heard from certain persons that the Cardinal of England is full of good qualities and learning, and is a man who has always acted without passion or partiality in all that concerns the office of cardinal; that he left England to keep the Christian religion; that he received a pension from the late King of France at the time of his disasters; and that it might be thought he would feel obliged to France and allow his memory of benefits received to inspire him with gratitude if he became pope. Others have remonstrated to the King that it would not be fortunate at the present juncture if the choice were to fall upon the said Cardinal; for the memory of a pension he had once received from France ought not to make the French sure of him, things being as they were and open war between France and England, that piety and love of country would always count more than the pension, the Cardinal's prudence would never permit him to mature feelings of revenge against a man who was no more the cause of his banishment than the present King of England, and that he would naturally incline towards the English party. Others thought he would embrace the French side against your Majesty because, as they say, he was not considered or aided in his misfortunes. Others, again, said that his poverty of spirit and timidity were such that he would easily fall in with your Majesty's policy. The people outside the King's council who have heard of this argument and have secretly taken the liberty of discussing it, have come to the conclusion that its only cause is the Cardinal's prudence, which is enough to make the King and his Council fear he may follow the truth, for which your Majesty has always fought. Otherwise the King would not have shown himself so anxious as he did before Pope Paul's death to make a pope who should be devoted to his service. I do not know what the King is saying and planning now that the news have arrived, because I have had no time to inquire and am forced to send off the present bearer with the greatest despatch possible. However, Sire, the Lyons man has assured me that the King has remarked that if a pope such as he desires is not elected, he will at any rate take care that he never sees the colour of French money. I cannot believe that the result of this election can be agreeable to the King, dissemble as he may; but I leave it all to your Majesty's better judgment.

While the above-mentioned discussion was going on, and before the news of the creation had arrived, I consulted a learned person who neither knew nor knows that I am in your Majesty's service. This person told me that the pope to be elected would be an Imperialist, but would not live long nor reform the Church, but after him there should come an angelic pope, who would greatly remedy the state of Christendom, and your Majesty's name should shine out as never before.

The King left Anet for Fontainebleau, and arrived the day before yesterday, but he is only stopping a night or two, and has attended to no business at all except what concerns the war

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with England here and in Scotland. He has sent great quantities of ammunition, provisions and artillery to Picardy, and is despatching several captains who are to leave for Scotland in six or seven days with thirty ships and 300,000 francs; he has changed his mind about Peter Strozzi's and the Prior of Capua's journey to Italy, and has sent them to Dieppe to make all necessary preparations for the war. His plan is still to carry out an enterprise by sea in the spring or earlier, though as yet there are no news of the English troops sent to Calais having done anything. The rumour that your Majesty caused the amicable arrangement to be interrupted is still current.

The King is sorely puzzled over the delay of your Majesty's journey to Germany, and is discussing the matter in all its doubtful, uncertain and unexpected aspects, trying to discover its reason. Some attribute it to some slight attack of gout in your Majesty's hand, others say that the King of the Romans is disinclined to accept the proposal your Majesty is said to have made to him touching the election of our Prince (*i.e.* Philip) which they say was the main object of the journey, and by means of which arrangement the papacy was to be secured to his Majesty (*i.e.* the King of the Romans). I see no truth in the report, for these folk are always dreaming things and interpreting them as their whim dictates.

On leaving Paris I heard that the King wished to raise the value of gold coins, and to put the *au soleil* crowns at forty-six or forty-seven sols, and that for this reason the governors of the mints had been called together; but this is still uncertain.

Melun, 17 December, 1549.

Dec. 19. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 17.

VAN DER DELFT to the EMPEROR.

Sire: Since my last letters of the 26th of last month, I have been unable to discover that any important decision or action has been taken by the Council, but only that Antonio Guidotti, the Florentine merchant employed by the English to sound the French on a possible means of making peace, or at any rate of calling a truce, returned here but was immediately sent back to France. However, I have not learned more about his instructions than that the English desire to depute several persons to treat with the French; it is said they are to be the Privy-Seal, Paget and Wotton. What makes me suspect that there are negotiations on foot is that they are still holding back the Earl of Huntingdon, who was appointed to command Boulogne and was to have left twelve days ago, and also that the English are not sending anything over to France for warlike operations, and all the captains who were summoned to report the number of men they could raise, have received no replies to the offers they made. Courtpennick is staying here in London with his 2,000 Germans who were recalled from Scotland for use in the Boulonnais, and has been very favourably received by the King, but one sees no particular preparations for taking revenge on the enemy or attempting anything beyond preserving Boulogne. All this looks as if the English intended to sell Boulogne in order

to give colour to the peace they wish to make; for they would be hard put to it to defend it now that the town is almost shut off from all help.

Council meetings are being held daily in the house of the Earl of Warwick, who is keeping his room, as also the Earl of Southampton is doing, though because of a more evident illness.

No mention has as yet been made of restoring religion, and those who desired to see this step taken have been displeased to see that the Marquis of Dorset and the Bishop of Ely*, both of them entirely won over to the new sect, have recently been admitted to the Council, which may well have been done by the Earl of Warwick in order to strengthen his party. The Earl, however, is showing no hint of his intentions, and will probably refrain from doing so until it is seen what the Protector's fate shall be. At present they are very busy with this last, for every day four or five of them go to the Tower to examine him, and they say he is to be accused publicly this week, and heard in court in his own defence. Though the common rumour has it that he will run no danger of death, and that the Earl of Warwick, who is a very changeable and unstable person, now shows him favour and has been won over by the Protector's wife, who is always in his house, I believe he will not escape.

The Lady Elisabeth, sister to the King, arrived at court the other day, was received with great pomp and triumph, and is continually with the King. It seems that they have a higher opinion of her for conforming with the others and observing the new decrees, than of the Lady Mary, who remains constant in the Catholic faith, and stays at her house twenty-eight miles from here without being either summoned or visited by the Council. And, Sire, since she foresaw the issue of this affair in her fear that God meant to punish this realm, and said: "He hath hardened the hearts of the Councillors as He did Pharaoh's," she is still more fixed in her desire to get out of it and transport herself abroad, to become, as she says, hand-maiden to the Queen (*i.e.* the Queen Dowager of Hungary) and be free of danger once and for all. I comfort and reassure her as to all the troubles her imagination calls up; but, Sire, I clearly see that, unless religion is restored or better order observed, she will no longer accept any advice to put her trust in the Council's promises, because they have already shown bad faith and, above all, because your Majesty is so far away from this kingdom. Therefore, if it please your Majesty that I should remind the Council of what, as you wrote in your last letters, your Majesty said to the Lord Warden when he was abroad, in order to discover if the Council are still in the same mind as when Controller Paget declared that the Portuguese alliance was desired, I will take care to do so at the best and most convenient opportunity. Otherwise they will let the matter rest, and no one will speak of it or of the Lord Warden's report, as they are all very busy with questions more to their taste. In short, if the lady is not taken out of the kingdom by a marriage, your Majesty might well intervene; for, as she

* Dr. Thomas Goodrich.

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says, she has no other refuge in this world than your Majesty. So your Majesty will be pleased to let me know your pleasure on this point.

The Duke of Cleves has sent to the King of England Drossart de Montjoye and Dr. Croeser to obtain the payment of arrears of the pension that has here been accorded and granted to his sister (*i.e.* Anne of Cleves). The Duke has also sent me a letter asking me to favour them in their mission. It is thought there will be no difficulty.

Last Sunday the Order of the Garter was given to Lord Cobham, Deputy of Calais, and to Mr. Herbert, a Councillor.

The only news from Scotland are that before Courtpennick left that country with his company, the English demanded safe-conduct from the enemy that men from both sides, escorted by a number of horse, might meet and parley. The others granted the request, and when they were met together they remained a long time without saying anything, but finally the Englishman asked the Frenchman what he wanted. By way of reply the Frenchman put the same question, and with better reason, for the Englishman had demanded a safe-conduct. Then the Englishman asked the Frenchman if he wanted peace, and the Frenchman said: "Are you asking for it?" And so they separated without more communication; but this incident shows that the English are eagerly looking for a way out of the war.

London, 19 December, 1549.

Dec. 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 28. SIMON RENARD to the EMPEROR.

(Extract.)

Sire . . .: In my last letters I informed your Majesty of the preparations the King was making by land and sea to fight the English. He is continuing in like fashion now, having provisions and ammunition transported in the direction of Boulogne without interruption. He has had all the horses that could be found seized, and means to use them to revictual the forts, for lack of provisions has forced the French to abandon Blanquenay*, the first fort taken from the English. There has been skirmishing near Ambleteuse with losses on both sides, and the French are thought to have had the worst of it. The French have tried to block up Boulogne harbour by sinking ships; but it appears that the English succeeded in removing and burning them, so that the attempt did no harm. In spite of preparations and hostile acts, Guidotti, the Florentine resident in England, has arrived in this court with a definite commission from the King of England to treat for peace, and is proposing, by way of means of effecting it, the marriage of the King of England with the King of France's eldest daughter, and other conditions which I have been unable to ascertain. However, I know for certain that when Guidotti passed through this town of Melun, he said he was carrying a solution of all difficulties, and was confident of a better journey than his former one. It is thought that the fresh commotions and factions in England caused Guidotti's mission; and I will do my best to ascertain what he negotiates.

Melun, 20 December, 1549.

* Blanquenay appears to be Blackness.

# APPENDIX.

1547.
Jan. 25.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.
F. 20.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter in cipher on French affairs.)

It has been declared to Trebatius that a few days ago the King of France sent Paulin to England to request the King of England, as a consequence of the last treaty between them, to include the Scots in the peace, and accept the ratification presented to him by the Scottish commissioners, without insisting on ruptures of the peace which certain Scottish pirates might have committed after it had been notified to them. Paulin was expressly charged to spare no pains, by prayers or otherwise as he might see fit, to make the King incline towards this inclusion; but in case he should find him hardened in his refusal, he was to tell him with all due moderation that if he (the King of England) made war on the Scots, the King of France would be in duty bound to help them as old allies, cousins and friends of his, and that he should greatly regret it if things came to such a pass. It was added that Paulin had also received the authority to open negotiations on some of the differences existing between France and England, such as St. Blancart's galley, the boundaries of Boulogne river and the new forts. So, judging by this report, these people are anxious to arrange their points of difference with the English in the hope of making their profit when the chief business is settled. But above all their object is that the Scots may enjoy the benefit of the peace as being included in it. On the other hand, Sire, the English ambassador here resident told me two days ago that he had been informed from England that the King would by no means accept the ratification unless the Scots, for their part, effectively fulfilled the obligations laid upon them by the last treaty passed between him and them, particularly with regard to assuring the Scottish marriage. Also, as the Scots broke the last peace and are specially left out by the article touching their inclusion under other treaties, no wrong is done them by insisting on their fulfilling the said treaties. Such is the reply the King of England, according to the ambassador, is prepared to make to the French King's ministers. If affairs go this way there is little chance of their coming to an understanding, for the King of France dreads nothing so much as that this marriage should come to pass. However, Sire, Cardinal de Tournon and the Admiral said the other day that they were in hopes that Paulin would come back with a good report, and that before his return he would unravel all these knots.

Not long ago the English ambassador was present at a meeting of the King of France's Council, and certain councillors reasoned with him on the King of England's refusal to include the Scots

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in the peace unless they came to terms with your Majesty, arguing that the King of England included them in the last peace though he knew them to be at war with your Majesty at the time, and that this reason was so well founded that it might not be denied. To this the ambassador replied that when the last peace was being negotiated and the question of including the Scots came up, the Admiral, wishing to sway the King in their favour, affirmed on oath and on his honour that the Scots had been included in the peace of Crépy though not in writing, and that your Majesty had also promised their inclusion verbally. Thus, trusting to the Admiral's word, the King of England had agreed to their inclusion, which he would never have done otherwise, at least not until the Scots had concluded peace with your Majesty. He moreover said, Sire, that their reason would break down even if they succeeded in justifying it, for no sort of grievance was being done to the Scots when it was considered that the article of inclusion states that the said inclusion is subject to other and earlier treaties, so that the clause, thus generally worded, includes the treaty between your Majesty and the King of England. This consideration the councillors refused to admit, saying that the reservation of treaties could only be interpreted to refer to those between England and Scotland as directly concerned in the matter in hand, and going so far as to assert that at that time there had been no question of any treaty with your Majesty.

La Ferté-Milon, 25 January, 1547.

**Feb. 1.** EDWARD VI to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

Having occasion, by the advice of our dear and well-beloved uncle Hertford, Governor of our person and Protector of our realms, together with the opinion of our faithful and beloved councillors, to make report to you of certain happenings come to pass by reason of the death of our late most honoured sovereign lord (may God absolve him), we have thought well to send to you for this purpose the present bearer Mr. Edward Bellingham, our councillor and gentleman of our privy chamber, whom we beg you to hear and believe as firmly as you would ourself.

London, 1 February, 1547.

**Feb. 11.** ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 23.

(Extracts from a letter in cipher on French affairs.)

As the King of England's death has been published here, I have had *Olsacius* asked what plans the King of France was making, and also whether he would wage war for the recovery of Boulogne, as it has repeatedly been said that when the said death took place, so good an opening for war would not be allowed to pass. The reply runs, Sire, that the Council have already met in secret three times to discuss this point, and as far as the informant knew the present decision was to watch the course of affairs in England and to act accordingly. During the discussion it was remonstrated that, though the opportunity ought to be improved, if the French, having just negotiated with England,

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were to declare war without, at any rate, offering the money, they would not only allow the princes of Christendom to observe, but actually force it upon their notice, that they never intended to be bound by a treaty, but would always break it without reason when they saw fit. However, they by no means intend to push their scruples so far that there is no chance of action for the recovery of Boulogne between now and next July, particularly if there is any seditious revolt in England, and if the Protector and Council of that country are unwilling promptly to come to terms for the restitution of Boulogne (about which the late King had agreed to confer with the French) and propose some fresh means of avoiding the payment of the money. The King of France would not be averse from considering a step such as persuading the Scots to agree to the marriage of their young Princess (Mary, Queen of Scots) with the new King of England, and indeed would immediately give a proof of his intentions, on the condition that, if he brought about the said marriage, he should be set free of his obligation to pay the two millions in gold, by which he thinks he would be doing for England far more than the value of the said two millions. The King of France also intends to have a declaration made to the Protector and Council of England to the effect that, in his opinion, the marriage of the Princess of England (the Lady Mary) with M. de Vendôme would be entirely suitable if only for the reason that it would take the Princess out of the kingdom and avoid any popular rising that might make her a pretext.

The French, Sire, are overjoyed about this death, and when the news came Mme. d'Étampes went running at full speed to the Queen's bed-chamber at an early hour in the morning, and finding the door shut knocked loudly, crying at the top of her voice: "News! News!" making such an uproar that her Majesty feared it might be something bad about your Majesty, and fell into such a fright that she had been in great danger if they had not come to her assistance. With all this Mme. d'Étampes said to her: "We have lost our chief enemy, and the King has commanded me to come and tell you of it!" The same day towards night the English ambassador sent one of his men to the Admiral to find out the truth about the death, which the Admiral affirmed in the presence of Cardinal Tournon, and told the said servant that the King of France felt it deeply, for he had lost a good and true friend, and that at a season when there was little likelihood of finding another, together with more words all tending to prove that the King was incredibly distressed. Nonetheless, Sire, the servant saw them at the same time laughing and joking with the ladies, who were dancing, which moved him to suspect that their grief was not as deep as the Admiral had depicted it; in which he made no mistake whatsoever. The Admiral also told the servant that the King was all the more pleased to hear how the late King of England had caused his son to be crowned and had given him as governor a person so well able to fulfill the duties, because he considered it a great blessing for England that the quarrel about the Princess should be buried

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in this manner, for it was hard not to fear that that affair might produce grave trouble. At the same time the Admiral used cordial and loving words to show that the King of France desired to live in good and sincere friendship with the young King, hoping that the Protector and Council would be willing to give him satisfaction about Boulogne. All these folk, Sire, show great joy over the said King's death, especially as they make certain that by its means the Scottish war shall cease, and that they shall no longer be put to expense there. Besides this they say that your Majesty will get no more aid from England, as either your Majesty will have to make war on the English or the English on your Majesty, which will mean a considerable lightening of your Majesties' pockets. And this is the sum of what they hope. . . .

Shortly after the publication of the King of England's death, the King fell ill of a cold and had to take to his bed. He said, smiling, that if the King of England had summoned him to follow it would be another matter. He has taken medicine; and report has it that he will not stir from St. Germain yet-a-while unless to go to La Muette, which is near by. They say that for the present he will not go to Fontainebleau because the works lately undertaken there are still incomplete and will not be finished before six months. Certain antiquities, or medals, sent to him from the Levant by the Turk have arrived at Fontainebleau.

Feb. 19. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

The EMPEROR to EDWARD VI.

Because of the old, sincere and firm friendship between us and our late cousin your father, and also because of our consideration for you whom he has left in tender age, we have deeply regretted his death. But as these are things beyond human power and without remedy, being the road common to all men, princes and others alike, we must bow to the Creator's holy will and pray him to have mercy on the (King's) soul, consoling ourselves with the thought that it is His good pleasure that you should suffer this loss, and we be deprived of a good brother and friend. And remembering the brotherly love your good father bore us, of which he made such particular mention at the last, and which we had gladly returned longer if God had so wished it, he has given us cause to return it to those of his house. We also intend to retain the singular affection which we have always borne towards the kingdom of England, answering that which the kingdom has ever had for us, and caring as much for its welfare as for that of our own subjects. As for the close friendship which we wish to maintain with you, doing all that within us lies to render you service and wholly fulfilling everything to which the treaties bind us, we have declared it in full to Mr. Edward Bellingham, bearer of this letter.

Ulm, 19 February, 1547.

March 6. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 25.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

(An extract from a letter in cipher, the rest of which is of no importance.)

The third point upon which your Majesty commanded me to inform you, was whether the King of England's death was altering the outlook here. I obeyed this order in my last letters to his Majesty (the Emperor) which I sent by way of your Majesty in order that you might see them. Since then I have made fuller enquiries, and to put the matter shortly I see little chance of there being any fencing between French and English this year. On the contrary, *Olsacius'* report makes out the King anxious to temporise with the English, and do everything he can in order to gain the Earl of Hertford and the rest of those who rule the country. And the King showed clearly enough that this is true by the great display of friendship he made to the gentleman who was sent the other day to inform him of the King of England's death, assuring him that he wished to bear the son the same love he had had for the father, and that he was overjoyed that the young King had been received and sworn by Parliament and had come to the crown without difficulty, especially as it had been thought that the Lady Mary might give him trouble, together with other remarks all tending to show that he wished to remain good friends with the new King. Now, Madam, I have discovered from a sure source that certain ministers of the King of France have constantly told the English ambassador here resident that the Emperor will shortly make war on the English for Princess Mary's sake, and that his Majesty had on occasion written to the Pope with his own hand, promising to do all he could to carry into effect the sentence given against the late King of England over the divorce, and asserting that without this promise the sentence would never have been pronounced. They further said that the English would do well to keep their eyes open lest secret seditious practices stirred up the people. It is said that the English ambassador argued that the present King is their lawful lord, because he was born at a time when both the first and second wives of the late King were dead, and the matter was consequently beyond all doubt. The Frenchmen answered that his Majesty (the Emperor) would allege that the King of England had been forbidden to contract marriage by the first sentence, and that as he had had his son when he himself was schismatic and living outside the communion of the Church it would be contended that the son was illegitimate. The ambassador made answer that if that reason was valid all children of Protestants born during their parents' heresy would be bastards, which would be too unreasonable and absurd by far; besides which it would first be necessary to decide upon the validity of the said sentence by means of a General Council, and also to discover whether the English had been right or wrong to throw off the papal authority, in which case he made no doubt that the English would be found to be justified. And the French not only talk in this strain to the English ambassador here, but write to the English at home to make them distrust the Emperor.

I also know, Madam, that not long ago the King of France remarked at table that the Emperor could not do better than come to an understanding and negotiate a close alliance with

him, so that the two together might help Princess Mary to get possession of the state of England, for in her cause he would do as much as if she were his near relative. God knows with how much charity and sincerity he says this, Madam; and the French, prompted by their desire to sow discord between the Emperor and the English, go about everywhere spreading the report that his Majesty is going to Flanders to wage war on the English for the Lady Mary's sake and to drive out King Edward. The other day the English ambassador spoke to me about this rumour, repeating all the above gossip, and saying that he was unable to imagine what possible reason anyone could have for denying their young King's title. With this he spoke very highly of the Lady Mary, saying that she was called to the throne if the young King were to die, and that no one had ever seen females inherit before males in France or in any other kingdom. I replied, without entering into argument with him, that I supposed the late King of England to have made all the necessary arrangements regarding his successor, and that it was a mistake to pay attention to the current tittle-tattle here, where everyone said what he wished to believe. I assured him, also, that the Emperor would always be a true friend to the English, justifying the confidence the late King had shown in him on his death-bed; and I made much of this point, telling him that the elation of the French ought not to cause the English to weaken in their hope. Nonetheless, Madam, I could see by his face and manner that he was not free of suspicion that his Majesty might hereafter wage war upon them on account of the Princess. This over, the ambassador said to me that God had shown mercy to the late King and to his people in that the Earl of Surrey died before him, for otherwise he would have given the government trouble, though of course he would have been unable to allege anything against young King Edward. He greatly censured the late Earl's insolence, aud hinted that he had been put out of the way because it had been feared he might stir up some commotion, adding that the Earl of Hertford, Protector of England, had with him sixteen others who had been set up by the late King to administer the realm, and that there was good hope of their living together in such perfect friendship and unity that matters of state should soon be set right. He believed that they would not attempt more than to keep what they already possessed, without embarking on any fresh enterprise, unless their young King were attacked, in which case they would put up a valiant defence, for the late King had left his son much money, and had not spent in the late wars as much as some might think, for the reason that his people had come to his assistance. I was well aware, Madam, that he talked to me in this tone because of the suspicion the French have implanted in his breast; and he never converses with me but he ends with the same conclusion: that England makes so sure of his Majesty's friendship that all are convinced his said Majesty would protect them, as he always had done, whenever they were in need. In this opinion I strengthened him with generalities, not venturing upon anything more. He declared to me, by the way, that he

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believed the war against Scotland would be stopped and all preparations discontinued now that the King was dead, for it was not lawful for administrators to do what their prince, when alive, might command, but only to guard what was theirs.

In the same connexion, Madam, I have discovered from *Olsacius* that the English gentleman told the King of France, among other things, that he had been instructed to inform him that the Protector and Council would be inclined to accept from the Scots a ratification of the last peace, on the condition that the Scots should make reparation for the wrongs and outrages inflicted by them upon the English since the said peace; that the Council would agree to release Baron St. Blancart's galley, and come to a satisfactory decision of the river limit question, and also would promptly see to settling the matter of the 500,000 crowns; moreover the late King had declared on his death-bed that the last treaty with France was to be observed. Hence the gentleman wished to know what the King's will on these points might be, and particularly whether he was willing to observe the said treaty. The King of France made no immediate reply, but put it off until the next audience, during which he said he desired to live in friendship with the young King, and would take him under his protection if anyone tried to make trouble in his kingdom, hoping confidently that the Protector and Council would come to terms about the restitution of Boulogne in accordance with the last treaty, which he wished to be binding not merely upon the young King and himself but upon their successors, provided they would satisfy him with regard to Boulogne and accept the money when he offered it. I believe, Madam, that all the above happened as I have given it, and your Majesty will thus be able to judge what the French are aiming at; for they are making no preparations for invading Boulogne, but intend to dissimulate with the young King. *Olsacius* says the King of France has decided to adopt this course because he is not sure of his Majesty's friendship and does not wish to put himself into any difficult position until he has negotiated with him. As for Boulogne, he will be as well able to get it back at any time during the next four years as he is now, or better, particularly as affairs seem to be in a more favourable way for the maintenance of the kingdom of England than had been supposed; and thus he will wait to see whether the Emperor takes any steps against the English, in order to attain his ends if he has not been able to do so before. Therefore, Madam, the King of France is dissimulating with them at present, and he and his subjects are studying the means of putting them at variance with the Emperor, which I make no doubt his Majesty will be able to avert by his great prudence. The English ambassador is caressed here much more than before, it is said because he is one of the sixteen, and the King is consequently anxious to gain him over, especially as he is soon leaving to go home. I have been assured that the French, in order to make a still livelier impression against his Majesty on the English, are spreading a report that his Majesty is approaching the Council (of Trent) to make a declaration of the English error, so that

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King Edward may remain illegitimate as long as the late King is held schismatic. Such, Madam, are their suspicious proceedings, which they will redouble if they notice that the English are taking them seriously, as they make no doubt the English will do, the object of the supposed plottings being the one thing the English most fear to lose, namely their young King. In order not to rouse fresh suspicions in the English, the King of France has decided to put off the journey through Normandy which he was going to take this year, and will not go far from this town of Paris, or approach Picardy, above all now that he has heard that his Majesty is nearing the Low Countries. However, these are things that alter from day to day. I will add, Madam, that I have heard through *Olsacius* that the King of France will do his utmost to conciliate and win over the men chosen to stand beside the Earl of Hertford in the government of England, and has already written to his ambassador to do all he can to gain them. And this, Madam, is all I have been able to discover of this matter, in reply to the third point of your Majesty's letter.

Paris, 6 March, 1547.

March 12. EDWARD VI. to the EMPEROR.

Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

High, excellent and mighty prince, our dear and well-beloved father and cousin; most affectionately do we recommend ourselves to you. We have received your letters, and have also heard from M. de Chantonnay, bearer of the same, the great grief and displeasure you felt at the news of the death of our father and sovereign lord the King of England. We thank you with all our heart for your condolence in our sorrow, and are happy to hear and perceive the paternal love and good understanding that endures between us, as we hope it ever shall. For our part we shall never cease to follow the footsteps and example of our late father in the singular affection he bore you, and doubt not that we shall find the same sentiment in you towards us.

Westminster, 12 March, 1547.

March 25. ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.*

Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 23.

Sire; By my last letters I informed your Majesty that preparations were being made in this place for the late King of England's obsequies. On the 21st of this month they were celebrated in the church of Notre-Dame in Paris, in which was assembled a great multitude of people. In this solemnity M. d'Enghien, the Duke of Montpensier and M. d'Aumale took a share, walking before the Cardinals de Ginoye (?), Meudon and Armagnac, who in their turn were followed by the ambassadors except the nuncio and the Portuguese ambassador who stayed away,—the nuncio because the late King of England died schismatic, as he replied to the heralds, and the other because he was ailing. After the said ambassadors, came bishops to the number of six. Nothing took place beyond the usual service, except an oration

* This letter is almost entirely written in cipher.

in French lamenting the said King's death and praising him particularly for his magnanimity, liberality and prudence, also commending him for certain books published under his name. The conclusion of this harangue pointed out that the late King had made the recent peace in order to live in quiet for the rest of his days, and that God had been pleased to grant him peace everlasting and at the same time to admonish the English to take care to keep the young King in good and enduring friendship with the King of France, who for his part desired to requite it fully and in good faith. When the ceremony was over, the English ambassador came up to take leave before returning home, and I observed that most of the lords present, especially the cardinals, spoke with the said ambassador, all assuring him that the King of France had no dearer wish than to live in true, perfect and inviolable peace with the young King, begging him to certify this to the King, Protector and high officers of the realm, and to believe it himself. The ambassador, Sire, promised that he would not fail thus to do, and that the French would find them quick to respond.

As far as I am able to judge of the Frenchmen's temper they are displaying or feigning a desire to keep peace with the English, proclaiming themselves well satisfied with the results of Paulin's mission, who returned a few days since. And it is confidently asserted that they have obtained the release of St. Blancart's galley, the crew of which has been set free according to English law. Also it is said that they have settled their differences touching the river near Boulogne and the new fortifications. I make no doubt that your Majesty will have heard that these folk say there is no difficuly left between them and the English except the main one, which is settled by the treaty in such a manner that they are certain that when they pay the money Boulogne will be given back to them, going on to say that they will have the sum ready by the end of next October, and will then be able to decide whether it will pay them better to hand it over to the English or turn it to another use. I have heard from the English ambassador that, as the other points have been cleared up, they are no longer alarmed about the preparations being made on the sea-board. To a question whether the King of England would treat with the Scots, he replied that the King of France was urging him and the Council to accept the ratification, but the Scots were going on doing their worst at sea against the English, and gave no cause to show them favour, but rather to regard them as enemies. This he said without saying definitely whether they would treat or not, but almost giving to understand that the English would like to attack the Scots if the King of France made no difficulty about it. It is true the said ambassador told me that the Scottish ambassadors were still in England trying to get the ratification accepted, and were present at the young King's coronation. A few days ago these ambassadors were informed that the English had taken at sea the chief Scottish ship, called the *Lyoness*, and sunk two others, which considerably amazed them, as it also did the French when they heard of it;

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for these Frenchmen are not moved to keep peace with England for charity's sake, but only as a means of injuring your Majesty, which is their main object. Indeed they are unable to refrain from saying it aloud, repeating that they would never have treated the English as honourably as they did recently, had it not been for your Majesty and their hope of checking your designs. The news here are that the Pope has translated the Council to Bologna, and that it has been done by mutual understanding between him and the King of France, who intends to take this opportunity of revoking his ambassadors, saying that he gave his consent to a Council at Trent, but not at Bologna. They add that the Pope also did it because of his small wish to see the Council reach the desired end, and in order to induce your Majesty by these means to open negotiations with the King of France. And they are nourishing a hope of thus preventing your Majesty's righteous designs in Germany, and that you will be unable to bring the matter of religion to a conclusion without their help. As for the translation of the Council. I do not positively assert that it is an accomplished fact, for I do not know it to be true; but your Majesty may be certain that the King of France is trying for it for the above reasons, and has frequently said that by his treaty with your Majesty he was only obliged to send his men to Trent, which was the place chosen by common accord between your Majesties.

In former letters I warned your Majesty of the preparations the King of France has been making with the pretext that they were merely intended for the defence of his kingdom. And as it has come up sometimes in our talk, I took pains to say a word on the subject to Secretary La Goutte, who sees a good deal of the Admiral and of Bayard, in order that he might let them know I was aware of it. This he did, Sire, as if of his own accord, and later came to see me in my house on the high-road to Enghien to tell me that he had taken upon himself to say to the Admiral that I had informed him of the preparations carried on here, and that I could not believe the King of France and his ministers should so far forget what they had charged M. Ménage to say to your Majesty. The Admiral, however, replied that they were making no preparations beyond the ordinary, such as setting the gendarmerie on foot and reviewing part of their legionaries to see whether their discipline was good and their numbers complete, but without raising so much as a single new soldier; and if I cared to have a talk with him on the subject he would be able to give me so good an account of it, and so thorough a justification of their procedure, that the King's word would be seen to have been kept. This justification, Sire, is enough to make me suspect the contrary, as these people always do the opposite of what they say. Consequently I do not care to take this talk seriously, and am trying to get at the truth about the armaments. I have found out that the Council have been conferring with several captains sent from Rambouillet, and also with a quantity of others about whom I have heard from La Roque.* This I know

* Probably the same person as Tiberio della Rocca, an Italian captain in the French service, who often sold news to St. Mauris.

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through *Olsacius*, who still assures me that it is not with a view to making war on your Majesty, but because they fear your Majesty may invade them. And *Olsacius* says that their apprehensions have in no way been soothed since they have seen the resistance opposed to your Majesty in Saxony, or by their hope that the Baltic sea-board towns will do the same, as they are everlastingly encouraging them. Nonetheless, *Olsacius* affirms that the captains have no orders to raise a single infantryman, but only to have the troops ready in case they were needed, though they want to have the gendarmerie in order and also some light horse, getting together a provision of money and strengthening all the frontiers. Beyond this they will do all they can to upset your Majesty's plans in Germany and incite the cities that have come to terms to fresh revolt. For this purpose they will supply the former Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse with sufficient sums to hold out against your Majesty.

In connexion with the matter, *Olsacius* confidently declares that they may soon send Paulin to Saxony to strengthen the outlaw* in his contumacy, and to take to him as much as 40,000 crowns. He will soon have the same mission to fulfill with the Landgrave of Hesse and the men of Lübeck and Hamburg. *Olsacius* says he will make straight for Strassburg. To return to the preparations for war, I find that most people here are not at one with *Olsacius'* opinion that they are only defensive and not intended for an invasion. And my suspicions are confirmed by the Abbé de Flavigny, who pretty well confessed to me that the nobility wanted a war, but that he has it from a good source (and I know that it is from Cardinal de Tournon, whose intimate friend he is) that the King is not disposed to make one this year if he is not forced to by your Majesty. . . .

New Scottish ambassadors have arrived in this court, Sire, and have already complained to the King's ministers of continued preparations for war against them on the part of the English, and that the English refuse to accept their ratification of the last treaty of peace. They have also justified themselves of robberies which their men are said to have committed at sea, which robberies they deny, and offer to have a judicial inquiry and make any amends the King and his council may decide upon.

Paris, 25 March, 1547.

April 24.
Simancas
E. 874.

The CARDINAL of CORIA to the EMPEROR.

The Cardinal of England† gives so good an example in this holy college by his learning and life that I am well disposed towards him. Your Majesty knows why it is well to remember him, for he has no hope for his country's welfare, or for his own, but in your Majesty. For this reason he is sending the Abbott of Sta. Salute, bearer of this letter, in order that he may remind your Majesty of this. And I humbly beg your Majesty to hear him

* The deposed Elector of Saxony, John Frederick.
† Reginald Pole.

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and consider what is due to the Cardinal's good qualities, his spirit, and devotion to your service.

Rome, 24 April, 1547.

May 2. Simancas E. 874.

DON DIEGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter, passages of which are in cipher.)

I had a meeting at Viterbo with Cardinal Sfondrato, who is going as legate to your Majesty. We recalled our former friendship, and he asked me to tell him, speaking as Diego to Francisco, your Majesty's intentions, and he would tell me the Pope's. I answered that he was going to undertake short and definite negotiations, but that I had always had a great mass to look after, so that he must tell me on what points I was to give him my opinion, and I would do it with the very best will, as he should see. He replied that he wished to act ingenuously with me; and it looked as if he was being more ingenuous that I gave him credit for, as he said that he was going with fear, as Juan de Vega had told him he would not be welcomed. He then put forward three points, the first of which was how I thought your Majesty would answer him on the matter of the league against England for the purpose of reducing that country.

The second point was whether your Majesty would persevere in your present attitude towards the Council, and what I thought the prelates left at Trent would do, for the session at Bologna was so near that he would be unable to reach Germany and mend matters first. He said it would be necessary to summon them and come to some decision, because if they went away from Trent without going to Bologna doing neither good nor evil, or if they remained where they were without answering, small harm would be done, though it would be bad enough; but if they were to answer in such a way, as to lead the world to suppose that they were getting up another Council, it would be the very devil, and a matter to be mended by fire. And he indulged in much bragging after the manner of someone badly frightened.

The third point was what did I take to be the best way of bringing your Majesty to terms with the Pope both in public and private affairs.

From these words, and from what I have heard here and there, it is possible to put together that his commission is to talk with your Majesty, first of all about peace with France, but insincerely, for he touched upon this point in such manner, without speaking clearly. Afterwards he will continue according to the temper in which he finds your Majesty. Then he will go into the reduction of England by force or by negotiation, and will urge that it may be by force if nothing is achieved by negotiation; for they know that your Majesty will not consent to using force, as has already been said. Anyone wishing to judge uncharitably might think that their object was to induce your Majesty to accept this proposition, or lend ear to it, in order to complicate matters in Germany and further the league which is being negotiated between England and France; and since my arrival here they have published that the negotiation of this league has not ceased

with the death of the King of France, in spite of the fact that the time was not favourable for the announcement. For this reason I replied on the English question that it would have to be undertaken either by force, or by authority and negotiation, and that I was unable to form a favourable opinion of his Holiness' intentions in this matter, because he was going about it at a moment which seemed inopportune, since neither your Majesty nor anyone else would take two wars in hand if he were able to get out of one of them, and since his Holiness had endeavoured to diminish your Majesty's authority by publishing the capitulation with the Switzers, by breaking off the league, by refusing money to Don Juan (de Mendoza) and Don Francisco de Toledo (without mentioning other things that had occurred), and by sending an apostolic legate and publishing that he was going to make a league against England, though the negotiation was to have been secret; as I called upon him to judge for himself.

The second point, which is the most urgent at present, is that he is charged to induce your Majesty to order the bishops to go to Bologna, or if not, to send them away from Trent to any place you please; and if this will not do, to let them stay there and hold their tongues. If he cannot obtain that and your Majesty persists in continuing the Council at Trent, or convoking some national Council, to let it go on there, and the (papal) legates remain here (in Italy). They fear a reformation by General Council like fire, and I believe that to avoid it the Pope would reform the Church himself and mend many matters your Majesty is anxious to remedy in your states. . . .

It has been said and generally believed, and his Holiness' nuncio wrote it from France on the 27th of last month, that a defensive alliance had been concluded between the late King of France and England. Cardinal de Mendoza informed me that the Pope received letters from France on the 19th of last month in which they told him that the King had written to his ambassador here to discontinue negotiations for a league with the Pope, as they were no longer necessary. I have heard something of the sort from the ambassador, and the discontent his Holiness shows may be because of this. I may add what Cardinal Farnese told me, and I have heard from other sources, about the King of France's ambassador having said to the Pope that if he did not yield to the King what the King's father held in Normandy and Brittany he would take it by his own authority in such a manner that his Holiness should gain little reputation thereby. But in all this it is necessary to be careful that these news are not false and negligeable, for I am told that his Holiness is in the habit of running to and from Rome in this way when he is treating something of importance.* . . .

Rome, May 2, 1547.

* This refers to the Pope's habit, mentioned by Don Diego in another letter, of going to spend a few hours at places in the neighbourhood of Rome when he wished to meet the French ambassador in secret.

1547.
June 6.
Paris
K. 1488.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

(Extract.)

As for the present state of affairs between these people and the English, I can assure your Highness that the Dauphin (Henry II.) has not yet confirmed the last treaty made by the late King with the English, nor paid the instalment which fell due on the first of May last; and it seems certain that he will put it off as long as possible, or until he sees whether he is able to treat with the Emperor, because of his great desire to recover Boulogne, which his late father had so much at heart. Shortly before his death the said late King made a defensive alliance with the English; but the Dauphin has not yet entered into it. The English are showing that they desire his friendship, and are not pressing overmuch for the payment of the instalment. They say that all the images are being pulled down from the churches in England, and that all the people are becoming Lutherans. It is quite certain that if the Elector of Saxony had had any success the King of England would have helped him with money, especially as the English regret it when they hear any news favourable to his Majesty (the Emperor), because of their suspicions that he may at some later time attack them on account of their heresies.

The Scots are still at open war with the Emperor, and refuse to surrender the prizes which they have unlawfully taken from his Majesty's subjects.

Poissy, 6 June, 1547.

June 24.
Simancas
E. 1318.

DON JUAN DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.*

My last letter to your Majesty was dated 11th of June. Since then what has happened or been told to me amounts to the following. One Venier, who was ambassador in Rome, came here with a commission to renew the league, as he seemed to his Holiness a fit person because of the scoundrelly disposition he had shown there. Among other things he said your Majesty wished to hold a Council after your own fashion, and in it treat of states that had changed masters, paying no attention to any (de facto) possession, of however long duration. He was heard in secret Council, and though a discussion took place afterwards neither this point nor any other of those he raised was proposed in the Council of the Pregai, because, besides the fact that they have determined to do no more than listen in this matter, they take Venier for a violent partisan of the French. Later, the Bishop of Fano arrived and touched upon the same question, assuring this Republic of his Holiness' good intentions. In the matter of the permission he is trying to obtain in order that the Duke of Urbino may go to Rome to get married, he referred to his agent here, and in all that concerns the league to what Venier had said or the legate should say. I hear that the legate has been urging them about it once more, and has always proposed that the league should be defensive to start with. The reason

* All but the first two lines of this letter is in cipher.

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why the Romans do not abandon this theme is, it seems to me, because the Venetians do not say them nay, and go on listening to them, though without saying yea, and they always have some hope left, so that the affair revives from time to time, as we now have occasion to see. We hear that the ambassador this republic keeps in your Majesty's court writes that in this Diet your Majesty is going to put forward a league that shall be defensive for the states of the Empire and offensive against those who have occupied any part of them. This has stirred up the Venetians a little, as they know a portion of what they possess to come under this heading; and they have written to their ambassador to make more enquiries and let them know the truth when the matter comes up for discussion, if he is unable to do so earlier. I have no idea who can have put this notion into the ambassador's head; but it would not be surprising if they had written it from Rome to the nuncio out there, or if the nuncio had said it of his own accord, in order to cause something to be believed that might help along the league, since up to the present no other method has succeeded. Indeed this suggestion has made more impression upon them than any of the expedients yet adopted by the Pope or the French. In accordance with the above your Majesty will be able to calm them down now and again, for though I do not think they will change their present mind, which is to remain friends with your Majesty, I would nonetheless like to wash them of their doubts, and do all I can, only wishing I could do more. But their conscience so pricks them for having made peace with the Turk, and for the Marignano affair, and above all your Majesty's greatness so terrifies them, that the merest bit of news, or any unfounded conjecture, makes them uneasy.

The republic had settled upon an ambassador for England, and when the news of a league* was confirmed by their ambassador in France they commanded their new envoy to proceed to England at once. He has already departed, though the English ambassador here will not own up about this, but only because he objects to confession†. Your Majesty will be able to ascertain the facts of the matter.

Venice, 24 June, 1547.

June 30.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 23.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

I will inform your Majesty of what I have heard about the King of England and the French. M. de Vielleville, on the day after his return from England, went to the Privy Council with the English ambassador. There a dispute arose with regard to the sea-wall which the King of England is having built near Boulogne harbour, and the French maintained that this amounted to a new fortification in violation of the last treaty, saying that they had caused the wall to be examined by unprejudiced experts, whose report showed that it was a fortification, and insisted on its demolition. The English ambassador replied that the

* Between England and France.
† A humourous reference to English protestantism.

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wall had been built solely for protection against the sea, in order that vessels should be safer in the harbour, and neither should nor could be called a fortification, affirming that the English Council had had it visited, and had written to him that it constituted no violation of the treaty. In conclusion, Sire, they gave the English ambassador to understand that if the wall was not demolished they might lend a hand to it themselves, but would nevertheless send MM. de Châtillon and d'Estrées* to give their views. From these remarks the English ambassador has formed an opinion that the French will attempt to break up the wall by night, about which I have no doubt he has been warned. I have heard from him that their artillery in Ardres tower, which defends the fort, is all mounted and ready to let fly as soon as need be. At the same meeting the inclusion of the Scots in the last peace was again discussed, and the French made a communication to the effect that a refusal of the said inclusion amounted to a direct violation of the treaty. By way of reply, Sire, the ambassador used the oft-repeated arguments, coming to the conclusion that the Scots could not be included without your Majesty's express consent, and unless they made full amends for all their depredations upon the English at sea, saying that it would be showing them very great favour if they were admitted on these terms, for they had notoriously broken the last treaty by the raids, invasions and robberies they had committed in violation of it, and consequently remained entirely shut out from any good that might have come to them through it. The French replied that as the treaty mentioned the said inclusion in general terms and without any restriction, the inclusion should not be interpreted as subject to any restriction; and they stuck to this point, alleging moreover that the English had begun raiding the Scots after the last treaty. Thus, Sire, M. de Vielleville brought home no settlement of the above affairs, and everything was left to be fought out over there by the French ambassador, by whose means they hope to achieve more. In short, matters are still in a sour condition. . . . (A repetition of news from Scotland given in the preceding letter.)

It is evident, Sire, that the King of France will not forsake the Scots. He is much disappointed that the English have revictualled St. Andrews castle, have taken away to England the man who killed the late Cardinal of Scotland†, and have still kept the Regent's son a prisoner there. These matters are the subject of daily consultations in the hope of remedying them; and the French also talk them over frequently with the Scottish ambassador, who receives more favour here than any other ambassador. As for the King of England's force, his ambassador here says it is to be sent to Ireland, but does not deny that it might fall upon Scotland if the English found themselves obliged to take up the sword against seditious enterprises there. The above shows clearly enough that there is but poor understanding between the King of France and the English, and convinces

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me that the King of France will not attempt anything against your Majesty this year, nor as long as he is at odds with the English, against whom he would much like to use his strength, as *Olsacius* and others about the court tell me. But he will not set about it without first making surer of your Majesty's friendship, and negotiating afresh with you. And his desire will make him readier to consent to your Majesty's proposals than he otherwise would be; so much has he taken the recovery of Boulogne to heart. According to Paquelon, Roberval has already arranged for the fitting out of as many as one hundred great flat-bottomed hulks for cavalry transport. It seems that with these vessels it would be easy to land on any shore without having to make for the harbours, for they would be left high and dry on the sand and be floated off by the next tide, so that 6,000 cavalry and as many infantry as desired might be landed at once, which would give a great shock to the enemy. This is the proposal put forward by Roberval, who makes it his business to discover ingenious devices. The whole matter has been referred for examination to Count de Languillart, the Prior of Capua and others; but it has not yet been decided whether the said vessels are to be got ready. I have no doubt, Sire, that the whole affair will vanish into smoke like so many plans made every day in this place, where everything changes from one moment to the next. . . .

Poissy, 30 June, 1547.

July 19.
Simancas
E. 1318.

DON JUAN DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.*

In my last letter, written to your Majesty on the 8th of this month, I spoke of the reception of 12,640 crowns sent by the Viceroy (of Naples), of the coming of Don Esteban's† reply and decision, and of Rocandolfo's servant. I also mentioned the arrival in this place of a servant of the King of France, who proposed the defensive league, offering bullion to the King of England. In order not to leave a stone unturned he presented a writing, and I, not wishing to present another or to indulge in great harangues, and seeing him despondent, took a different road, which led me to go and talk to these people (the Venetian Seigniory) and remind them of their excellent behaviour in past instances, and of the insult the Pope had inflicted upon them by offering them to the King of France. I praised the good will they had shown towards your Majesty, and in return promised them your Majesty's good offices and my own when occasion should arise, together with sincere professions of the friendship they have always seen your Majesty display to this republic. I said I was not speaking in this tone because I believed them not to be sure of the truth of my words, or because I doubted of their constancy or prudence, but merely because several days had gone by without my seeing them, which I knew surprised them, and I had taken this opportunity to pay them a visit as I should have taken a lesser one. They appeared to be pleased,

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and in fact I have heard that they remained satisfied. My words were subsequently discussed, which gave our friends an opportunity of speaking at length in our defence, as I have been informed, and of routing the French advances[c] to great effect. While all this was happening, your Majesty's letter of the 7th arrived, and with it I returned to the college to perform what your Majesty commanded; and this I did. After that I put in several reasons for not believing that your Majesty had done the Landgrave any wrong, and this with the help of a letter Don Fernando Gonzaga sent me for the purpose, because it was called for.

They behaved as if a little estranged over the matter of the league against those who have occupied territory belonging to the Empire, and also about the last point, so what I did was not only well, but necessary. And it must have taken effect, because the day before yesterday, after a discussion, they gave the King of France's servant his answer, saying that they wanted no leagues. For this purpose they balloted, and we went over the results, which, out of nearly 200 present in the Council of the Pregai, only gave the French 13 votes. The substance of this answer to the French King's servant was, that being friends of the King they stood in need of no leagues to continue the same. I am told that when the game was lost, the legate said to Duke Pier Luigi's agent: "They do not know how to negotiate. They negotiate like Frenchmen." So this is the result of their plots. But though it now looks as if they were put to flight and forsaken, it will be well to be as much on our guard as before, lest now that this snake's head is off, the Pope's wand conjure up seven more. Indeed I am informed that the Pope is trying to spoil our game by making the Venetians believe your Majesty intends to subject them. I appeal to the truth.

An ambassador has been demanded of this Seigniory on behalf of the English, even though it were one who had formerly served as secretary. Therefore the present man was appointed; and he has been delaying because of illness. It seems that they are inclined to reconsider his appointment, and I hear this was the cause of his hurried departure, and not any other conjecture it was possible to make at the time. . . .

Venice, 19 July, 1547.

July 19. Don Diego de Mendoza to the Emperor.

Simancas E. 874.

(Extracts from a letter in cipher.)

In the last consistory the Pope spoke at length about the Council in such a manner that none understood anything beyond a reproof intended for the prelates who had left Bologna.

The Pope has decided not to leave this place for the present, as all his physicians and astrologers have counselled him. It seemed to me, the last time I talked with him, that he was very poorly; and (Cardinal) Farnese has told me that he wishes to have a private conversation with me about the election. May it please your Majesty to answer my questions on this point, naming two or three persons, or one definitely, who might be raised to the dignity, in order that I may inform your Majesty of

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what reputation they enjoy here, and any drawbacks that might exist. It seems that if those French Cardinals come here it will be for a like purpose. . . .

In this college there are two sorts of aspirants to the Papacy. One is neutral, and the other addicted to France, to your Majesty, or to Cardinal Farnese. Of the neutrals one is as good as another. The French faction is strongest, and was the most compact until these neutrals came in. . . .

The Cardinal of England is one for whom it would be well to do something, for he has an upright conscience, unless this talk about "Justification"* does him harm (and it is not of as small account as they say). He desires the reformation, is a constitutional enemy of France, and is such a poor creature that for all his youth he is older than anyone else. The great drawback is the hatred he would have for England as Pope, for he shows it being a cardinal. Many would vote for him. . . .

Rome, 19 July, 1547.

July 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

(Extract from a letter in cipher.)

I wrote to your Majesty not long ago that the French galleys had gone to Scotland, to help the Scots against the King of England in case the Irish force† were to invade. Since then, Madam, I have learnt that the said gālleys were sent to bring the Dowager Queen of Scotland and the Princess, her daughter, to France, and that it had been done at the Guises' expense, because they feared the King of England might ultimately be enabled by the spies and plotters he has in Scotland to seize the said Princess. The English ambassador, informed of this, has written to the Protector to be on his guard; and it is said that the force intended to go to Ireland will do its best to fall upon the said galleys on their homeward passage if need be, of which the French are sorely afraid.

July 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the Emperor.

(A letter in cipher giving an account of a long conversation between St. Mauris and the Constable of France, in which St. Mauris says that the Emperor finds it difficult to take the King of France's prostestations of friendship seriously while the French continue to arm. The Constable shows why his master, though desiring peace with all his heart, considers it necessary to be prepared.)

The Constable said that several of the King of France's servants were aware of the indifferent offices performed by the late King when he sent money to the Protestants against your Majesty and carried on other practices in Switzerland, which might well cause them to fear that your Majesty would be angry with the late

* Cardinal Pole was at various times accused of leanings towards the heretical doctrine of Justification by Faith.

† An expedition was being prepared in England ostensibly for use against the Irish rebels.

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King's son and attack him because of his father's faults, which nonetheless ought not to be imputed to him. He declared, Sire, that even though everything else were calm, the King still had an urgent reason for not being too quick to get rid of his troops, for he had the King of England so near him that he must be watchful. He confessed to me that though there was peace between them, the King of England ought to keep what he had agreed to and refrain from aspiring to more than was due to him, and that he was really doing the opposite. I believe, Sire, that the Constable was referring to the re-building of the sea-wall near Boulogne harbour, and to the exclusion of the Scots as a violation of the treaty; and he hinted that the King would have a serious grudge against the English unless their conduct became more reasonable. . . .

Poissy, 20 July, 1547.

July 27. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire: If it please you, your Majesty may learn from my last letters what I negotiated with the King of France and the Constable at Courrières, of which I delayed informing your Majesty until after the coronation, in order to give you an account of the said ceremony, as the copy accompanying this letter will show. Had I known of M. de Brissac's mission to your Majesty I would not have failed to send a letter by him. They say here that he is going to make a proposal of peace and closer alliance; but I have no certain knowledge of this. Some persons who would like to believe what they say affirm that he is to tell your Majesty that you ought to hold the County of Flanders as a fief of the French crown and do homage for it. I can hardly believe this, if it be true that the French desire your Majesty's friendship, which I think they are seeking because of their quarrel, with the King of England. They say openly that if your Majesty would not take any part in this quarrel they would wage war on England next year and punish the King in order to stamp out heresy there, adding that as your Majesty has repressed the insolence of the Lutheran sect, so the King of France could not better deserve the name of "Christian King," or put his first arms to a worthier use, than by bringing that country out of its present profligate condition and back to the Roman Church. Such, Sire, are the vain words of the French; for they make sure that if they were to go to war they would easily overcome the King of England because he is young, and his people consequently the more prone to sedition and revolt, if they had to supply money for a war, which they say the King would be unable to carry on without demanding it.

I have it from a good source that the King of France is very angry with the English, and will make war if he feels sure of your Majesty's friendship, but will do nothing of the sort until he has treated with you. This is very probable; and the Constable shows unmistakably that he wants war, as the Guises also do on account of Scotland. I have been told that unless the King

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changes his mind he means to send towards Boulogne his lansquenets, a certain number of legionaries from Champagne and Picardy, about 1,500 Switzers, 2,000 Gascons and a few men-at-arms, to have them ready there until he has finished the jetty the late King of France began over against Boulogne harbour, and which the English destroyed not long ago. It is certain that the King wishes to have this jetty built, because it would entirely command Boulogne harbour; but the plan may possibly be suspended for this year. However, the King and his ministers hope that the display they have made may induce the King of England to negotiate with them, and that they may now get the English to consent to the inclusion of the Scots, to the building of the jetty and the total destruction of the sea-wall. The King of England's ambassador is still in this court, and says he is greatly amazed at these alarums, remarking that the English will defend themselves valiantly, and will go to war more willingly to defend their young King than if the late King were still alive. The French say, Sire, that their galleys won the recent sea-fight, of which I informed your Majesty, and took four well-found English men-of-war. They make a great matter of this victory, and esteem the Prior of Capua more highly than ever. As soon as the news arrived, they sent off the Admiral to Le Havre to make all necessary arrangements, and took this opportunity to get rid of him. . . .

Rheims, 27 July, 1547.

Inclosed in this letter is another of the same date, also signed by St. Mauris, in which he complains that the Emperor's intention to reduce his salary from eight ducats to eight crowns a day will decrease his income by over 400 crowns a year, and that he is unable to afford to lose so much, as his living expenses are very large. He also begs the Emperor to write to Spain that twelve months arrears of his salary be paid to him.

30 July. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 22.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to ST. MAURIS.

(Extract from a minute.)

The French galleys that passed by these shores have reached Scotland, we know not for what purpose. We hope, however, considering that the King of France and the Constable have assured you that nothing, directly or indirectly, shall be done against the Emperor, that these galleys will do no damage to his Majesty's states or subjects. At the same time it is certain that the Scots are our enemies and have refused to keep the peace, notwithstanding the reciprocal inclusion made by them and his Majesty at the time of the last treaty of peace between the late Kings of France and England, and in spite of the offer we made them through a secretary whom we sent to Scotland to this end. Hence we can expect no good from them, and still less if the said galleys join them. It would be well for you to accost the Constable about this matter, or the King himself, if need be, to find out from them what we must look forward to from these galleys, and if they are going to join forces with the Scots in order to pretend they are in the Scottish pay, and then prey upon the

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merchant vessels, fishermen and other subjects of these dominions. And please let us know of their reply at once. . . .

Binche, 30 July, 1547.

Aug. 15. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.*

Sire: your Majesty will have heard of the taking of St. Andrews castle in Scotland by my last letter. The English ambassador here has now, on behalf of the King, Protector and Council of England, made a great complaint about this to the King of France, arguing that the last treaty of peace had been totally violated by this action and by the French sending their galleys to Scotland, because it was notorious that the said castle was held by the Scots in the name of the King of England, and had been conquered under the orders of the late King; a fact further proved by the well-known circumstance that the castle was revictualled by the English fleet. He went so far as to say that the King of France had not been satisfied with sending his galleys to Scotland, but that his men had most notoriously and inexcusably incited the Scots to rise in arms against England, which was a direct breach of the treaty, and would forever exclude the Scots from its benefits. The end of his speech was, in accordance with special instructions, to ask the King of France whether in good earnest he wanted war with them, praying him to say so frankly rather than look for further opportunities of letting them guess it. For though their positions were already seen to in a suitable manner, they would take care to put their affairs in still better shape, and continually to make their King secure, for they had no intention of allowing him to be bullied. And if God permitted him to reach maturer years, he might not improbably remember the oppressions visited upon him in defiance of the last treaty, which he had always been ready to observe to the letter.

In reply, Sire, the King of France justified the capture of the said castle, alleging that it had been unjustly seized since the last treaty, in which the Scots had been included, which was enough to vitiate what the ambassador had adduced about the thing having been done under the King of England's orders; for it was a course of action which the said King neither should nor could allow with any show of reason. Further, he looked upon the deed as still more ignominious because at the same time the good Cardinal of Scotland had been killed, merely because he served his mistress faithfully and well. It was true enough that the castle had been held by Scotsmen, because it had been treacherously seized by men of that nation, who were therefore rebels against their sovereign lady the young Queen of Scots, towards whom, and whose country, he was bound by a close and ancient friendship. So that, having been pressingly begged by her and her relatives to help her both to recover the said castle and to punish those rebels, he was of opinion that he had done a work of charity pleasing in the sight of God, and though his only object was to recover his ward's property for her, he considered the money it had cost him to be have been well and usefully spent.

* This letter is written in cipher.

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If the matter were properly examined, it would be found that he had done nothing contrary to the said treaty by sending his galleys, but rather that the King of England had broken it, after having given his consent, by ordering the taking of the castle, as the ambassador himself confessed, which might also mean that he was guilty of the Cardinal's death, a matter of itself so scandalous that no words could sufficiently describe it. Lastly, that his own actions in this matter showed clearly that he had given the late King of England no just reason for war, and that he was not looking for war himself as long as the other side should be willing to keep the provisions included in the said treaty; but if the English refused to do this, and showed a desire to attack him, he would know how to take care of himself, though he asked for nothing better than friendship if only they would reciprocate, and observe the treaty.

The ambassador made answer that the King of England had by no means violated the treaty by taking the castle, because since the treaty the late Cardinal of Scotland had, entirely without reason, practised things contrary to the welfare of England, for which cause neither he nor the place where he held out deserved to enjoy the benefits of a peace from which all those who broke it were excluded. And whatever reason the French might have had for seconding the recapture of the castle, they still, by all the rules of honour and amity, ought to have held communication with the English on the subject, and not set about it as they had done; for whilst pretending to wish to remain friends and urging them to do likewise, they had attacked the castle without letting the English know anything about it. The ambassador never ceased insisting upon it that the castle had been held in the King of England's name, which defeated their contention that they had given help against rebels, for they had in reality done so against the friends and confederates of the English. And as for the King of France's declaration that he desired to observe the treaty if the English would do the same, he would be so bold as to discover to him that since the late King of France's death the English had neglected no means of assuring him of their intention to keep the treaty in the most scupulous manner. In the first place the gentleman who came to condole with him on the death of the late King of France, told him that the King of England meant to observe the treaty; the same had been done by the envoy who brought the news of the late King of England's death; and since then they had begged him to ratify what Paulin negotiated in England. This regarded the boundaries of the Boulonnais and the river question. Nevertheless the King of France had refused to give his consent, merely saying that Paulin had had no authority and had exceeded his powers, and that there had been a misunderstanding, the truth being that the agreement had been sworn during the lifetime of the late King of France after the mature deliberation of the said King, who had given Paulin express authority to negotiate. In the matter of their difference about the wall which was being built inside Boulogne harbour, after long discussions both sides

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had agreed to depute persons to examine the wall and decide whether it was a fresh fortification or not. And about the inclusion of the Scots in the peace, as the King of France and his ministers had greatly pressed the point in the Scots' favour, the King of England and his Council had finally agreed that they would consent to the said inclusion, given your Imperial Majesty's good-will, without which they were unable to do so on account of their treaty of closer alliance with your Majesty, but that as soon as your Majesty's consent could be procured they would give theirs, provided the Scots would make restitution of what had been unlawfully taken from the English at sea, and also on the condition that all former treaties between the Scots and the English should remain valid. The result had been that the King of France had approved of all the above and declared that he would solicit your Majesty and the Queen of Scotland, and that the English ought to do the same, wherefore they, persuaded that matters would be arranged in this fashion, had sent commissioners with ample instructions to negotiate with the Queen and Regent of Scotland, and clear up certain pretentions they wished to have disposed of before proceeding to the said inclusion. By so doing they had performed their share of what had been decided between them and the King of France; and yet the King of France had chosen that very time to send his galleys to Scotland without warning the King and Council of England, who had made sure that their difficulties with the Scots would be settled amicably, in place of which there had been entirely unforeseen acts of violence; and the English Council deeply resented having been trifled with in this manner. Their attitude in all these affairs abundantly proved their good faith in the observance of the treaty; but as for keeping it in future, the ambassador was obliged to leave the question to the King of England's better judgement, for the said King had a very just and urgent reason for not doing so as far as the Scots were concerned, as they had notoriously moved war against him by attacking a castle which the late King of England had taken in Scotland during the last war.

In reply the King of France only said, Sire, that what had happened in Scotland in no way touched the last treaty of peace, but was only a punishment inflicted on rebels, that the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty still stood intact, except for the infringement of the treaty the English had committed, and that they could do no better than include the Scots in it. The said ambassador has also spoken about the above matter with the Constable, who replied to him substantially as the King had done, repeating several times over that the murder of the late good Cardinal of Scotland was a very evil deed, that all in all nothing had been done or attempted against the King of England, who would be well advised to take no steps on that account, but consider that everything was for the best. At the same time the Constable gave him an account of the taking of St. Andrews, telling him that it had been bombarded from the sea and from the town, on which sides it was exposed, until the Prior of Capua made

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a great breach with the guns from his galleys. The breach made, the Prior planned an assault, taking a certain number of those slaves who knew something of war out of each galley and offering them their freedom if they did their duty.* So he landed about 600 men; but when those within saw them approaching, they offered to surrender under certain conditions which the Prior refused. Later the Prior accepted their surrender at his discretion, which he exercised by throwing most of the surrendered into the galleys in place of his own slaves, keeping back two prisoners only, who were said to be of good family.

I have heard all this, Sire, from the English ambassador here, and also that the Protector and Paget had made up their minds to help the said castle if it had held out. The former Admiral of England* was already on the Scottish frontier waiting for his army, which was to be large, and which he intended to march through Scotland in order to impress the inhabitants and break up the considerable forces they had got together, for the whole of Scotland had risen in arms as if in accordance with a long-projected scheme. Indeed the Protector and Paget had declared to the French ambassador in England, that they were going to assist St. Andrews castle, and would see what would happen, a saying which the King of France judged to be very hard, and his ministers more than strange, repeating that nothing was being done against the King of England. Notwithstanding, the French go on talking as if they wished to keep their last treaty with the English, as the English ambassador tells me, as long as the English will also observe it, and say they will not be the first to declare war. But in reality they are longing to do so as soon as they have treated with your Majesty. And this I have heard from several persons, who equally assure me that the French will not fight unless forced to, without first coming to terms with your Majesty, whom I humbly implore to command that my salary, of which a whole year is owing, may be paid to me from Spain. Otherwise pure necessity will oblige me to abandon this post and pray your Majesty to appoint a successor.

Compiègne, 15 August, 1547.

Aug. 24. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

The EMPEROR to SOMERSET.

I have heard from my ambassador the honourable words you have spoken to him, and what you have confidentially declared to him touching the state of my cousin's kingdom, for which I thank you warmly, assuring you that for my part I shall always observe the treaties between my said cousin and me, and will gladly do all I can to please and favour him, and also you in the post you now occupy. For I have a singular regard for the said King's welfare, and the success of all his affairs.

Augsburg, 24 August, 1547.

Aug. 26. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(A letter full of Italian gossip obtained by one Don Francisco, a Portuguese lord, from another Portuguese in the employment

* This was John, Earl of Warwick, who had been succeeded in the office by Thomas Seymour, brother of the Protector.

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of the Legate, Capo di Ferro. The Pope is angry with Pier Luigi Farnese and would like to deprive him of Piacenza. A quarrel about Orazio Farnese's marriage settlement etc., etc.)

The Legate, Sire, speaking of the translation of the Council, said that the Pope could not help it, for as he made over to the Council all his powers so far as the Council was concerned, his hands were bound, and he proposed to remit the whole matter of the translation to be settled by the Council. Beneath such wiles and false words do they hide their malpractices, never ceasing to solicit the King of France to send his prelates to Bologna, to which he has now agreed. Thus two of his envoys will shortly depart, and with them several bishops, among them the Bishop of Noyon. And they have been instructed to go to Bologna and model their conduct on that of the largest and strongest party in the Council. . . .

I will add, Sire, something told me by the English ambassador here resident. Speaking of the wrong done by the French and Scotsmen to the English, he assured me that there was nothing in the rumours of a defensive alliance between the English and French. He confessed that the late King of France had pressed them so hard to consent to such an alliance, that they had agreed, but on the express condition that the exact words of the treaty between them and your Majesty, referring to the mutual assistance to be given in case of attack from the French, should be reproduced in the agreement in order that they might not infringe the said treaty. After examining the question, the late King of France had decided to go no further with the proposal, judging that on these terms it would be rather to his disadvantage than otherwise.

Compiègne, 26 August, 1547.

Aug. 26. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 25.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Madam: Having the opportunity offered by this bearer I am writing to inform your Majesty of what I heard two days ago from the ambassador of Mantua here resident. Namely, that the King of France intends to build the jetty over against Boulogne harbour, running it out from one of his forts. Moreover, the ambassador tells me that he knows from a good source that the King is sending in that direction 500 men-at-arms lightly armed, with two horses for each man, and is despatching them in small companies in order that they may pass unobserved. He has taken them out of the majority of his *bandes d'ordonnance*, eight or ten out of each, in order to avoid breaking up the bands, and it seems that these men-at-arms are only intended to escort the pioneers. It is said that the King is sending his galleys to Étaples harbour to remain there until the fortifications are finished, for fear of interference from the King of England. I am certain, Madam, that your Majesty will provide against any unexpected turn affairs might take, for everything changes daily here. It is stated that the English are marching into Scotland in force, which the French resent very much. The French are consequently

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ill-disposed towards the King of England, and he still worse towards them, as I hear every day from the English ambassador, who two days ago made complaints to the Chancellor, who is in charge of affairs at present, about rumours to the effect that two forts were being built, and about the castle (St. Andrews) taken from the Scots, which castle the English had seized during the last war, and had remained in possession of it by the last treaty of peace. The Chancellor replied that he knew nothing about the forts, and referred to the King of France, who would not infringe the said treaty as long as the English observed it, including in it the Scots and demolishing the wall they were building inside Boulogne harbour. As for (St. Andrews) castle, it had been taken without the knowledge of the King of France, who had no desire to support the Scots beyond reason; and in any case it would be necessary to hear from the Scottish ambassador how and wherefore the thing had happened. The English ambassador replied that, as for the wall, they had already torn down what had been built, and the late King (of England) had two or three times over declared to him that the jetty might not be built, without violating the treaty. I judge from the ambassador's remarks, Madam, that the Protector and Council will hardly tolerate the building of the said forts, and will sooner divide their army. I have heard from the Chancellor, with regard to sending help to Scotland, that the King of France could not cease assisting the Scots with men and money, which he may lawfully do as the King of England is in open war against them, but that the French did not look upon it as a matter of great importance, being convinced that the Scots would easily be able to resist, and that the King of England could not do more than harry the Lowlands and then retire, which was the kind of war usual between the Scots and English. The English ambassador still has instructions to remain in this court; and the Protector has written to him that they will not be the first to break with France, unless the French King gives them very evident cause.

I have seen, Madam, what your Majesty has had written to me by the President (of the Flemish Council) touching his Majesty's health. The French have also heard about it, and are careful to obtain news from time to time; but I have good hope that with God's help the news may be quite different from what they hope. And I have my reason for saying this, for the French are already speaking ill to their own advantage. . . .

Compiègne, 26 August, 1547.

Sept. 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 25.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.*

Madam: As M. de Glason's man is returning to Flanders I thought it well to inform your Majesty that the King of France is to be in this place on the last day of this month (*sic*), and would have arrived sooner but that while he was at Orleans he was seized by an abdominal flux to which he is often subject, and

* This letter is written in cipher.

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from which he has now recovered. His people and courtiers, Madam, saw fit to imagine several things about his journey; particularly that he would take Boulogne if the King of England refused the offer of the money, which now seems to be a favourite theme of theirs. However much they may talk about this money, it is more than certain they have not got it by a long way. To-day they have not at the Louvre more than 300,000 crowns at most, out of 800,000 which the late King of France is said to have left at his death.

A few days ago, Madam, the King of France was informed by his ambassador resident in England that several French ships had been arrested over there. The King immediately sent a man to the King of England to say that he wanted to know the reason, and if everything taken were not returned at once he would have his men lay hands on everything they could reach belonging to the English. I have spoken about this with the English ambassador to find out what it amounted to, and have discovered that the ships were arrested at Dover by certain English merchants, who had had some of their ships arrested without any cause in several harbours of this kingdom six weeks ago, and that as this was an act of violence, the King of England had thought it well to retaliate in like fashion. Of course the French will be unable to obtain any justice in this matter of the prizes, and the ambassador tells me he expects that both sides will soon cease talking about it, and that the King and Council will not attempt anything against the French, but will only do as the French do and revenge themselves for injuries inflicted upon them, and if no provocation were given they would do nothing. He added that he had to complain that a short time ago one of his men had been held up for more than a day at Abbeville and prevented from going on by the post to England, whither he was sent; and also that the Admiral of France had recently opened at Dieppe some letters sent to him (the ambassador) from England. He had instructions to ascertain whether the French government intended to allow such annoyances to continue, for the King and Council of England found them very strange. I will do my best to find out what they answer him; and I have no doubt that the French will temporise until they see what chance there is of treating with the Emperor, and if they are unable to do so they will seek every means of settling their differences. The King of England and his ministers seem to be inclined to a peaceful solution, from what I learn from the English ambassador; and will do their utmost to avoid war with the French unless they are hard pressed to it. It is true that their army in Scotland greatly annoys the King of France; but as the season is far advanced he hopes it will accomplish but little. The ambassador is at present urging the Chancellor to send a commissary to examine the sea-wall and give an opinion on it, as was decided between them when the King of France some time ago actually nominated his commissaries. And the object of this request is to further the possibility of an agreement between the two countries, a thing

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which I believe the English to desire. Speaking of the jetty and of the new fort, the English ambassador sometimes remarks that if the late King of England were alive he would not stand either the one or the other, especially the jetty, but that he does not know whether the English Council is of the same opinion to-day, because of their regard for their young prince whom they ought to keep in peace if possible, and not give him as hard an adversary as the King of France. And this, Madam, is a further confirmation of what I have just said, that they do not want to fight the French, who I think will also avoid war until they treat with the Emperor.

Compiègne, 1 September, 1547.

Sept. 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(A letter in cipher, the first part of which deals with the private affairs of the Queen Dowager of France. Rumours that the Emperor is trying to obtain the Imperial Diet's consent to a league embracing the Empire, several Italian states, Savoy and Burgundy, and that this league is to be directed against France.)

By way of more news, the Cardinal of Lorraine said that when M. de Chantonnay left Bar he was going to England to confirm the last treaty of closer alliance on behalf of your Majesty. I assured the said lady (the Queen Dowager of France), Sire, that to my certain knowledge M. de Chantonnay was in Burgundy, and that as this piece of information was false, so the other one respecting the league was likely to be, for I was sure your Majesty wanted nothing but peace and sincere friendship with the King of France, provided that the King was willing to do his part in the same.

Speaking of this league, the French have been badly frightened about it, and as I have heard from a good quarter, they have secretly done all they could with the (Swiss) leagues and their friends in Germany to defeat it, or at the very least to get themselves included. And I have been told, Sire, that they hear the English are trying to get into it as well, in order to be helped by the Germans if attacked by the French. And as they have heard that even the (Swiss) leagues are thinking of requesting the Diet to allow them to join, they have sent to dissuade the said leagues from this step, exhorting them to remain united.

At present the French are sending Monluc to Venice, as far as I can gather for a double purpose: the more important being to go on from Venice to the Levant, and the other to sound the Seigniory again about entering into a defensive alliance with them. Touching the journey to the Levant, I have been told by the English ambassador that he has it from a friend of his that the King of France would like to break the five years' truce* and prevent the Turk from giving his ratification. I have heard from a different source, Sire, that the King of France has been advised by his ministers to send envoys to the Turk, to confirm

* The five years truce concluded between the Turk and the Emperor in October, 1545.

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the ancient alliance and friendship which the late King entertained with him, and urge him to continue in it, and that they will persuade the King to do this by telling him that your Majesty and the King of the Romans will come to some arrangement with the Turk for the safety of your dominions, and that if he wishes to prosper he can do no better than feed discord between the Turk and your Majesty. As for the alliance with the Seigniory, it is firmly believed here that the Seigniory have refused to grant it; but the secretary of the Seigniory told a friend of mine a short time ago under seal of secrecy that the Seigniory had verbally assured the King of France that they would help him if your Majesty were to attack him in Piedmont, provided he did not begin the war, that the King of France had given the same verbal promise to the Seigniory, in case they were attacked, and the same had been done with the Pope; but there was nothing in writing as yet. They certainly are deeply disappointed by the cessation of the uproar at Naples and the submission of the Genoese, having hoped that this fire would give forth a greater flame, for when they saw it lighted they planned building forty galleys on their east coast (Provence) in order to lord it over the sea and help our enemies. And they are pushing forward the building of these galleys, for which they are procuring wood from near Grenoble and floating it downstream to Marseilles.

The Pope, Sire, is always begging the French not to desert him in case your Majesty were to take up arms against him, promising to leave the Council at Bologna, come what may, and exhorting them to send their prelates to Bologna, which they are doing, but with injunction not to go elsewhere if the Council were subsequently to be translated to another place. I have again heard that the French say there is no better way of balking your Majesty's plans in Germany than to keep the Council out of that country, it being understood that the Protestants will attend it in Germany only, as it was agreed. Judging by the passion with which the French ministers speak, I cannot help being convinced that what I have just said is being done by common consent between them and his Holiness, merely to defeat the just and holy intentions of your Majesty, whom I humbly beg to write to Spain that what is due to me of my salary, which in two months' time will be fifteen months, be paid to me; for without obtaining this, Sire, I cannot remain in this court.

Melun, 20 September, 1547.

Sept. 21. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 25.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.*

Madam: As the Spaniard who is to bear my letters to the Imperial Majesty passes through Flanders, I have prayed him to deliver this to your Majesty, for it appears to me important to remind your Majesty of what I wrote from Compiègne on the first of this month about certain happenings between the Kings of France and England. Namely, that if the French ships arrested in England were not released within eight days, and damages paid,

* This letter is written in cipher.

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the French galleys would do all they could against English shipping. The English ambassador warned the Council to this effect; but afterwards, before the expiration of the eight days, six French galleys took a man-of-war between Boulogne and Dover and carried her off to Dieppe, where they threw the principal persons found on board into prison. The English ambassador made a complaint about this, especially as it took place within the eight days. They replied that it was true they had some time before issued orders to certain captains of galleys to take all the prizes they could from the English, and as these captains had been at sea, they could not have been informed of what had been agreed upon; but if the King of England would consent to the restitution of their ships, they would do the same. The English ambassador has complained most bitterly of this injury, saying that it was enough to go to war about, because it had been done as an act of violence, whilst the French ships had been arrested in England at the request of private individuals. The French answer that, if the English had not started it, they would not have attacked them, that they knew the King of England to have been the chief mover of their ships' arrest, and they had really treated the English far too kindly, for the crew of the captured ship had resisted, and consequently deserved exemplary punishment. They say here that since the said prize was taken, the galleys have again put to sea in order to follow the King of England's force which is going to Scotland and, if they see their opportunity, make a raid somewhere on land merely to create a diversion for the English land force on its way to Scotland. The French have made a mighty fuss about the man-of-war, proclaiming that it was the King of England's strongest ship; but it is known that they are quite mistaken, and if the man-of-war had had wind they would not have taken her so easily. Moreover she did fight, and every man on board was wounded, and even so they wanted to set fire to her out of pure despair to avoid falling into the enemy's hands.

The English ambassador, Madam, spoke recently with the King of France at Charenton Bridge, and laid before him the causes that move the King of England to make war on the Scots, among which figured the little castle notoriously taken in violation of the last treaty. Before entering Scotland the Protector intended to call upon the Queen and Regent to give him satisfaction on certain points, and if they refused, his mind was made up to do his worst against them. The King answered that he wished for a good understanding between England and Scotland. He knew that Scotland had always been willing to submit to reason, so he hoped that when the Protector issued his summons some expedient might be discovered, and he would inform the Queen of it. The Constable said the same to the ambassador, hoping by these means to delay the action of the English army, which as they have now learnt, has already entered Scotland by sea and by land. They are exceedingly vexed about this and have told the English ambassador so. He tells them that the Scots have been unwilling to submit to reason, the

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Constable affirming the contrary and accusing the ambassador of falling short of his word. And thus matters stand between them. I have heard from the said ambassador that the French ambassador resident in England has been urging the Council, on behalf of his master, to disband the army, saying that Anglo-French relations would thereby be enormously improved, and adding that the Scots are old friend of theirs. But they have always answered him, without entering into any discussion, just as the ambassador here has answered the King, that the Scots broke the peace.

As for the quarrel between the Kings of France and England I hear that the questions of the river boundaries, the breakwater in Boulogne harbour and other fortifications are now being examined by commissaries deputed by both sides, who have been so busy with these points that nothing has yet been done about the little harbour or the jetty; and I am certain that the ambassador is trying to arrange that the ships arrested by both parties may be restored. I believe the King of France will consent unless he comes to terms with his Imperial Majesty; for this is the gist of several important personages' remarks: that however likely war between France and England may appear, the King of France will not declare it until he has treated with his Majesty, adding that some people would very much like to see them engaged in a war, but the King will take care to keep out of it. By the way, the King has assigned the English ambassador a lodging in his house, and the ambassador, thinking it was in order to keep an eye on him, wrote to the Constable that to move him from his usual lodging was an injury to the King of England. The Constable replied that the King of France wanted to have him near in order to treat him well, for considering how matters stood just at present he thought it would be well to have him at hand so that they might have better opportunity for putting an end to their quarrel. This, Madam, seems to favour the conjecture that the French intend to enter into closer relations with the English unless they see a brighter look-out on the Emperor's side, and the same is said here openly. So unless the army that has been sent to Scotland angers the French into breaking off, I believe they will eventually come to terms, and also that the King of France will try to patch up matters between the English and Scots, if he is unable to make an agreement with his Imperial Majesty.

Melun, 21 September, 1547.

Oct. 3.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 25.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Madam: Since leaving Compiègne I have written to your Majesty twice by the courier (*bougette*) of this place, and twice by servants of Mme. d'Aigremont and M. de Glason, and have always informed your Majesty of what I have been able to ascertain of the state of affairs between France and England. Since then I have found out that the commissaries who were deputed to examine the frontier of the Boulonnais and other

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questions have accomplished nothing, and the whole business has been put off until the quarrel about the ships seized by both parties shall have been settled. The English ambassador is at present engaged with the French Council on this matter, and the restitution of the said ships is being discussed, the English offering to be the first to comply on the condition that the King of France will promise to do his share, to which the King has already consented; and nothing remains but to come to an agreement about the damages incurred, which the English ambassador, who told me all the above, says do not amount to much. I have also heard from him that the other day the Constable, while speaking to him of this decision, used various equivocal expressions, such as that if the English wanted a war they should have it, and might also have peace if they wished, but that the King was not for tolerating long their manner of detaining his subjects' property, especially by way of reprisals. To this the ambassador replied that the ships had been arrested at the request of the individuals concerned, who had obtained this favour because the French had been the first to indulge in such proceedings, and because of the small likelihood of their being able, after a long trial, to achieve anything in the courts. For the rest the King of England and his ministers had no dearer wish than to live in peace with France, and would continue in the same temper as long as the French would reciprocate.

Eight days ago, Madam, the said ambassador declared to the King what had happened in the battle* between the English and Scots, expressing regret that things should have gone so far, but saying that as the Scots had been unwilling to hear reason, the English had been obliged to make them listen by force. The King told him he was very sorry that matters had fallen into such confusion, and that for his part he heartily wished there might be peace between them, a thing he desired all the more because the Scots were his old friends and allies. The victory has been published here by the English ambassador, and the Scotsman on the contrary is trying to persuade the French lords that the English lost more men than the Scots and will have to retreat. Nonetheless, Madam, the King, his ministers and the whole court have been greatly upset by the news of this victory, which reached them a short time after the tidings from Piacenza†, and served to redouble their grief; for they feel both deeply, but most of all what occurred at Piacenza.

Melun, 3 October, 1547.

Oct. 17. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1.

EDWARD VI. to the EMPEROR.

In accordance with the advice of our dear uncle the Duke of Somerset, Governor of our person, and of our realms, dominions and subjects Protector, and that of our other counsellors, we have now commanded our well-beloved and faithful counsellor, our reverend father in God the Bishop of Westminster‡, our

* The battle of Pinkie, fought on 10 September, 1547.
† The murder of Pier Luigi Farnese, 10 September, 1547.
‡ Dr. Thirlby.

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ambassador resident in your court, to present himself before you with all possible despatch and to expose to you on our behalf our own instructions to him. You will therefore do us great pleasure by granting him a favourable audience, giving him the same credit, as to what he shall say to you, that you would to ourselves; and this we beg you most affectionately to do.

Hampton Court, 17 October, 1547.

Oct. 22. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 22.

The EMPEROR to ST. MAURIS.

(Extract from a minute.)

As for what the Constable said to you about certain ambassadors having used ill offices with the English, by which he seems to mean that we caused it to be done, you may reply and certify the naked truth, for such it is, that we have never encouraged ill offices against the Christian King, but have always contented ourselves, when addressed on the subject of the differences between him and the King of England, with saying that it would be best to settle them in a friendly spirit and obviate an appeal to force. We have always approved the same course with regard to the Scots, given the restitution of property seized by them in defiance of the treaties, and the payment of damages. Nor shall we ever be found to have spoken or written, or caused anything to be spoken, against the Christian King, but only dênied and disproved the ill reports circulated about ourselves, though we have had ample occasion for so doing given us by the inexcusable conduct of the said King's ministers both in and outside Christendom. Proofs of this are coming to light every day, and such proofs as are little calculated to further the friendship about which the King and Constable talk so much. And the Constable may consider that if we wanted England on our side we could always have her. Also that we think it exceedingly strange that the Christian King, without the slightest regard for the fact that his father agreed with us to further the Council summoned for the remedy of our Holy Faith at Trent and sent thither his ambassadors and certain bishops, should have solicited the Pope against all reason to translate the Council precipitately to Bologna, and have sent to that place ambassadors and bishops, some by the post and others with all despatch; and, moreover, that the French should use such peculiar language concerning the remedy necessary to this Germany of ours. And it seems to us well that you should speak in this tone to the Constable, and with his consent to the King, in order to avoid the disagreeable results their conduct might produce, to the disservice of God and regret of all good people who desire the remedy of our holy faith and the peace of Christendom.

Augsburg, 22 October, 1547.

Oct. 30. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extracts from a letter written in cipher, and enclosed in another letter of the same date from Melun.)

Those who were present when the King of France arrived not long since before Boulogne, relate that when he saw how

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strongly fortified the place was, tears fell from his eyes, and he said it would be impossible to obtain it by force, but that the best way of recovering it would be to invade England and fortify some town there, in exchange for which Boulogne might be restored.

On that occasion the King also decided to build a jetty over against the harbour, in accordance with expert advice, and to enlarge his fort on a certain plan made for M. de Châtillon. This gentleman was married a few days ago at Fontainebleau, where great rejoicings took place, especially mummeries in which the King took part, dancing whenever he got a chance. . . .

A Scottish gentleman recently visited the King and confirmed the last defeat, which greatly troubled the King and all his court; for they had persuaded themselves that not much harm had been done. However, they still assert that the affair was of small importance in order to keep their people in good temper, and they have even forbidden the said gentleman to publish what he knows. He has said here that the Queen Dowager of Scotland censures Secretary Paniter, who was residing here as ambassador, for not having done his duty and demanded help from the King; but it is certain he did all he could to obtain it. However, he found himself deceived of his confident hope that the Scots would win the battle.

Nov. 21.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24.

ST. MAURIS to the COUNCIL of FLANDERS.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

I do not know what grounds the Antwerp merchants can have for their news about a fresh truce between France and England. I have heard nothing of it, and believe the truth to be that no agreement has been hit upon between them beyond the restitution of the ships arrested by both parties, which has finally been achieved, because trouble was apprehended on both sides after permission to trade again had been issued. I have seen the writing which was drawn up here, and have already informed the Queen Dowager of it.

It is said here by persons of quality that the King is working for an understanding between the English and Scots, and that by his advice the Protector has sent some persons to Berwick, on the English border, to confer with the Queen of Scots' envoys about the marriage of the King of England and the Princess of Scotland. By means of this marriage the Protector holds out hopes of coming to terms with the King of France, who does not object to a discussion of the marriage, but insists that the Princess must not stir out of Scotland until the same be consummated. It is true that I have no certain knowledge of this, but I have had the English ambassador's secretary sounded on the subject, and he let out the fact that the English have envoys in Scotland ready to treat. Soon afterwards the ambassador declared to me that the said marriage might not be refused because it had been solemnly agreed to and sworn; but he denied that any negotiations were taking place, saying that if the Scots would consent to the marriage, then would be the time to treat, if the Emperor were

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of the same mind. He said he hoped that the English would compel the Scots to consent by force unless the King of France backed them up, which both he and the Protector suspected the King might do.

Melun, 21 November, 1547.

Nov. 25 (?). Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24. NEWS from FRANCE.

(Extract from a letter in cipher.)

They are publishing in this court news from their ambassadors, to the effect that the King of the Romans is going to marry the Lady Mary in England, and that the King of England will marry one of the King of the Romans' daughters.

Nov. 26. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 24. ST. MAURIS to the COUNCIL of FLANDERS.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

The Scottish Secretary Paniter was in this court less than ten days ago, whither he was re-called by the King, though at the time he was in Brittany ready to take ship for Scotland. However he only stayed there four days and came back directly. It is said that the King summoned him for the express purpose of commanding him to declare to the Queen and Regent of Scotland that he would not forsake them, and they were to resist with all their might, for he would see to sending French and Italian troops to help them, as well as arms and supplies. And it is certain that the King has sent several great ships to Brest, which are supposed to be for Scotland; but there is no rumour that troops are being sent from here, a practice the King of England complained of a week ago, as he also did of the manning of the ships. This I have heard from the English ambassador, who would not admit that there were any negotiations for peace on foot between English and Scots, but affirmed that there could be no peace unless the marriage took place.

Melun, 26 November, 1547.

Dec. 2. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 1. The EMPEROR to EDWARD VI.

We are now writing to our ambassador resident in your court, M. Francois Van der Delft, to speak to you on our behalf touching the treaty of intercourse* between your realm and our Low Countries, and other things concerning the common good of the same. We beg you to hear him as you would ourself.

(Enclosed is a letter to the same effect to Somerset.)

Dec. 20. Paris K. 1487. ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

(The following paragraph exists in a letter mainly concerning the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret and M. de Vendôme, and Italian politics.)

The witnesses produced against M. de Vernin affirm that he took money from the English for surrendering Boulogue, though in reality the accused is able to give an account of his money. Still, the witnesses supply information considered sufficient

* The Commercial Convention.

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by the French; and it is thought he will be put to death as a warning to the rest, and that his father-in-law will follow him. Against the father-in-law it is asserted that the English have done on his property little or none of the damage they have inflicted on that of others.

Dec. 27. Madrid B. P. Col. Granvela.

VAN DER DELFT to GRANVELLE.*

Your Lordship will consider whether it would not be well to send the power for the renewal of the 1522 treaty on the wool staple, about which I am now writing to his Majesty, before the English have time to change their minds, because of the exceedingly high price of wool over here. It is of the greatest importance to his Majesty's dominions, especially to Flanders and Holland, that the staple fail them not, as it would if the said treaty, which expires at the end of the year, were not renewed. The Dutch towns have sent over their deputies, with the consent of my Lords of the Council of State, to impress upon me the gravity of the matter; but of this I have shown no sign to the English.

I humbly beg your Lordship to remember my little affair, and to send me a line about it at your convenience.

London, 27 December, 1547.

Dec. 30. Simancas E. 1318.

DON JUAN DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.†

On the 22nd December I wrote to your Majesty. On the 23rd news came that the Cardinal of Trent had left Rome without accomplishing anything, and this seemed to me the time to speak to the Seigniory and tell them what is set down in the enclosure‡; all the more because I knew that the French ambassador and the Legate had been closeted, each of them separately, with the Secret Council, and had held forth at length. I have heard that the Legate, after giving an account of what had been answered to the Cardinal of Trent, took the line of begging them not for help merely, but for advice, representing that in such times as the present it would not be strange if a schism were to take place. From what I have been able to ascertain, it seems that their reply affirmed that they had confidence in his Holiness' prudence, and that they could come to no decision on other points until a meeting were held. And though on other occasions when he has spoken to them the Legate has met with a refusal, on the last two they have left him some hope, lest he lose it altogether and fling himself into your Majesty's arms; for in truth their object is to preserve the mediocre in their present condition, and reduce the great to mediocrity. The same Legate has complained to me that though he begged them on behalf of his master to intervene betwixt your Majesty and the Pope

* This letter is written in cipher.

† Parts of this letter are written in cipher.

‡ This enclosure exists in the same Legajo, Simancas E. 1318. It consists of a repetition of the Imperial official version of the convocation of the Council of Trent, with strictures on the Pope for removing it to Bologna, and ecstatic praise of the Emperor's purity of motive.

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in the matter of Piacenza, they have neither intervened nor given him any answer.

On Christmas eve the Legate and I, standing together so near the Prince (Francesco Donato, Doge of Venice) that he could perfectly well overhear our talk, and chatting about one thing and another, happened to speak of the epigram which had been made in Rome on the Piacenza business. The Legate said it had a malicious application, and I affirmed the contrary because it could not so apply with truth. Thus our conversation ran on to a point at which he contended that the epigram was partly justified and I, wishing to bring it to a head, asked what reason he had. He replied that his master had decided to call together the Council of Trent and to open it at a time when, in spite of all advice to the contrary, he had confidence in your Majesty, but now the death of a son and the loss of a state had made him diffident, so that I ought not to be surprised that he, or anyone in his place, should be tardy about sending the Council back to Trent, for he could no longer trust your Majesty as he had done formerly. He wanted to know from me why your Majesty, who had the state of Florence so entirely at your service that you could obtain money and men from it, had been unwilling to give Piacenza to Duke Ottavio under the same conditions, the degree of kinship being nearer in his case than in the Duke of Florence's, and the obligation no less. As for security, your Majesty could have had enough by not handing over the citadel, and by summoning the Duke and his sons to your court, besides which the Pope was old, and might well have been humoured to this extent for his lifetime. After his death Ottavio might have been compensated with something else, by which means the Pope would have been kept quiet, the Council would have continued and your Majesty would later have become Lord of Parma as well as Piacenza.

As for the first point, I replied that the convocation and opening of the Council of Trent had been effected at a time and in a manner that required more explanation than that furnished by the confidence he said the Pope had felt. At that time your Majesty was beset by several difficulties, present and to be anticipated, such as the Algerian affair, the Duke of Cleves' rebellion, the incursions the King of France was making on all sides, the disobedience and unsatisfactory religious condition of Germany, and the coming of Barbarossa provoked by the French: all of which had to be overcome. And over and above all this, the Germans had to be persuaded by force and induced by arguments to come to Trent and submit to the Council's decisions, before there could be any question of what he called confidence. And now that the impossible had happened, and these obstacles had been vanquished, the Pope was able to dissolve, prorogue or translate the Council, as he had just done without any reason, the moment he saw your Majesty with the above difficulties off his hands. If the Pope had any confidence, now, and not then, was the time to show it.

To proceed with his remarks on Piacenza and Florence, the two cases were different, but both in my favour. For Florence

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was won by the sword, and your Majesty could give it away if you had promised to do so, keeping faith with the dead as you had done. If you could get men and money out of it, all the better; and the Legate was mistaken if he thought anything else. Piacenza, on the other hand, could summon any lord it might think fit, for it had freed itself. And as it had thrown itself into your Majesty's arms and capitulated, your Majesty's conduct would be very suspicious if, after accepting the city, you were to give it to the son of the man its citizens had slain, while your Majesty remained able to call upon some other prince. If your Majesty were to adopt such a course, it would be greatly to the disadvantage of your Majesty's states and of the peace and quiet of Italy.

I told him I did not care to argue about your Majesty's or the Pope's right to Piacenza, about which a great deal might be said beyond the foregoing, but that he might clearly see by all your Majesty's deeds, that your Majesty had had no share in the murder or, for the above reasons, in the surrender of the city. His calculations and assertions, and his way of making your Majesty Lord of Parma after the Pope's death, were not convincing. And if the Pope wanted Piacenza and the rest, his present tactics of soliciting the peaceful Venetians, taking the steps he knew of, favouring the French and listening to the Neapolitans, were not good tactics; for he was quite wrong if he thought to negotiate with the help of an iron rod. Moreover, supposing Pier Luigi to have been the most innocent man in the world, the most rightful Lord of Piacenza, and that he had never mixed himself up in plots to your Majesty's detriment, but had always endeavoured to please you, as would have been right and proper, and supposing all that had occurred to have happened at your Majesty's bidding, there would still be no sufficient reason for preferring an entirely private matter like this to the public welfare of Christianity, or for being moved by passion to sever from the Church so important a province as Germany, and withhold the remedy from the afflicted parts of others, when all might be healed by celebrating the Council at the place to which it was summoned, which was most suitable, and to which the Germans had offered to come.

If the Pope had not been so obstinate in this private affair, and in public matters had spoken and acted in a fitting manner, there would have been no cause to despair about the rest, for your Majesty would have take care of his Holiness' grandsons, repaying his good offices with something considerable, even if not with Piacenza. I reminded the Legate that it was certainly his duty to use good offices in every quarter, being as I believed a good servant of his master, for there was no likelihood of the Pope being able to carry into effect that which his passion caused him to desire in forgetfulness of his office. He shrugged his shoulders and said that the Pope had a passion, and he (the Legate) well knew that forces were unequal, so that he desired peace in public as well as in private matters, if for no other reason than that he had an archbishopric in Benevento, and received the money in Rome.

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We spent the best part of Matins skirmishing, and also spoke of the debates at Bologna; in which arguments had been put forward against returning to Trent. When he told me I should find that voting was quite free there, I replied that the prelates enjoyed in voting the same liberty they had brought with them to Bologna, and that what they voted mattered not at all as they did not make up the number (*i.e.* the prelates at Bologna did not constitute a Council). Afterwards, during the Christmas feast days, whenever we met we returned to the same subject, though after the first conversation I adopted a more reserved attitude. The Legate persists that the Pope must be deceived by the aid of some subterfuge in the private matter.

I am told that grave personages, observing the way affairs are going, say your Majesty will draw up a just accusation based on the grievances your Majesty has against the Pope, and will then create another who shall deprive him. They look upon this as already carried into effect, and the Pope as done for (*despachado*), and not all of them are best pleased about it.

The Venetians have their mouths full of peace, and the Prince (*i.e.* the Doge) himself said in my ear one day when we were at mass together that the chief men here were inclined towards peace; and as they are the people who govern and support the expense of war, it is to be supposed that they would be anxious to be rid of it, in order to keep and increase their fortunes. But, to speak out all I have heard here, some folk say that if there were a war in Italy and the Venetians were put to expense for the protection of their state, it would not be surprising if they were to risk a little more money, and that of which I spoke in another letter were to ensue, the Venetians becoming forgetful of that peace, which, to say what looks most like truth at present, they are now doing all they know to keep. I believe this to be accurate, always leaving aside the sudden changes of this Republic which, like all others, is composed of contending factions.

I caused a confidant of mine to tell a Frenchman, who may know something, that there would hardly be any war with your Majesty if the King of France based his hopes of being able to wage it on the help the Pope would give him, because such help might not be considerable, and consequently it was hard to believe the King would begin any war without concluding a league. The Frenchman told him he might be sure the league existed, and one day soon he would show him the terms of agreement.

Cardinal Guise has not come yet, nor has the Frenchman whom I reported in my last to have started. I shall keep an eye open in order not to lose sight of him, and unless the news I am expecting from that quarter arrive, I shall at any rate send someone after him to see where he is making for.

On December 27th I sent Blasio de Breno to go with the Turk's camp, and he is well instructed as to what he must do.

Venice, 30 December, 1547.

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Jan. 18.
Besançon Collection de Granvelle, 4.

The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to his son, PRINCE PHILIP.

My son: As the hardships I have endured have bred in me certain infirmities, and I have recently been in danger of death, I feel uncertain what fate may befall me by God's will, and wish to give you the present advice in case that event were to occur.

And though the everlasting instability and changeable nature of earthly things renders it impossible that I should give you an all-embracing and abiding rule for your government of the kingdoms, lordships and states that I shall leave to you, yet my paternal love and desire that you may succeed in the cause of God, and thus unburden your conscience and mine, compels me to touch upon certain points for your instruction. I beseech the Divine Clemency and Goodness, which causes kings to rule, so to guide your heart, in these as in all other things, that you may ever set it in God's holy service.

The firm, principal foundation of your good government, should always be to incline your heart to God's infinite mercy, and to submit your desires and actions to His will. If you thus fear to offend Him you will obtain His help and succour, and will have the most essential element of success in government. That He may enlighten and favour you, you must always give the greatest care to the observance, maintenance and defence of our holy faith in general, and in particular in all the kingdoms, states and lordships which you are to inherit from us. Favour divine justice, and command that it take its course scrupulously and without respect of persons against all guilty and suspicious individuals, and have the greatest solicitude to avoid, by all means in your power compatible with justice and reason, heresies and sects that are contrary to our ancient faith and religion.

And since, after all the labour and money I have spent on leading back to our religion the straying Germans, no sufficient means nor remedy have been found other than the Council, to which, under pressure, all the states of Germany have now submitted, I beg and command you, if it be not completed at the time of my death, to set your hand to it and, in concert with the King of the Romans, my brother, and the other Christian kings and potentates, to see to it that the Council be celebrated and carried through, and, in everything concerning yourself and your states and kingdoms, to do all that befits a good prince, obedient to our holy mother Church. Besides this, you will always show yourself obedient to the holy apostolic see, to which you will bow and obey in everything, as a good king and Christian prince is bound to do. If under the pretext of this obedience there should be abuses and excesses in your states, to their damage and hurt or your own, you will be careful to remedy them with all due respect and, as far as possible, without scandal, letting your sole object be to protect your states from evil.

It ought to be your care to appoint persons of learning, experience, good life, example and qualities to the churches, dignities and benefices of which the nomination or patronage belongs to you, in order that the said benefices be properly

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administered with regard to the intentions expressed in their foundation. Besides this, see to it that your nominees administer and rule their churches and do their duty without deviations, except for just and legitimate causes, for this is of great importance to the service, exaltation and preservation of our holy faith, and to the welfare, spiritual and temporal of all men.

And, as peace is one of the things of greatest weight in God's eyes, without which He cannot be well served, not to mention the infinite evils that war brings with and after it, you must always try to avoid war as much as possible, and never enter into it without God and the world seeing and knowing that you could not do otherwise. You ought to be all the more anxious to keep the peace, because the states you will inherit from me are very weary and worn with the past wars that I have been obliged to wage in their defence, and to protect them from oppression, for it is well known that I have many times been forced to stand up against attacks from many quarters for the above reason. But God has helped me in such manner that, though I have endured many hardships, I have yet with His help (be He praised for it!) kept and defended my states, and even added to them others of notable quality and importance, but it has been at the price of grievous wasting of all of them, so it is necessary that they should rest, and I charge you to see to it.

I have several times been obliged to alienate or pledge considerable portions of my states, with great loss to public revenue and finance, and you will have to recover them; taking as great pains to do so as I would have taken had I been able, as I have always hoped I might, because of my affection for my states, and desire to leave them to you whole.

I know from repeated experience that it is not always possible for those who would willingly avoid war to do so, and it is all the more difficult for one who possesses many large states, some of which are very far from others, like those which God in His divine goodness has given me, and I, if it be His pleasure, will leave to you. The difficulty consists in the good or ill will of your neighbours and other potentates, but it seems to me well to give you what advice my experience suggests, for the conduct you shall observe towards them.

You should place your chief trust and friendship in my brother, the King of the Romans, and in my nephews, his sons, who, I am certain, will amply requite your confidence. You will act in close understanding with my brother, and seek his and his sons' good with whole-hearted sincerity, abetting his imperial authority and policy as is your duty towards a good uncle. Besides the fact that this is right and in accordance with God's commands and the demands of near kinship, such alliance and union will force your enemies to face him and you together, so that the greatness of the one will aid and add lustre to the other's fame.

You may always consult him with entire confidence, and advise him in your turn with the respect due to one who is for

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you a powerful uncle, and for me a good brother. Thus I did all in my power to further his election to the dignity of King of the Romans, and firmly to establish him in the same, in order that, during my absence or in case of my death, he might govern Germany. In the same cause I shall still do my utmost, and now that by God's favour and help (may He be praised for it!) in this last war I have been able so to dispose the affairs of the German states that they are now in a prosperous condition, my brother will be able to take some repose, especially in view of what I said before regarding the states' submission to the Council, and of the five years' truce concluded with the Turk. My brother will certainly strive to preserve matters in their present shape, for it is obvious how important to him and to Germany's welfare it is that he should do so, thereby governing with the required authority and keeping his own states in order and subjection.

It is also necessary to persuade the estates of this country to furnish a goodly sum of ready money to be used in its defence, either against the Turk or any other stranger who may threaten it. I mean that this should be done for the common good of Germany, and particularly to assist my brother the King, for I well know that I could never raise a large sum from my own dominions for such a purpose, and that you would be even less capable of helping the King in this respect after my death. My states would be unwilling to consent to such policy, nor is it reasonable to expect that they should consent, being so consumed as they are, and always heavily taxed by continuous war against the infidels, without mentioning other neighbours and potentates, of whom you will always do well to be wary.

Considering the impossibility of procuring money from my own dominions to be used for German needs, without exposing them to manifest difficulties and risks, I command you to refuse absolutely to attempt to do so, unless it be in a cause that nearly concerns them and Flanders if, as I hope, I succeed in uniting Flanders and the neighbouring states with the states of Germany. In this event, whether it come now or later, it seems to me well that they should give aid against the Turk and for other of Germany's needs, according to the agreement that shall be made, and I am of opinion that this ought to absolve you from the necessity of furnishing any other assistance. As for the rest, especially the truce I have ratified, you will see to it that it be scrupulously observed on your side, for it is right that everything to which I or you agree be observed in good faith towards all parties, whether they be infidels or not; and this is the duty of rulers and all good men. It is important that you should act in this manner towards the Turk, not only because of the dominions you are to inherit, but also of Germany and, particularly, all Italy, and also to avoid giving the French further opportunities of disturbing Christendom, as they have done in the past.

Some men may be of the opinion that you ought only to concern yourself with the government of the dominions that I shall leave to you, and not inquire into what lies beyond them, leaving all to those who are set over Germany and the other

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states. Nonetheless, experience shows that it is impossible to live in peace and protect your own possessions against the attacks that are certain to be directed against them, unless you are careful to watch and ascertain the movements of your neighbours and the general condition of politics, and to keep up friendly relations in all quarters. This applies particularly in your case, for, as I said, certain of your states are far removed from the others and are, though unjustly, objects of envy, for the wicked have never lacked pretexts for stirring up faction and warfare, especially against those whom they think to take unawares. Hence you will do well, besides living in close friendship and understanding with the King my brother, to maintain friendly relations with the electors, princes and potentates of Germany; a thing that is certain to be of great use to you in all your undertakings in Italy and Flanders. However, do not spend much money in gaining them, nor in paying them pensions, for what the Germans want is to be paid, though even so they will not accomplish much unless gratifications are given them for every piece of work done. We have seen again and again that, if you want troops in Germany, you can always get them while you have money in your hands, and you need never lack if you pay them well. It will be all the easier for you to obtain them because I leave you great credit there, and my brother and his sons enjoy the same.

You will observe similar conduct towards the Switzers; but never take them into your service when you can find Germans, for I have always found that to be the best policy. Still, you will do well to show them favour, and have them, well treated and regularly paid that which is due to them, on account of the hereditary league between them and the house of Austria and Burgundy. Also, if the league we are now negotiating with them is passed, they may subsequently be useful in other ways, particularly if anything is a-foot in Italy.

You already know how the present Pope, Paul III, has always behaved towards me, and above all how scurvily he observed our agreement touching the last war, backing out and leaving me alone in it. You are aware of the scanty interest he takes in the welfare of Christendom and the celebration of the Council, in spite of the fact that I married my daughter Margaret to his grandson Ottavio out of my hope that he would assist me in these matters. But in spite of all that has happened, I beg you to be more mindful of the Pope's position and dignity than of his deeds, and treat him as long as he lives with all due respect. Also be gracious to my daughter and her children, and to Duke Ottavio for their sake; for she has always been most obedient to me, neglecting all other calls, even her own children's, to follow my will, particularly in all that concerns Piacenza. Consequently you will favour and protect her and hers.

Remember that the present Pontiff is stricken with years, so if he dies soon after me you will do all you righteously can that the new Pope be the man Christendom so sorely needs. For this purpose you may follow the instructions I have sent to

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my ambassador in Rome, which aim at no other end than that a good election be held, and the contrary intrigues defeated. On this and all other occasions you will act in a similar manner, putting your trust in God, Who will further and guide your holy intentions.

Your principal difficulties with the Pope will be three: first, that of the enfeoffment of the kingdom of Naples and the agreement arrived at with Pope Clement (VII.) on that subject; the second, that of the monarchy of Sicily; and the third, concerning the decree published in Castile. In all these things you will remember to act justly on your side; and if other difficulties arise you will handle them, as I said above, in the spirit of submission that becomes a good son of the Church. You will avoid furnishing the popes with just cause of discontentment against you, but act in such manner that nothing prejudicial to the welfare and peace of your dominions be effected or attempted.

You will have no quarrel nor dispute that I know of with the other potentates of Italy, nor do I think I have given them any reason for stirring up trouble. You will keep the treaty and league I have made with the Venetians for the sake of its dispositions regarding Naples, Sicily and the state of Milan, of which I have given you the investiture, and also of Piacenza, as I said before; and always display a willingness to remain good friends with them, showing them all the favour you can deal out to good allies.

Since I provided the Duke of Florence with his state, he has constantly appeared devoted to my cause, and I believe he will continue in like friendship with you, as he has received so many benefits; if he does so it will be to his own good, because of the designs the French are nurturing against his state, and also because of his relationship with the house of Toledo. Hence I trust you will bear him good will and favour in all his undertakings, for besides the reasons already given, he is of excellent judgment, and maintains his state in a manner that might enable him to be very useful in that particular part of Italy.

The Duke of Ferrara is deeply obliged to me for the good justice I rendered him, leaving all other considerations aside, in the affair of Modena, Arezzo and La Rovere against Pope Clement, which moved the Pope to reprisals against me. But though the said Duke has always confessed that such is the case, I hear that his relationship with France, and the fact that his brother the Cardinal is in favour there, are inclining him to that party. Therefore you will temporise with him, and keep a narrow eye on all his goings and comings.

You may trust the Duke of Mantua, as I do his uncles the Cardinal and Don Fernando (Gonzaga), and also because of the alliance concluded with his will and the Duchess' with my niece, the daughter of the King of the Romans. Besides, his states of Mantua and Monferrato have greatly suffered for having taken my side in the wars, and the Marchioness, the Duke's grandmother, his mother and the Duchess have always been devoted to my cause, which attitude the Cardinal and Don Fernando have seemed to approve.

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I expect to make sure of Genoa now and in the near future; but whether I succeed or not, you must see to it that that city be on your side because it matters vastly to the security of all Italy and the states and kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Milan, and not for that alone, but also for the sake of other Spanish kingdoms, Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca, which also are needed by the Genoese.* On this ground, and because of my servants within the city, whom benefits received have confirmed in my devotion, I hope that if you handle the matter skilfully, Genoa may remain yours. The thought of my brother the King of the Romans and the protection afforded by the shadow of the Empire, to which the Genoese owe their freedom, will also work for the desired effect.

I hope that the King of the Romans will take over the protection of Siena, that I have exercised, because the town has always been true to the Empire and most devoted to me. When the present discords are quieted, as I hope they will soon be, you will do wisely to show Siena and the republic of Lucca great favour, for they, in order to preserve their liberties, will desire to continue under the Empire, and will oppose all movements that threaten the peace of Italy.

Count Galeotto (della Concordia) is living in Italy, and certain people have pressed me hard in his favour; but I have been unwilling to forgive him because of the gravity of his offences, and out of consideration for enemies of his who have done me good service. I believe there will be persons to implore you to intercede with the King my brother that he may forgive him, and you receive him into your favour, but I do not recommend that course to you for the above reasons, and it would be even less wise than before, now that I have got Piacenza into my hands. Also the Count's manner of life and close connexion with France forbid us to place any confidence in him.

As for France, I have always, since the beginning of my reign, done what I could to live in peace with the late King Francis. I have frequently shown him kindnesses, and made many a treaty of peace and truce with him, which he has never observed, as is quite notorious, longer than during such time as he was unable to fight, or was waiting to catch me napping and deal me an unexpected blow. Judging by what I hear and calculate, my good offices have been of no more avail with the new King his son, and the business he is engaged in in many quarters clearly shows that he is firmly resolved to follow in his father's footsteps and evil disposition, as all former Kings of France have also acted towards our forebears. Be this as it may, I advise you to take care to keep the peace with him as long as you can, for the sake of the better service of God, the weal of Christendom, and of our own dominions.

I hear that the new King does not wish to ratify the treaties made between his father and me, but would like to negotiate new ones in another sense which would entirely alter the position,

* *i.e.* the Mediterranean islands are of great commercial importance to Genoa.

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his object being sooner or later, when he sees his chance, to repudiate the renunciations made with regard to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the States of Flanders, Artois, Tournay and Milan, together with other points contained in the said treaties, especially those of Madrid, Cambray and Crépy. Therefore you will insist upon it that these renunciations must always remain in force and being, and on no account depart from this policy, the result of which will be that your dominions will come to you with perfect right and undeniable justice. But if you were to yield on any one point, it would be to open a way towards throwing the whole question into controversy once more. For experience has always shown that these kings, fathers and sons and all their ancestors with them, have wished to usurp their neighbour's property whenever they have had a chance, and have acquired the habit of never keeping a treaty, especially with me and my fathers, with the excuse that they were unable to do so to the injury of their crown. This being the case, the only course is to hold out on every heading rather than enable the French to attack you later, and expose all the rest of your dominions to danger of being lost.

As your forefathers have held Naples and Sicily, and also the lands of Flanders with God's help against the French, you may also trust in Him to help you to guard them when, with perfect right as I said above, you inherit them. And now, strengthened as you are in Italy by Milan and Piacenza, and as you will further be by the steps you will take, and likewise reinforced in Flanders by what I have added to it, namely : the duchy of Gelders, the lordships of Utrecht, Friesland and others, it will be much easier to keep them united and defend them. If the French try to fight you in Italy, you will have Milan fortified, and it will be well provided with the artillery I took in Saxony and am sending there, which will enable it to resist the first onslaught, the most dangerous moment with the French. And if they attempt going on down Italy towards Naples, it will be very difficult for them, as they will have to leave Milan behind untaken, and will run great danger on the way from Florence. They will be unable to help themselves by sea, for there you are stronger than they, and will be able to assist Naples and Sicily, besides which the city of Naples is well fortified with castles, protected by several other castles and strongholds of the kingdom, and strengthened with the artillery which even now I am sending there. In like manner, the kingdom of Sicily is well fortified, especially the cities of Messina and Palermo, and, as I already said, if the first rush is driven back, the Frenchmen are always prone to lose heart and pluck, as experience shows. You will further be careful to give the Pope and the Venetians no excuse for a rupture as long as you can possibly avoid it ; and I do not believe that either of those powers will easily be moved to declare war against you for the King of France's sake. For they well know how little he is to be trusted, and will not care to expose their states in the company of a prince who would be unable to protect them in the long run, especially as they know that you are strong in dominions

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and allies, that you control the sea and could always send the needful help, or even raise men here by virtue of the credit I shall leave you and the favour of the King of the Romans.

It is true the Neapolitans have been rebellious lately, but after careful examination there appears to be no symptom that may encourage the Pope or the French. On the contrary it seems that those who started the trouble and are to be suspected of infidelity and desire of change are few, and that the mass of the kingdom is what good vassals ought to be ; besides which the Neapolitans have already had experience of evil that came upon them through the French. We have also seen that the Milanese do not want the French in their state ; and if Neapolitans and Milanese are able to rest and recover from the heavy misfortunes which, in truth, they have had to bear, and you govern them with kindness and justice, as you will be careful to do, you will always find them good and faithful vassals.

Though you must needs save money as much as possible, as you will be in debt, and your dominions burdened, you cannot allow that to deter you from keeping up a certain number of Spanish troops in Italy, according to the demands of the day and of French or other plans to attack you. Troops will be the one bridle to prevent war and land-grabbing operations, and, in short, they will be ready if need arises. You must be vigilant to have the soldiers kept, as much as possible, on frontiers and in strongholds where they can do little harm to your subjects and allies, and command their leaders to preserve strict discipline and prevent the men from causing scandal and misery where they are quartered. In accordance with this idea, I have left orders, in case I were to die, that the Spanish troops now here be marched off to Milan to remain there, which will do no harm in case the French or anyone else were disposed to be troublesome, for once there the Spanish troops may be used for any purpose that offers in Italy, and particularly for keeping the French within bounds. If the Lord were pleased to take me, you ought to be brisk in ordering affairs in Milan, as you see the general outlook requires. It will also be wise to keep the Spanish frontiers, especially those of Navarre and Perpignan, well manned, for there is little fear of the French dealing a sudden blow in the direction of Flanders.

I see no possibility of ceasing to keep up the Spanish, Neapolitan and Sicilian galleys, for the defence of those realms and their inhabitants, and against Turks and Moors ; for we cannot put so much trust in the truce with the Turk as to start disarming, were it only because of raiding pirates and corsairs, without mentioning the French and others who might disturb the Italian or Spanish coast. If we were to let the galleys go, we should be unready if any need arose ; and for these reasons I think we must also retain the Genoese galleys, and try to hold the good-will of that people. Besides, if we were to dismiss them, they might enter into the French service, and if the French got the upper hand at sea our Italian policy would be gravely menaced, and also Catalonia and other sea-board regions of Spain

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might suffer. Therefore you will not allow yourself to stop keeping up the galleys on account of the expense, for though this be great, its end is to avoid a greater evil ; that is unless there were to be a certainty of lasting peace with France and no fear of the Turk, of which there is no likelihood at all : on the contrary I see much trouble ahead unless we keep up our galleys.

The territory of Flanders is well fortified, and I have planned to make it still stronger. Also those dominions are as loyal as one could wish, particularly the nobility, and since the pacification of Ghent and the stronghold of that place, and also the reduction of Cambrai castle, we need have no fear that the French may accomplish anything there, as they once persuaded themselves to hope. If the French try to wage war in that quarter, Flanders will be quite able to resist them, which will be all the easier if there is a good sum of money ready, provided either by such grants as you may be able to obtain from the country, or by other means, and if Flanders be allowed to rest a little now, it will easily bear the burden of such expense.

In those regions, however, there is the county of Burgundy,* so isolated and distant from our other dominions that it would be difficult and costly to defend it against the French. For this reason, during the past wars, I have always taken care to stipulate with the French that it should remain neutral, and also to secure to it the benefits of the hereditary league between the house of Austria and the Switzers, in which the said state is included. You ought to do the same in case of a rupture with France, but you cannot trust the French, or the Switzers either, as they wish to curry favour with France. Since the French would much like to get the part of the county which is nearest to them, and particularly the salt works, into their hands, I have commanded that the city of Dôle, the principal town of the county, be fortified, and I have spent in so doing the grants I have obtained from the said county. You must see to it that these works be completed, and those of Gray as well. Have the castle of Joux repaired, and other parts of the county fortified, and let all the money you obtain from it be used in these works, and in providing artillery, ammunition and provisions as long as there is need of them. For this county is the house of Burgundy's oldest possession, and most convenient to use against the French if occasion should offer. Besides all this, our vassals there have always been most faithful servants to us and our fathers, and you may also enjoy their good services ; wherefore I recommend to you the fortification, defence and preservation of the said state.

It is not likely that the French will wage open war against Spain, nor assist M. d'Albret, as they have come to grief every time they have tried, and Spain could easily hold them off, now as on former occasions. And if the French might invade us in many quarters, it is nonetheless true that they will be afraid to do so, and experience shows that they cannot keep up troops

* The Franche Comté, called the county par excellence.

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and support great expense in many different places at the same time.

Be careful to watch the French, and to see whether they ever intend to send, openly or covertly, a fleet to the Indies. Make the governors of those regions strong enough to beat off the French if need arises; and though the French have many times attempted expeditions there, their fleets do not hold out long, and even if at first they defend themselves, they soon lose heart and break up; and so it is a good thing to be ready for them. You must always keep on the best terms with Portugal, especially on account of the Indies; but never let any consideration move you to agree to any proposal from the King of France, or to relinquish any part of the possessions you are to inherit. Be constant and ever watchful; put no trust in friendly words or talk of peace, and continue to fortify and prepare wherever it may be necessary, that you may be ready to defend yourself if they declare war on you, and to prevent the French if they try to steal something from you, as they often do, especially when they have been demonstrating affection. Your position will be all the stronger if you also profess to be willing to observe all the treaties, and draw the bonds of amity closer by all reasonable and suitable means. If you are firm in this course, you may hope that God will assist you to keep all your dominions clear of trouble and protect them from French designs. Adopt no other policy, let whomsoever advise you to do so, and whatever fear and danger of war it may entail. For it is enough that we should leave pending the matter of the duchy of Burgundy, our very own patrimony, out of consideration for the treaties; and though I do not intend to start war afresh on this score, you must never abandon or conceal your just and rightful claim to this our patrimony, which belongs in justice to me, and will belong to you.

Beyond this there is the restitution of Hesdin, which the French ought to carry out with reasonable compensation, and you will insist on this point when you see a favourable opportunity; but I am not of opinion that you ought to go to war on that account, for though Hesdin be useful to us in that quarter, it is not important enough to outweigh all the evil that war brings with it.

The French are most jealous of all, according to common report, of the Duke of Savoy's dominions on both sides of the mountains, which they have seized, and which ought to be restored, as I have always insisted, particularly when the late and present Kings of France have come to me with talk of closer alliance. This is and was my duty towards the imperial authority, my kinship with the Duke, the private agreement I have entered entered into with him, and my solicitude for his son (*i.e.* Emanuel Philibert, Prince of Piedmont). The Duke continually asserts that he will not come to terms unless he has his dominions, above all Piedmont, restored to him, and as the French seem to intend to keep Piedmont for ever, I consider that it will be very difficult and dangerous to arrive at an understanding. For it is most certain that the object of the French in keeping Piedmont is

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to be able to interfere from there in Italian politics, seize Milan, ravish Genoa, go on to Florence, and, finally, reach Naples and Sicily. All their words and actions obviously point to this intention, and it will become impossible to put any limit to an ambition the French have always been shameless enough to show, so that the interests of the Empire are threatened by allowing the French to stir up Italy as often as they please, waging war against my dominions there and those of my friends and allies, and forcing me to continuous expense and anxiety. Therefore I am unable to advise or approve of any such agreement,* even if both parties were to be quite at one about it. I have preferred and still prefer to leave matters as they were, rather than consent to a course so prejudicial to the Duke, and generally so harmful and evil, hoping that God will provide a way to remedy the cruelty that father and son have shown uncle and cousin.

It is true that I am sorry for the Duke and Prince, and lament that they should have to remain so long out of their state; but as they have endured this injury, evil and violence until now, it is less ill that they should hold out and trust in God to enable them to get their own back and keep their ancient possessions whole, than that they should consent to an agreement that would deprive them of their best lands and reduce them piteously, besides being the source of so much possible trouble. The Duke has always displayed this frame of mind, and the Prince's attitude shows that he also shares it, as came out strongly in the case of the proposed marriage between him and the daughter of France (*i.e.* the Lady Margaret), which he now refuses explicitly, and will probably continue to refuse. The King of France well knows the injustice his father and he have committed, and neither of them have ever trusted the Duke and Prince, but have done all in their power to abase and subject them, with no consideration at all for the relationship that binds them, and this seems to be the nature of Frenchmen, for they act in similar manner towards M. d'Albret, though he is married to the sister of the late King.

The late King of France displayed great indignation against the Duke of Savoy for inclining towards my side, both before and after the Duke inherited his dominions; but nonetheless did the King and his mother quarrel with the Duke, and go so far as to declare war against him to usurp his state, as the said King and his friends have often openly declared. Therefore their one aim is to oppress the Duke and keep him in subjection, in order to unite his states with France and have an open road to go and play the tyrant in Italy. I, anticipating this, always saw that the Duke's best plan, as I advised him after I broke with France, was to do his utmost to remain neutral, temporise with the late King and make friends with the Switzers; but the Duke did not do this; and the French and Switzers combined to usurp his state on both sides of the mountains, far more out of passion and love of gain than to punish him for his friendship with me.

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None of these disasters was my fault, and I have always favoured the Duke, helping him as far as I could and preventing the last remnants of his possessions from being lost, and you will do well to remain good friends with him because of the bond of kinship, and the good-will father and son always show us. You will help them in every possible manner, and particularly in protecting what the Duke still holds, for besides your affection for him, this point is of the greatest importance to the security of Italy; particularly that of Milan. As for the pensions I have allowed the Duke and Prince to help to support them, you will do in the future what you reasonably can. For the past, they must be satisfied with what they have had, for I have not done less than my best, and when I allotted the Duke his pension I thought it would be provided by the state of Milan, which was then in a condition to pay it. But what with the continuation of the war, the danger of other wars, and, particularly, efforts made in the interests of Piedmont and the Duke's other states, enormous expenses have continually cropped up, so that I can do no more for him, and in the future Milan will be unable to bear such a load. Therefore you may with reason and honour say that the utmost has been done in the past, and that in the future you will do your best. As for the Prince; see to it that his pension or part of it be paid, according to the course of events and your own means.

Be very cautious about helping them to get back their state, and do not let them convince you that they ought to begin war for that purpose, or that you yourself should join in, unless you have solid ground to go on; as for example, that you should have the favour and help of the Empire, and France be occupied with England, or in some other fashion that might render the opportunity a good one; and be particularly wary with the Switzers, not to expose any of your dominions to attack from them. There is small likehood that any such opportunity will arise for several years yet, considering in what condition German affairs now are, that the English will probably temporise with France while their King is a minor, and also that it is necessary and essential that we should allow our dominions to rest for a while. Also, if you do decide to attempt it, you must be sure to avoid furnishing the French with any ground for saying that you are breaking the treaties or provoking war in Christendom to the prejudice of the same.

Should the Duke and Prince be unwilling to await such opportunity for recovering their states as God shall send, but decide to come to an agreement with the French in spite of the foregoing considerations, and you see that you will be unable to prevent it, you will endeavour to bring the agreement about with as little damage to them as possible. Do your best to make certain your position in Italy, and above all in Lombardy and Milan, not forgetting Genoa, Monferrato, Florence and other states belonging to our friends and allies, so that all may realise that you have shown proper solicitude for their and your

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When I came to terms with the Duke, I promised him that he should freely receive the revenue of his lands, in which there are now great numbers of my troops. In sending them my safety and his were my only object, and you will have a care to allow the Duke to enjoy the same rights as long as it may be necessary to keep up the troops there, as the treaty stipulates. Do not remove the garrisons, especially from the more important places in Piedmont, for we may be sure that if the Duke comes to terms with the French, the French will subsequently get possession of all, even against the Duke's and Prince's will; so you will be acting for their own good. Besides this, it would be unjust if, after defending the said lands, in my confidence in the Duke and Prince while they were enemies to France, these lands were afterwards to be lost and thus cause difficulties for me, whose only object was their security.

Among other strongholds, pay particular attention to the castle of Nice, and try to gain the devotion of its commanders, making them swear never to hand it over to the French, for whom it would be of the greatest importance. Even if they make terms with France, always try to remain good friends with the Duke and Prince, and be sure that the French will always do their utmost to turn them away from you.

Preserve friendly relations with the English, and keep the treaties concluded between the present King's late father and myself; for this nearly touches me and all the possessions I shall leave to you. Such conduct will also puzzle the French, who have many quarrels with England on account of Boulogne and the arrears of the pension, and it seems unlikely that they will ever arrive at a lasting understanding. It is also probable that when the King of England, who is now a boy, comes of age, he will resent the hostile acts which the French have committed and shall commit to his hurt during his minority. You, however, will be careful to take no side in their quarrel if you can avoid it, and to stick to the terms of our treaties with both countries. Above all, you will never consent to any proposition of the English that might, directly or indirectly, work to the disadvantage of our holy faith or the authority of the apostolic see.

As for the Scots, if you could make some terms with them for the safety of trade and shipping, that would be the best you might hope of them.

You will do well to keep the treaty with the King now in possession of Denmark, without picking any quarrel for the sake of King Christiern or our nieces. But endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between them and the present King, and to obtain kind treatment for King Christiern, though not in such a way as to risk his escape, in which case he might again provoke trouble in Flanders, as on other occasions.

Apart from all the above, it is essential to the peace and safety of the dominions that I shall leave to you that, as you cannot always be present yourself or visit them regularly, you should give them good viceroys and governors. These officers of state must be zealous to govern with reason and justice, and you must

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choose men of sufficient capacity to carry out the various policies that you see fit to recommend to them, and to be ever-watchful in their duties. See to it that they behave in office as befits your lieutenants, and never exceed the authority with which you invest them. Let them realise that if they take more upon themselves you will be displeased, refuse to condone such abuse, and be ready with the necessary remedy, be the offender who he may. And though you are not to give credit to all the complaints made against these viceroys and governors, do not shut you ears to them, for if you do so you will only assist the viceroys and governors to become absolute tyrants, and your vassals to fall a prey to despair.

Particularly in the case of the Indies, it is most necessary to make sure of the truth of everything that goes on there, and to organise government as God's service requires, that you may be obeyed in those regions, and they may be justly governed, repopulated, and become prosperous once more. The tyranny of the conquerors and other persons in authority there must be put down, together with the evil for which they have made the same authority a blind. The Indians must be succoured and encouraged, and in order to win their good will and devotion you must preserve over the said conquerors the authority, pre-eminence and advantage to which you have ample right. And this is the end for which the Council of the Indies must work, setting aside private considerations; for the matter is all-important.

The system of taxation to be applied to the Indians has been the object of many reports and opinions, and we recently wrote to Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, commanding him to send us his own. As you already understand, the question is of great present and future importance, and you must give it the closest attention for the reasons adduced in the last paragraph. When you are in possession of the necessary information, go into it thoroughly and talk it over with disinterested men of sound judgment who have practical experience of Indian affairs, and whose one object is the royal supremacy and the common good of our Indian possessions. Also let taxation be as moderate as possible, and not of a nature to harm those who have to bear it.

The surest means of keeping the vassals and subjects of any nation in fidelity to their lord, are to present them with children who shall be as it were guarantees for the stability and durable nature of each one of the states belonging to the prince, and thus supply them with hope of having lords who shall govern them well; and this is particularly true in the case of Flanders. Therefore it seems to me not only advisable, but necessary, that you should marry again, choosing a match such as the public welfare demands, and a person who, with God's help, may give you children; and my paternal love for you and affection for the said states (*i.e.* of Flanders) compells me to advise and pray you to do so.

I do not wish to influence you in your choice, but would only remind you to let your main consideration be the service of God,

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the welfare of Christendom, and the benefit and satisfaction of your dominions. If a marriage with the daughter of France could be arranged in a satisfactory manner, respecting the existing treaties and making the restitution of the Duke of Savoy's lands a condition, and if sufficient guarantees were given, it seems to me, as it always has seemed, that this would be the best match, and that the difference in age ought to be overlooked in the presence of so many advantages.

If this alliance does not take place, the Princess d'Albret seems to me a suitable match, on the condition that the marriage treaty should solve the difficulty of the conflicting claims to the kingdom of Navarre, and that the Princess be removed from France; for though the French would object to this, it is probable that they would conceal their resentment if the marriage were to take place, and you were to become stronger by the possessions of M. d'Albret. You ought not to allow yourself to be deterred from this match by what has been said about difficulties that might arise between the various children born of it; for there is nothing in such talk that withstands a serious examination, and we hear that the Princess is a pleasant, virtuous, prudent and well-bred person.

But if neither of these marriages is arranged, for the present I see no match for you except one of the King of the Romans' daughters, or the Infanta, daughter of my sister, the Queen Dowager of France. But as these matches are not necessary to increase the bonds of friendship and kinship, it would be better to seek to establish another relationship. However, I leave you to choose the person who pleases you best; and as I bear equal love to each of my nieces, I can only pray God that you may choose for the best.

I have considered the marriage of your sisters, my daughters, from every point of view, especially that of the elder one (*i.e.* Doña Maria), and it seems to me that no match could suit her better than my nephew, the Archduke Maximilian; for neither is her age suitable for marrying her to the Prince of Portugal, nor would it be honourable or just to go against what I have already agreed to touching the said Prince and my younger daughter, a match as suitable from the point of view of age and in every other respect as that of your elder sister and the Archduke Maximilian would be. This result would also give great pleasure to my brother, whose present position is so excellent, that the Archduke will profit by it, and father and son will be of great use to you in everything that concerns Italy and Flanders. Therefore we are confirmed in our wish that, with God's blessing, this marriage be celebrated, according to the considerations expressed in our will and that of the Empress (may she be in glory!), and with the sums contained and appointed in the wills as dowry. I have given much thought to the dispositions of the said wills with regard to Flanders and Burgundy, and, considering the importance of those states, and the fact that I have increased them by the conquest of the duchy of Gelders, I have come to the conclusion that you had better keep them

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yourself. Consequently I hope that God will give you more children; and I adjure you to see to it that this other marriage also be celebrated without delay, for your sister is of proper age and, as we have already said, no other equally suitable match is forthcoming. Besides, when the time for your coming to these parts arrives, you might bring your sister with you, as no more favourable opportunity could be desired for the accomplishment of the journey in a manner befitting your dignity. But although you yourself were not to come, you must not put off her departure and marriage, and I beg and command you most earnestly to insist that it be carried into effect.

It has been suggested that, when the said marriage between my nephew, the Archduke Maximilian, and your sister takes place, the Archduke might be entrusted with the regency of Flanders, for experience has shown that the Flemish will not stand being ruled by foreigners, and that among themselves there is no one out of reach of their envy and hatred, wherefore we have always appointed a person of our own blood to that post. Other advisers have pointed out that, were the Archduke to be appointed, there would certainly be no lack of people to put into his and your sister's heads notions of attempting to obtain possession of the said states, and that as you will be unable to reside in them, or visit them often, their population might become devoted to the Archduke and his wife, especially if God were to give them children. I am inclined to believe that they would do their duty towards you; but as the matter at stake is of such enormous importance, they might possibly weaken with time. For this reason I have been unwilling to come to a decision until you come and see the said country, and may judge of its importance and the temper of the people, and also know and converse with the Archduke Maximilian. It is true that if we could persuade the Dowager Queen of Hungary to continue in the post she has held so long, it would be the best solution possible, because she has been most successful both in peace and in war; but she is determined to retire. Be this as it may, we will, with God's consent, settle everything when you come.

You will in due time have the marriage of your sister, my second daughter, with the Prince of Portugal celebrated, as has been arranged, for it is well to keep your word in this matter, which is one of importance to the crown of Spain and our friendly relations with Portugal. My brother-in-law the King, the Infante Don Luis and the Cardinal* have always shown me great devotion, and the Queen my sister has ever given proof of the liveliest affection for my person and welfare.

My experience of my sisters, the Queen Dowager of France and the Queen Dowager of Hungary, has been of a nature to inspire me with equal confidence. I am sure that both will continue very well disposed towards you, and I beg you to respect them, as is your duty towards your aunts, and show them favour in all circumstances.

* Dom Henrique, Archbishop of Braga and later of Lisbon, proclaimed King of Portugal in 1578.

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Finally, I solemnly recommend to you the observance and fulfilment of my will and codicils, as well as those of the Empress, and also the pious legacies for our souls' welfare. I am sure that you will carry out all of them, doing your duty and deserving the paternal affection I have always had for you. I pray God to protect you and guide your wishes in His service, that you may reign and govern as a good King should, and finally earn Heaven, with my blessing.

Augsburg, 18 January, 1548.

Jan. 25. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter in cipher, mainly on Italian affairs.)

Not long ago, Sire, there arrived in this court a papal nuncio going to Scotland, by whom the Pope sent to the new Queen (of France, Catherine de' Medici) a rose, which was presented with endless ceremonies in which most of the knights of this court took part. It is said that this nuncio and the nuncio resident here have once more confirmed the league and amity existing between the Pope and the King, who has promised to assist the Pope and not to allow him to be bullied on account of the Council (of Trent) or for any other reason. And several persons affirm here that help is actually to be given to the Pope.

(The ambassador ends his letter by thanking the Emperor for sending instructions to Spain that his salary be paid, but adds that he has not yet seen any money, and that twenty months are owing to him.)

Paris, 25 January, 1548.

Jan. 25. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the COUNCIL of STATE.

(Extract.)

My Lords: I have received two of your letters, one of the 12th December aud the other of the 14th of this month. The first makes mention of the Scottish pirates' depredations upon his Majesty's subjects, and was given me by an envoy sent hither by the three sea-board towns which had made the complaint. This man told me that he only had instructions to ascertain whether the King of France had already taken any measures against the said depredations, but that he did not wish to begin a suit for the restitution of the goods. After I had assured him that some time ago proclamations had been issued in the sea-ports to arrest the said Scots and all goods found in their possession, he departed without waiting any longer. Nonetheless, my Lords, I have not ceased making complaints to the King and Council about these depredations, affirming that the French often had a hand in them, as great numbers were with the Scottish pirates, and that they were never punished, or their officers either, who quite openly winked at these prizes; allowing the pirates and Frenchmen accompanying them to enter and return to their harbours without let or hindrance. Such conduct, I said, was precisely the same as if the King declared

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has so often replied, that he not only did not wish it to go on, but meant that it should immediately cease, and was going to see to it himself. The Constable said the same, and appeared greatly vexed at these outrages. But it amounts to nothing but a piece of mummery, and they will never do anything to put the matter right for all my verbal remonstrances; for I know they are laughing at me in their sleeves and repeating that the Scots are giving the Emperor's subjects what they deserve, and are enabled to do so by the help and countenance lent them by the French. And this I write to your Lordships for my own discharge, for I can do nothing more in the matter here.

In your second letters your Lordships instructed me to collect information on certain stations the French are setting up, and on the number of the troops they say they are sending to Thérouanne. I have done my best, and have had Captain Salcedo, a Spaniard in charge of that frontier, questioned by a third person. Salcedo affirms that as far as he knows the King is planning nothing against the Emperor, but that they (the French) would, if possible, much like to surprise a fort occupied by the English, and called Boulancourt, because it blocks the way to Boulogne. As for sending men to Thérouanne, it has been decided to send a good number of horse, because the King is resolved to reinforce his garrisons on all sides, and in that particular one he will put a greater force because there he has both the Emperor and the King of France as his neighbours. I hope soon to go to court, and will then find out from *Olsacius* and others the truth of this. In the meantime it will be best not to trust these folk. . . .

Paris, 25 January, 1548.

**Feb. 13.** Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

(Extract.)

Madam: Since my last letter to your Majesty I have been with the English ambassador, and have heard from him that, upon the remonstrance he made to the King of France about the oppression visited on their men near Ardres, he has been answered with haughty challenges to declare whether the chapels referred to were in this kingdom or not, for the French hold them to be in their territory and have prevented their fortification. Further, that if the King of England wished to maintain the contrary the point must be cleared up by one of two ways: either by means of commissaries from both sides, to which the King of France would willingly consent, or sword in hand, in which case he would have his sword ready, for though desiring peace he would not refuse war. Since then another person has assured me that the King of England would be content enough to depute men to settle that and other difficulties on the condition that the English should be restored in possession of the said chapels and that the recent outrages should be compensated for, a thing, Madam, that I should be glad to see done as far as the last point is concerned, for the King of France holds that he is right and the English are wrong.

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The said ambassador told me he had again complained that common report and the preparations going forward here seemed to indicate that the King of France intended to help the Scots against the English, declaring that to do so would constitute a breach of the last treaty of peace between the two countries. They had answered him that if the King of England had included the Scots in the peace as the treaty provided, this doubt would never have come up, and that the King of France would not violate the treaty as long as the King of England observed it on his side, without giving any further reply. And this the said ambassador regards as very suspicious, judging that at this rate help will be sent to the Scots.

The French are beginning to talk openly about it, Madam, and I have heard from several sources that de l'Orge is being sent to Scotland with the nuncio whom the Pope has despatched thither, and there are three great ships at Brest ready to take on board them and their retinue, which will consist of a number of Breton and Norman soldiers. The nuncio and others have made it known that the French galleys at Nantes will also sail for Scotland in May under the command of the Prior of Capua, and at the same time or sooner 6,000 soldiers and 100 men-at-arms are to be sent there. The Prior has gone to Nantes to superintend the fitting out of the galleys and the payment of the men, and also has instructions to put on board a large number of pikes and similar weapons, which leads one to suppose that the French intend to make use of the lansquenets they have in the Boulonnais, as they are sending pikes to Scotland, and that the ships will pick them up at St. Valéry, as the galleys picked up soldiers from their garrisons last year when they undertook the expedition to St. Andrews. I have heard from *Olsacius* that now the present expedition has been decided upon, the Scottish ambassador here resident speaks of it openly and is pushing it forward as best he can. It is true *Olsacius* says that if the King of France were to be attacked by the Emperor, he might easily withdraw his help from the Scots, so that he will try to temporise with his Majesty until he feels certain of his intentions. He will carry on the present undertaking in the name of the Pope and the Guises, in order that the King of England may have no grievance against him; and *Olsacius* added that if the King did not suspect his Majesty, and fear that he might fall upon him if he made open war on the King of England, the assistance sent to the Scots would be much stronger. As it is his principal object is to recover a certain castle* at a sea-port which has recently been fortified again by the English, for he considers that all the rest will be an easy matter. I will obtain minute information about this expedition and transmit it to your Majesty.

The French have been complaining to the English ambassador that the English have once more arrested their shipping, and say that if all is not released at once they will take the same

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steps over here. They refuse to leave the matter to ordinary justice as violence has been used against them.

(The rest of this letter is concerned with the private affairs of the Queen Dowager of France.)

March 10. Paris K. 1488. ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

In former letters to your Majesty I have spoken of rumours that the Kings of France and England were trying to make terms about their respective possessions, and this has been confirmed to me by the English ambassador, but with the addition that the conditions had not been yet fixed upon, because the King of England wished to be reinstated in the chapels of which he was violently dispossessed, whilst the French stick to the opposite view and desire to have the incident ignored and held not to have occurred. Later, Madam, the Cardinal's secretary assured me he knew that the King of France and the Constable, if they succeeded in bringing the said disputes to a close, would declare themselves ready to proceed to the payment of the sum of money stipulated by the last treaty for the restitution of Boulogne, but that their disposition would entirely alter if the English declined their offer and refused to admit the inclusion of the Scots together with restitution of the places occupied by them in Scotland. This agreement between the English and French is being discussed quite openly in this court, and by no vulgar persons; but I am unable to understand what can be arrived at, because of the inclusion of the Scots, which the King of England refuses to consider unless it be on terms that allow him to retain the places he is now occupying. It is also rendered doubtful by the great advantage the English now enjoy over the Scots. The King of France is certainly sending them a nuncio from Rome, a few foot-soldiers and some captains, but the foot-soldiers are only a few and will go as if of their own accord. To pay the troops 30,000 crowns are being sent from here with 15,000 contributed by the Pope, and another 24,000 are to be raised from the Scottish churches. Less than a week ago a Council meeting was held at which the Scottish ambassador was present and it was decided that the French galleys should proceed to Scotland in May, and also 6,000 foot-soldiers and 400 lances. This I have from a person who heard it from the ambassador, and also told me that if the Scots recover their places occupied by the English between now and May the assistance will not be sent, in which case the King of France would feel secure from the Emperor for the whole of this year. I doubt not that he will help the Scots, though not openly, but will temporise with the King of England and pretend to treat with him while still carrying on this undertaking, which is the French way of doing things. These folk have heard of M. de la Chapelle's and several other Frenchmen's deaths in Scotland, which grieves them sorely, and they are all the more depressed about it because they see that at this rate Scotland is going to be lost

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March 20.
Simancas
E. 502.

The EMPEROR to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Press of business has prevented me from writing to you earlier, and I also put it off until I should come to a decision on the French ambassador's solicitation to M. de Granvelle to obtain amends for the words spoken by the executioner of the high court of justice of this place after he had decapitated Vogelsberg.* In order to inform you fully of all that has happened in this matter, I am sending you a copy of the reply made to the French ambassador and sent to be communicated to the King of France and his ministers as occasion demands. . . .

Two days ago a gentleman arrived here, sent by Cardinal Farnese to the Legate Sfondrato and to the Cardinal of Trent, to treat of the suggestions the said Cardinal of Trent had put forward as if on his own account to prevent still further harshness being shown in the matter of the Pope's reply to my ambassador, Don Diego de Mendoza, when Don Diego made a protestation in my name about sending back the Council to Trent. And in order that you should also see what is occurring in this matter, I am sending you copies of the articles written by the said Legate in the Cardinal of Trent's name, which contain the substance of the said gentleman's instructions, together with a copy of the reply made on the question in order to proceed with the negotiation. And as far as what it has been possible to get out of this gentleman goes, the Cardinal wishes to have it believed that no treaty has been passed between the Pope and the King of France, though we have information to the contrary. For this reason the reply to the point concerning Piacenza is given in the terms you will see. At any rate, it seems that the Pope wishes things to calm down between himself and me, and Cardinal Farnese feels the same. Therefore we must proceed in this matter with an eye to the exigencies of our present undertakings, so that we may accomplish something in this Diet to alter his Holiness' position, and also we must take care to breed mistrust between the Pope and the King of France; though given their characters it is unlikely to be very great or of long duration.

On the other hand, judging by my ambassador in England's letters which you saw before your departure, there is little love lost between the English and French; and if his report of the last defeat of the Scots is true, the King of France will be more than ever hampered by having to send ships and men to Scotland. The news we have from Switzerland do not make it likely that the King of France will get men from that quarter, nor that he is a favourite there; and as he founds his hopes on the erring cantons, the others, that are Catholic, are less well disposed towards him and show better will to me, and to a closer confederation with me, than they do to the Pope or the King of France.

I am giving you so full an account of the above matters that you may understand the import of all that has occurred since

* Vogelsborg was a German captain of mercenaries, [illegible]

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you left. It may be that the King of France, seeing that many of his enterprises have vanished into smoke, will make some suggestions for a closer alliance when you are on your way through Lorraine, or on your return to Flanders. In that event you may lend an ear to him in conformity with the conclusions the King my brother, you and myself arrived at recently, of which, complying with the request you made on your departure, I will now recall to you the substance. If, as might easily happen while you are in the neighbourhood of Lorraine, any member of the house of Guise or any representative of the Cardinal of Lorraine were to meet you, you might assure him that you left me as willing as ever to listen to proposals for a better understanding, in spite of the fact that they (the French) have been talking in the Levant, in Italy and with the leagues here in a manner little calculated to encourage me to remain in the same mind, for they ought to be sincere on their side if any good is to come of it. You may say that I have always desired, particularly in the late King's day, that the Cardinal and M. de Guise would busy themselves in this matter, building on the affection they showed for me when the Treaty of Crépy was passed and later; and that when our niece the Duchess wrote to me about it at their request, I answered her in the same tone, and have since continued equally well disposed. And as they are now in favour and the Cardinal is the chief director of affairs, it would give me great pleasure if he cared to take up so good a cause, trusting as I do in his, and all the Guises' honour, believing that they will proceed with all good faith, and that what they negotiate will be observed. Also, the Cardinal could hardly choose a matter more nicely suited to his rank and profession, or one that would bring him and his family greater credit and renown. You may shorten or lengthen this speech as you see occasion requires, not forgetting that you will never be able to make sure of the Constable by trying to keep him out of this negotiation or by letting him see that you do not trust him.

If such a conversation takes place you may let me know about it, and also write to my ambassador in France of what has happened, and particularly how he had better approach the said Constable in order to persuade him that in him I put my chief trust, because of the honesty and good will of which he gave proof when the last peace was made, and that you spoke as you did (in Lorraine) because the matter came up, and also to enable the Constable to accomplish much, as you remember he himself was glad of such help when I was negotiating with the Cardinal of Lorraine. And that you went so far as to speak in that manner, being yourself very anxious to further so good a cause and knowing my own wishes, but always taking it for granted that his (the Constable's) opinion would weigh most of all. If there is no talk of this nature while you are near Lorraine, and if an opportunity occurs on your return to Flanders, you may report my intentions as above if you see them willing to do their share sincerely and straightforwardly. You will inform me of what you are able to find out, and, if necessary, write to

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my said ambassador that he may discover, as far as he is able, how your reply is being taken in France, and if there is any prospect of advancing the matter successfully. He must take care to see whether the Constable wishes to handle it all himself or prefers to give others a share, especially the Cardinal of Lorraine; and he must sound the intentions of the said Cardinal and other members of his family, and inform me about it in order that I may know what course to take.

If the person who confers with you raises any particular points, as might easily happen, such as the marriage of my son with the Lady Margaret of France, the confirmation of treaties, the payments due to the Duke of Savoy or the differences between the French and English, you may reply to each as follows.

Touching the said marriage, say that you positively know me to be as willing to treat now as formerly, as I gave the Constable to understand through my ambassador. That is to say, that I would consent if by means of the marriage a peace such as God's service and Christendom's welfare require might be established, not forgetting what is due to the Duke of Savoy and the Prince of Piedmont, his son. Refer for details to the ambassador's declarations.

You may also refer to my written instructions to the ambassador regarding the observance of former treaties. And their tenor is that I am sure that if the Constable considers the matter fairly, he will freely confess that honour and reason demand full observance of the treaties on the part of the French.

Make it clear that I am most anxious to come to a satisfactory settlement of the Duke of Savoy's affairs, and that if the King of France were willing to suggest means, I should be glad to do all in my power to help, as I have always declared. Do not venture to make any definite statements that might seem to run counter to my engagements towards the said Duke and Prince, or that might give the French an opportunity for making capital out of your words. You will do quite enough if you limit yourself to insisting that the French ought to make a plain declaration of such conditions as they may be willing to suggest, without accepting or refusing anything.

Speaking of this point, I will inform you that, while this letter was being written, M. de Julin came to M. de Granvelle and said that the Prince, his master, had had news from his father of the reception of letters from Ménage, formerly ambassador in my court, to the effect that the King of France was still disposed to negotiate with the said Duke and Prince, but keeping back Piedmont, or if he were to restore that, he wished to keep other places and in their stead give. . . . (illegible because of a tear in the sheet) without specifying which, or where situated. But, as far as the said Julin understood, the Duke of Savoy was decided not to negotiate unless he received all. This shows that the French are doing and will do all they can to treat with him, and that they are not as firm as they were about the retention of

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As for England, you may frame your reply in generalities, saying that we did not enter into details on that subject, and that you have nothing to say beyond what was declared to the Admiral and Chancellor of France when in Flanders, and what they know of the treaties I made with the late King of England. But you may add that you are certain I will do all I can to bring about peace and a settlement of all difficulties between the two countries.

Our guiding principle should be to attempt to discover how the French are disposed towards the establishment of a better understanding, and accordingly to know how far we may go in that direction, and by what means. And you will obtain a good opportunity for doing this by continually holding up to them, and assuring them of our great desire to meet them half-way, and that you only wish them to show their intentions, in order that you may the better serve their cause by giving me a straightforward account of what they tell you. But if you find them cold, and see that we would merely waste time and risk making them all the more insolent by going further in the matter, it would be better to temporise and wait to see if time and good management will render them more tractable. And this I leave to your discretion, being sure that they will not outwit you. (The rest of the letter refers to the disputed possession of a place called La Motte.)

Augsburg, 20 March, 1548.

**March 26.**
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.*

Madam: In recent letters I have told your Majesty of the French expedition to help the Scots. Preparations have been continued so fast that the expedition was publicly announced to-day, and is to be put into effect with as great despatch as possible. It is believed that it will consist of 6,000 foot, 200 men-at-arms and 500 light horse. Among the foot-soldiers there are three companies of Italians from Piedmont, who are now supposed to be at Nantes, as they were embarked some time ago at Roanne-sur-Loire. There may be about thirty armed ships without counting the galleys which are to take on board a number of French soldiers from the Boulonnais, but it is uncertain which course the fleet will steer, whether it will choose the route by Brittany or make for the straits of Calais. The English ambassador is desperately anxious to discover this, for he told me in confidence that the English are resolved to attack the French at sea if they are able to, and to spare them still less on land, for he well knows that the French are pushing on their preparations as fast as possible, and only seek to gain time until the expedition is entirely ready. So true is this that the King of France is sending every day to Brest to hasten matters and is doing his utmost, so that it is said that one force will leave by the end of April, and the galleys soon after if the weather permit. I am convinced that the

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galleys will take the same course as last year, wherefore it will be necessary to keep an eye on the Emperor's ports.

When the English ambassador saw that preparations for war were being continued, he complained to the King of France that such action was contrary to the treaty and to friendly relations. The King replied that he was bound to help the Scots by treaties passed long ago between France and Scotland, though for his part he had always wished that the English quarrel with Scotland might be made up, and still wished it so much that he would offer to take a share in the negotiations, but while matters remained in their present shape, he could not do otherwise than assist the Scots. By so doing he was in no sense infringing the said treaty, because by its provisions the Scots were included in the peace, and the King of England had refused to observe this point. He certainly did not mean to break the peace with England by sending assistance to Scotland, any more than the English would do so were they to assist the Emperor if attacked by him, as indeed they would be obliged to do by their treaties. And the ambassador has been unable to get any other reply out of the King or his ministers, say what he would. Several French captains are going in the expedition, and some Italians, but it has not yet been made public who is to command it, though some mention the Marquis du Maine for that post, and Andelot as colonel of the infantry. The King of France recently sent one of his own gentlemen to the Queen of Scotland to tell her that she should soon be succoured, and not long before his ambassador in that country, M. Basel (?), carried her the same tidings. The other day a good quantity of the lately forged artillery was sent by water from Paris to le Havre for the expedition, and most of the troops are being raised in Brittany, Poitiers and the neighbourhood of Angers. Well, Madam, we shall see what exploits they perform, and whether they will come back as brave as they set out, for to hear them talk one would think nothing was impossible to them or their King.

In spite of the fact that this expedition is so nearly ready, the French and English are nonetheless negotiating about sending commissaries from both sides to settle the differences resulting from several incidents that call into question the interpretation of their last treaty, as far as Boulogne is concerned. And this is quite certain, for the English ambassador confessed it to me, saying that the origin of it had been that he demanded the payment of the pension which was due. The French answered that they would be willing to pay the pension, provided that all the other difficulties arising from the said treaty should be settled, offering for their part to send commissaries to whatever place might be selected, and particularly pointing out that it would be well to clear up the matter of handing over the money for Boulogne, where the English should take possession of the sum, and how, as it was so large, and this had not been provided for by the last treaty. They also raised some other questions which

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and Council had been glad to enter into communication, and that he had been selected as a commissary, with Ménage on the French side, so that nothing remained but that the commission should be despatched, for all the rest was ready. I enquired from the said ambassador what he hoped the result of the communication would be, taking into consideration that the English were still at war with the French, who notoriously assisted the Scots, their enemies, and asked him whether he had any hope of settling that matter, and if they would treat of it in the coming negotiation. He replied, Madam, that he hoped that if all their differences were not speedily disposed of, some at least might be, but the English were determined not to hand back Boulogne before the time appointed by the treaty, and nothing at all was going to be said about Scotland, for the Protector had decided to bring that business to a conclusion, and to force the Scots with a strong hand to fulfil that which they had solemnly sworn and promised by the last treaty; indeed it was expected that the Protector would undertake the journey to Scotland by land, to put heart into his army. My opinion, Madam, is that the French have proposed this communication in order to keep the English from declaring war on them, and also to give their own subjects to understand that they are at peace with England, for the French people are afraid the Emperor and the King of England may join arms against them, because of the help they are giving the Scots. And I take it that the English, having their hands full in Scotland, are happy enough to treat and mask their real intentions, which, from what I hear from their ambassador, are one day to give the French a practical token of their gratitude for the help given to their enemies. The commission ought to have been despatched a month ago, only the French have not yet sent theirs, though they were the first to put their irons in the fire (*i.e.* to suggest a negotiation); and the English would like to know the cause of the delay.

I have heard in confidence from *Olsacius* that the King intends to attempt something against Boulogne while the English are busy in Scotland, and has two artillery-men here who are promising him wonders, especially to mine Boulogne castle. He also told me that for the last twenty days twelve men from Picardy have been here, and assert that they have an understanding with the people inside Boulogne, holding great hopes of having the town handed over. I have ascertained through other persons that these individuals stayed a long time here in Paris, at the "Golden Cross" hostelry in the Faubourg St. Germain, at the King's expense, and never left the house. Now they have gone to Fontainebleau. *Olsacius* says that the French may attack Boulemberg near Boulogne, for they are informed that that castle is in very bad repair. I have heard that the English ambassador is informed of this, and nonetheless continues to urge the French to hold a peaceable consultation; and I doubt not that the French will do so when they see that their moves are discovered.

The above, Madam, is all I have been able to learn about

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English ambassador here complained about the taking of some English ships by Scottish pirates, and that they took their booty to St. Valéry, and were welcomed in this kingdom. He has obtained no reply as yet, but according to what I hear the King will declare that the prizes were lawfully seized, and that he intends to remain neutral, admitting in his harbours prizes taken on both sides. If this is the case, it will serve the more to feed the flame.

Melun, 26 March, 1548.

March 27. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the COUNCIL of STATE.

(The first part of this letter reviews the chances that the French will make war on the Emperor the same year. The ambassador thinks not, as they are so busy in Scotland, though an unforeseen incident might upset all calculations.)

Speaking of the Prior of Capua and the island of Walcheren, I have heard from the Florentine ambassador, who sees much of some of the Strozzi's intimate friends, that for this year the Prior has no other instructions than to proceed with his galleys to Scotland and besiege Broughty Craig castle from the sea, whilst the land force also make their attack. Paquelon has told me the same, adding that if the Prior has any idea of visiting Walcheren, it is only a question of taking shelter there in case of a heavy storm. I have heard similar accounts from the Portuguese ambassador here resident and certainly, my Lords, I have been unable to scent out anything about attacking Zeeland. In any case the French could not do it until their Scottish expedition is over, which may give them more trouble than they look for, and they cannot think of undertaking so many different things at once. It is true that they are strong at sea with their thirty armed ships and galleys, but everyone says all is for Scotland. And I have heard from a good source that the King has decided to send someone to pray the Queen Dowager (Regent of the Netherlands) to afford shelter to his ships if sea-luck force them to ask for it, as he for his part would always welcome the Emperor's. Nonetheless, as they are so well armed, it will be well to be on our guard and not trust them, as all their deeds warn us. The French have already said that the Prior has had certain ports in Zeeland examined, but only with the idea of running in there with his ships if we are willing to allow him to do so as a friend. . . .

Melun, 27 March, 1548.

April 2. Paris K. 1488.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to the EMPEROR.

(A letter giving an account of several conversations between the Queen Dowager and M. de Guise, in which the Queen's attitude is that indicated in the Emperor's instructions to her of 20 March. Guise states over and over again that the King of France is anxious to be good friends with the Emperor, but avoids making any definite statement, only hinting that the

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The next day, after I had thought the matter over, we continued our conversation, and M. de Guise found an opening to say that the current report that your Majesty wished to declare war on the French had made this negotiation somewhat suspicious in their eyes. I told him I could assure him that your Majesty had never thought of such a thing, and the French would have had to have given very great provocation before your Majesty would have become angry, considering the devotion you had always shown in the cause of peace. The assurance your Majesty had given that your intentions were far otherwise than warlike must prevail, for the French had learnt by experience how firm your Majesty was to keep your word, which no one could say you had ever broken. This he frankly confessed, giving me an opportunity for saying clearly that the French would do well to confirm their friendship with your Majesty, in order that I might have no suspicions of their sincerity; though I saw they had so many troops massed near our frontier that the very first thing I should do on my return to the Low Countries would be to strengthen our side, and raise men to strengthen it still more if need were to arise. He assured me that their only reason for having troops in Picardy was their imperfect understanding with the English, and that they had been obliged to destroy a fort the English had built in violation of the treaty. I told him that, as he wished me to speak frankly, I would inform him that he might be sure we knew how many troops the English had on this side of the sea, and that the English could not reinforce their garrisons without the French knowing about it first, being obliged to transport their men over the sea. Therefore it was evident that the force they need keep up against the English was not at the present as large as they seemed to think, seeing that they would always have time to reinforce before the English could do so. He might remember that all princes are jealous of their states, and be certain that I, by reason of my post, could not allow troops to be massed near the frontier of my government without fortifying my side in return, for however well the two princes might be disposed, a disagreement over one word might lead to very evil consequences. M. de Guise asked me whether I would stop raising men if they withdrew their people. I replied that if the cause they were giving me ceased I would also stop, for in this I would be guided by them, not wishing to be taken by surprise. He told me he would endeavour to have the French troops withdrawn, asking me if I thought that the best course. I told him that as he asked my opinion I would say to him that I agreed, because such things could only breed mistrust and possibilities of something worse. He replied that mine was the correct view, for he was sure your Majesty's intentions were good, as he knew his own master's to be.

Metz, 2 April, 1548.

April 6.
Paris
K. 1488.

News sent by St. Mauris to Prince Philip.

(Detailed accounts of happenings in Italy. The King of France has had the Marquis of Saluzzo taken prisoner, under the pretext

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that he had plotted with Don Fernando Gonzaga to hand over Turin to the Imperialists, but in reality in order to seize his state and unite it to the French Crown. The French say their King may well do this if the Emperor is to be allowed to continue fortifying Piombino. French hopes of winning over the Duke of Florence. A dispute about precedence between the ambassadors of the Dukes of Florence and Ferrara.)

As for making war this year, the common opinion of gentlemen, merchants and other respectable folk is that the King of France will not do so, though he will see to it that he be in a position to suffer no move of his Majesty's on the frontier, but resist in arms, without, however, intending to fight unless peace is broken (by his Majesty).

The said King went to see his children a short time ago and stayed several days, because of a cold he had caught while playing at ball. During this interval he went to Paris in disguise to see his new artillery, most of which he tested, and at the same time went to the Louvre to inspect a new room which his father began not long before his death. It is said that this room is most excellent and rich in decoration; and the artillery is very good and in great quantity, more being cast every day. They say they have 1,800 *quintaux** of gun-powder, such an amount that the King has ordered no more to be made, but good store of saltpeter to be collected. The French sometimes make things out bigger than they are in reality, and for all they say they have not stopped turning out about two *quintaux* of powder a day at Paris.

It is known for certain here that the Constable spoke the other day with great anger about the German captains† who had been beheaded, saying that the Emperor might remember there were in this court subjects of the King of France to whom the King might find an opportunity for doing what the Emperor had done to his subjects for having entered the French service. Perhaps this was meant for Montfalconet and the rest, who had better be on their guard, for it seems the King of France considers himself deeply insulted by the punishment referred to, so much so that they say he will revenge himself sooner or later, and will wait for a good occasion. When the news of the said captains' death were published here, knights and populace unanimously demanded amends, and were of the opinion that in return the King ought to do the same with the Emperor's subjects to be found in these parts, and even with his Majesty's ambassador. The Cardinal of Lorraine was greatly scandalised about it, and being at the time in Paris made mighty lamentations in the presence of the Queen Dowager (the Emperor's sister), saying that his Majesty had done the King a grave wrong, and losing all measure in his speech. This bears witness of their resentment, but the worst of it is that they care nothing for the right, and are only moved by pure prejudice, disappointment

* One *quintal*=ca. 110*lb*.

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and rage. The conclusion they all come to is that the King will revenge himself, and they seem to consider the outrage all the greater because they hold their King to be the first among all princes, and so great that all others ought to bow before him, and yet to have been scurvily treated. They add that the Emperor, by being so blind and ruthless, has only injured himself and invited ruin to overwhelm his fortunes. But after all, this is nothing but French bragging, for their bark is always worse than their bite.

For several days past a German captain who was turned out of Moret(?) has been here, and Brissac has communicated with him frequently. It has transpired that his name is Maximilian Hopp and that he is in the Count Palatine's (*i.e.* the Rhinegrave's) service. He has come in the rebels' name to ask for pecuniary help from the King of France, in order to stir up as much trouble as he can in those parts. They say the King of France has listened to him and promised him secret assistance if he is sure anything may be accomplished, and he goes so far as to say that he is able to raise troops in north-western Germany and lead them to Friesland or Gelders.

The French are spreading a report that the King of Denmark is going back to his Majesty, who has brought this about by persuading him that his object was not to subjugate all Germany and make the state of Denmark a dependency of it. But the French say the King of Denmark may well believe the contrary, and they make certain he will be seized. For this reason the King of France has recently sent envoys to confirm and cement afresh the ancient friendship and alliance that existed between the King of Denmark and the late King of France, and also to the King of Sweden, assuring him that he will find in him a prince who keeps his word and acts in good faith. All these negotiations are carried on through the Low Countries by means of go-betweens the King has there, especially in Antwerp and other towns, according to what they say here.

M. de Châtillon returned here a few days ago, bringing news from the fort near Boulogne that some Scottish pirates had taken certain English ships in the Channel between Boulogne and Calais. The French are delighted about this, and say that the prizes shall not be given up even if taken into a French port, for the King of France is bound to favour the Scots. But the English ambassador says that the prize was nothing but a boat loaded with wood which was making for Boulogne, and that when the Scots were proceeding with the boat to St. Valéry in order to sell the wood there, they were persuaded to put into Boulogne by one of the English prisoners, but when quite near Boulogne harbour they were seized by people from St. Valéry. This explanation caused great merriment. Châtillon also brought tidings that the captains in the fort near Boulogne have been murdered by their own men, which has made a painful impression here, as the captains were good soldiers who had served the King

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It is known here for a fact that, now the German soldiers in the French service have seen the fate of the three captains, they fear that when they return home to Germany the same may befall them, and are anxious to leave France at once. The King of France, fearing that they may steal off in small companies, has placed bands of cavalry on the roads to break them up and make them come back. The King feels to his very entrails the prohibition against taking troops out of Germany, for his ministers had intended to levy a large number there this year, though they absolutely deny this. Count Piquelin (?) promises to do his best to remedy this matter, for he is now living in Paris, and is anxious to obtain from the King some post which may enable him to support his household.

*Olsacius'* letter has made it known that the King of France is greatly alarmed by Germany's consent to give the Emperor help against the Pope and his league ; so much so that he immediately sent to the Pope telling him that their best course would be to deny flatly the existence of any such league. Consequently not much has been said here of late about the confederation, and *Olsacius* affirms that the King is sorely afraid that the states of the Empire may be ill-disposed towards him for having interfered with the Council of Trent, and that the Emperor may have animated them. Therefore the King is determined to write to the electors privately and justify himself, assuring them of his desire to see Germany united and to remain firm in the friendship his father cultivated with German princes and potentates, and adding that he intends to complain of the wrong the Emperor inflicted on him by killing three captains in his despite.

It is known here that the King is levying men secretly without sound of drum, and sending part of them to Lyons, but it is said that they are to be put into garrisons in Piedmont, whence troops have been sent to Scotland, and that the King has decided to have nothing but French soldiers in Piedmont. When his force returns from Scotland he will send the Italians that come with it towards Boulogne.

A short time ago news arrived here that most of Gascony resented the heavy taxes the King had laid upon the province this year, and that some great popular movement might be the result.

The people of Paris have protested so much against the charges weighing upon their city that the King has been half-obliged to remit 600,000 francs which were granted under compulsion in exchange for 80,000 crowns*, at the risk of causing a revolt. It is said publicly in this kingdom that if the King goes on next year extorting so much money the farmers will have to leave their houses, to such an extent are the people impoverished and starved, not to speak of the fact that they now see the King deceived them when he said the Emperor intended to make war on France. However, it seems they will have to pay, and

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the money is being raked in and carried to the Louvre as fast as possible, where 200,000 crowns were deposited when the King was in Paris in disguise, for he wished to be present when this was done, showing the greatest desire to put by money.

Peter Strozzi came back the other day from Italy to give the King an account of his proceedings against the Marquis of Saluzzo, which most of the gentlemen here dislike, and censure most violently his strange behaviour towards the Marquis. It is not yet known how the King of France will take it; in any case he welcomed Strozzi kindly, has talked long with him while hunting, and given him a sword.

They say here that the same Strozzi is going to Scotland as colonel of the Italians, and he is believed to have started for Nantes already. This is not quite certain, but he is reported to have done everything in his power to avoid going, and the Constable, perhaps wishing to get rid of him, insisted that he should go, telling him in a multitude of words that he would never find any employment of greater service to the King or honour to himself.

(The letter ends with news relating to plans for the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret with M. de Vendôme. The report is being circulated that the Emperor had been anxious to wed her to Prince Philip.)

April 14.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.
E. 1.

EDWARD VI to the EMPEROR.

As, in accordance with the advice of our dear and well-beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Governor of our person and Protector of our realms and dominions, we have decided to withdraw our dear and trusty Councillor, the Bishop of Westminster, at present our ambassador at your court, with the intention of employing him in other of our affairs here, and as we desire by all means to continue and keep up the ancient friendship, alliance, confederation and intelligence existing between the two countries, we desire to send in his stead to fulfil the duties of ambassador our dear and well-beloved Councillor Philip Hoby, knight, gentleman of our privy chamber. We pray you that, as long as the said Philip Hoby remains with you, you may be willing to grant him favourable access to your person and benevolent audience, as the perfect and mutual friendship binding us requires, and that you may place all trust and confidence in what he shall expose to you from time to time on our behalf, as you would in ourself were we with you in person..

London, 14 April, 1548.

April 20.
Paris
K. 1488.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

Madam: I wrote to your Majesty in my last letters of what was passing between the Kings of France and England in the matter of the communication which was to take place on the frontier in order to settle their differences. Since then I have heard from the English ambassador that one of their principal com-

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be delayed. This he said to me with such an expression on his face that I could see the English, for their part, had very small desire that the communication should go any further, and he finally confessed it to me, saying he did not know how it would all end, but many members of the Council had cooled towards the King of France because he had declared against them by sending help to Scotland. It was true the King talked as if he did not intend to break the peace for all that, but this was merely dissimulation, as he very well saw, and it was of little use to settle differences on one side while war was being waged on the other against the English by the King of France. Thus openly did the ambassador speak to me, and added that not long ago he had made the indisposition of one of the commissaries an excuse for putting off the communication, and the King had taken it so ill that the Constable was much cast down, and even went so far as to say that the English were making fun of the King. We shall see what happens if this continues.

I enquired, Madam, from the ambassador whether anything beyond what he had told me had happened between them relative to the help sent to Scotland. He told me that he had heard nothing more about it, though he had again informed the King that he might not send this help without infringing the last treaty, in which it was expressly laid down that, if the Scots broke with England, the French were not to assist them, in spite of which the French had notoriously taken a castle by force that the English had held since the late wars, to say nothing of the outrage perpetrated at St. Andrews. The King answered that he was doing nothing in violation of the treaty, for the English had refused to include the Scots in the peace, and he was obliged to assist them by treaties made long before between the Scots and his predecessors. So matters are continuing in this manner, the French dissimulating on one side and acting on the other; and they say here that before the question be examined in good feeling there will be a rupture, and in that case the King of France will do his best to crush the English. There is a rumour in these parts that Peter Strozzi, who is commander of the fleet, has orders to fall upon the English if he meets them, and he asserts that he will do it whatever befall, showing great desire to do so, and hatred of the English, wishing as he does to climb to the top of his fortune with some mighty and memorable deed.

April 20.
Paris
K. 1488.

The EMPEROR to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

In reply to your letters of the 2nd April, which I have read carefully, you have acted with great prudence in your conversation with M. de Guise on the possibility of a better understanding. Judging by M. de Guise's remarks it looks as if his master's intentions were favourable, especially as the Master of Requests, Ménage, came with him, though I have heard from France that he was sent to help Guise in his administration of the Duchy of Burgundy. Whatever the truth of this may be, we shall soon be able to discover how much there is in what Guise said, and whether the negotiation may be continued. What was written

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to my ambassador in France is quite right, and he will perhaps ascertain more from the Constable and from Guise himself if, as he seems to intend, he goes to court. If it were found that the matter might proceed successfully, the best course would be to sound the Frenchmen's intentions before Guise or any one else comes to me, and I should prefer this to be done in your court, so do not refuse to see any envoy of theirs, but rather welcome him as I should do in your place. In dealing with him you may make use of my letters that you received not long ago in Lorraine, probing as far as you can what the French are willing to do, and if they care to state any point of the new treaty you may answer them according to my said letters dealing with the principal headings which they will probably wish to discuss, and which in truth are those that are like to give trouble. For the present nothing more occurs to me, as the French have so far made no declaration, and you write nothing about which any opinion may be given. I have no doubt you are aware that Guise says what he thinks, and one may believe he spoke with the best intentions, but the deciding factor in the matter is Cardinal Guise, his son, or the Constable, and we must consequently pay more attention to them than to Guise himself, and if we are to accomplish anything it would be better that the Cardinal should come to me instead of his father, for if his father comes they are certain to give him definite and limited instructions without any authority to exceed them. Therefore do your best, though if Guise has to come we will do what we can to treat with him with all advisable reason and fairness, and it is unlikely that his son will let him come unless he is provided with the authority to treat. Still, taking everything into consideration, it is probable that the French will first wish to know what is to be discussed, and, as I said, I should greatly prefer them to send to you for this purpose. However, if they send to me I will enlighten them, and do you for your part act as you see occasion demands. We must see to it that in this business, whether it is undertaken here or where you are, the French do not behave as Brissac did the last time he was here, when he had no sooner arrived than he used words and made statements that in no sense furthered his suit for a better understanding, a matter which was not improved by the Constable's subsequent repudiation of what Brissac, Ménage and Marillac, who is ambassador here, put forward on behalf of their King, namely what they said about their master's wish to keep and fulfil the treaties, which as Marillac afterwards owned, was in accordance with express instructions.

Augsburg, 20 April, 1548.

April 25.
Paris
K. 1488.

ST. MAURIS to PRINCE PHILIP.

(Extract from a letter in cipher dealing mainly with Italian affairs. Murder of Ribot, commander of Saluzzo castle, it is said at the instigation of the French who wish to seize the place. Rumour that Don Fernando Gonzaga was going to pay the Marquis of Saluzzo 10,000 crowns for handing the castle over to

1548.

The Admiral's band of 40 lances is being sent from here to Scotland together with his son's, also of 40, Gernac's (?) also of the same number, and another 40 levied in Brittany, as well as 300 light horse. The said Gernac is going in person, and with him the Admiral and his son, and they say here that just as the Constable when he was ill sent his band to the Boulogne frontier, so the Admiral is doing now with the gendarmerie. The French have decided to seize the English fleet's provisions, and Andelot has started already, taking many gentlemen with him, among whom is M. d'Étages. The Vidame of Chartres also wished to go, but the King would not permit it, telling him he wished to keep him and some others for more important enterprises. They say he will go to Scotland to reinforce the 1,000 West-German foot soldiers. It is calculated that the King's expenses for the fleet that is going to Scotland are to be very heavy, and will come to over 300,000 crowns a month, especially as the fleet is large and the King is obliged to pay part of the Scottish troops, for the Scots are unable to raise their ordinary supply because of the territory they have lost. The King has decided to seize as much as he can of property belonging to Scots who have submitted to England. The French are continually urging his Holiness to supply for this war the money he said he would contribute when the late King of France made war on the English, on which occasion the matter remained pending because the King of France demanded more than the Pope was willing to give. They say that the amount he is to contribute for this war is 4,000 men, and he is to give the equivalent in money. By the way, the Pope has banked 300,000 crowns at Lyons, and some say this sum is destined for the purchase of the lands which are to be acquired in France for the Lord Orazio; it may be for the one thing or the other. Report has it that the nuncio who is going to Scotland has not received his instructions, and is therefore prevented from sailing with the fleet, but will follow later when he sees what happens. . .

May 3. The Queen Dowager to St. Mauris.

Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 22. (Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Touching the warning you gave me some time past that the King of France would request me to receive in a friendly manner his men-of-war and galleys if, under stress of weather or otherwise, they wish to put in to Zeeland or any other harbours in these parts, the members of the Council have written to his Majesty to know his pleasure, and how they are to behave. They have also informed him that, as the said ships and galleys are going to assist his Majesty's enemies the Scots, who never cease robbing, pillaging and attacking his Majesty's subjects both of Spain and of these parts, if we are prepared we ought to treat them as enemies and fall upon them. For if the King of France, without breaking the treaties, may send help to his Majesty's enemies, then for the same reason, also without breaking the

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going to serve his enemies the Scots. Besides, by his Majesty's treaty with the King of England, which was reserved by the treaty of Crépy, he is bound not to give shelter in his harbours to the enemies of England or those who are assisting them directly or indirectly. Hence he would be unable to treat the French as friends without giving the English cause for resentment, and risking a quarrel with them. On receipt of this letter his Majesty commanded me not to allow any of the ships or galleys going to Scotland to enter my harbours, nor do I think it would be reasonable to allow them for the above reasons. I am informing you of this in order that if any French ships or galleys find their way to these parts and are not treated according to their fancy, and the French make a grand pother about it as usual, you may with all due modesty speak to the King and Constable and beg them to consider that the Scots are his Majesty's enemies, and also his Majesty's treaty obligations towards the English, against whom the said assistance is directed, for which reasons I cannot allow their ships to enter my harbours. And request them to see to it that their said ships do not interfere with his Majesty's subjects, or allow others to interfere with them, that the friendly relations his Majesty desires to keep up with the King of France may not suffer. I have written again to his Majesty asking him to let you know what else you are to do. Besides, fearing the said ships and galleys might find some places unprepared and, using the Scots' name as an excuse, arrest or pillage his Majesty's subjects, I am levying a number of foot soldiers to guard the coast. If the French ask you about this you may say that these men are only intended to guard the seaboard, as I have heard by common report that their ships and galleys are going to pass through the straits between Dover and Calais. . . .

May 8. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 22.

The QUEEN DOWAGER to ST. MAURIS.

(Extract from a minute, the first part of which gives an account of a conversation the Queen has had with M. de Biron, repeating the substance of her letter of 3 May. She reminds St. Mauris that the main points are two : first, that the Emperor cannot be expected to afford shelter to those who are assisting his enemies ; second, that the Emperor's treaty with the King of England obliges him to refuse shelter to those who are assisting the enemies of England with men, money or supplies. She continues :)

I do not know whether the French have a duplicate of the said treaty, since they are trying to rob its words of their meaning : and the treaty was not passed before the last war but during it, to wit in the month of February, 1542, reckoning from Easter (*i.e.*, February 1543 New Style*) and its words are so clear that it is impossible to disguise them.

As for the Constable's remarks to you to the effect that in the late King's (of France) lifetime we extended this privilege to soldiers coming from Scotland who found themselves obliged

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to pass through Zeeland, that is true, but we did it because, out of consideration for the late King, we had agreed to temporise with the Scots with the hope of treating with them. The Scots pretended to be willing to do this until, by virtue of the treaty between France and England, they imagined themselves to be at peace with the English, and then declared openly that they were the Emperor's enemies, in spite of the fact that we had sent them fair speech by our envoy, Secretary Strick, as we have already told you. And if relations between Scotland and this country had remained the same as they were in the late King's day, namely from the treaty of Crépy to the last treaty between France and England, we would now act as we acted then, but as the Scots, since the treaty between France and England was passed, have refused our friendship and declared themselves our enemies, we cannot treat them otherwise than as they wish. But this does not at all mean that I have less regard for the new King than I had for the King his father.

Also, our intention neither has been nor is to treat the Scots' friends as enemies, any more than the late King held the Emperor as an enemy after the treaty of Crépy, because the Emperor was the King of England's friend, and he of France his enemy. But this is not the question, as for my part I mean not only to maintain amity between the two princes, but increase it if I can. The question is whether we ought to admit into our harbours the ships that are being sent to the Scots' assistance, in giving which little heed seems to be paid to the friendly relations existing between the King and the Emperor.

The Constable says that the French are still at peace with England, in spite of the aid sent to Scotland, which consequently ought not to trouble their friendship with the Emperor. But I believe they know very well that if the English fall in with forces proceeding to the Scots' relief they will go for them with a will, and will not allow themselves to be attacked without putting up a defence.

As for admitting their shipping into these ports, I have never made any difficulty about it, and shall always see to it that those that come as merchantmen, and such as are not going to Scotland, be well treated, nor shall I allow them to be ill-used because of the aid sent to Scotland. I trust the King of France may observe the same conduct towards the Flemish ships that enter his harbours, and not treat our merchantmen as if they were going to help enemies of France.

If the Constable confesses that we cannot reasonably be expected to take in their fleet, he ought to confess by the same token that I, having heard by common report that their fleet was going to pass between Dover and Calais, had just cause to make the remonstrance that you have addressed to the King on my behalf. Touching the galleys that might be forced into our ports by sea-luck, their's is a peculiar case, and if a small number, such as three or four, came pursued by a storm we should not treat them as enemies. However, if a greater number

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they might find a better way, in order to avoid all friction and other regrettable consequences that sometimes follow when men-at-arms meet together. And as the French have no reason whatever for ill-treating Flemish ships in France, if they do so we shall have to act as the occasion demands.

With these arguments, if they are willing to listen in good faith, you may justify what I had said to the King and Constable in order to avoid injuring the friendship between the King and the Emperor, in which there was nothing they ought to resent. On the contrary if they will be reasonable, and suppose for a moment that things were in the same position on their side as they now are on mine and that I were sending help to their enemies, they will admit that they would not grant me passage through their realm or show me any favour. And you are to remember that the most important point is that we do not hold the King or his subjects as enemies because of the aid they are sending to Scotland, as long as they commit no act of hostility against the Emperor's dominions and subjects. . . .

Binche, 8 May, 1548.

June 25. DON JUAN DE MENDOZA to PRINCE PHILIP.

Simancas E. 1318.

My last letter to your Highness, dated 26th May, contained the news from the Levant* I had received up to that time. I am now sending you in another letter what I have heard by despatches dated 20th and 24th May. The Seigniory has not communicated any news to me, nor have I expected any; for they first manufacture their news to suit themselves, and then publish abroad what they see fit.

In the last few days the populace began to say that the Duke of Ferrara was taking a hand in the negotiations for a league† that are being carried on, and soon afterwards the rumour rose higher than the people. When I heard this and considered the effect it might have on the Venetians, the Duke being powerful and a near neighbour, it seemed to me opportune to create a diversion. So I said to someone, who might write my remarks to the proper quarter, that either the Duke was innocent or he was not. If he was involved in this business he should be welcome, and if not he ought to do something to clear himself, either writing to court or to me, as I was so near. Two days ago the ambassadors of Urbino and Ferrara came to me separately and both told me on the Duke's behalf that he had heard the rumour, and it was not strange that I should have got wind of it. As for the league I might be certain of his innocence, and as for taking charge of La Mirandola (about which there had also been gossip) he would not agree to it without the Emperor's leave, and if he obtained it the Emperor should have La Mirandola at his disposal as he already had the Duke's other possessions. I replied what seemed most fitting, and have published this

* Almost all Don Juan's letters contain full accounts of happenings in the Levant.

† Between the Pope and the King of France against the Emperor. *See* letters of

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information in order to calm the agitated spirits of this Republic, to upset the great influence the Pope and the King of France are trying to make people believe they possess with the Duke, and also to sow mistrust between the Duke and the Venetians.

His Serene Highness the Archduke Maximilian enters Trent to-day. The Seigniory has ordered the Captain of Vicenza and the Podestà of Verona to proceed to the frontier of the state to receive him; at Mantua great preparations await him, and Don Fernando (Gonzaga) is to be present.

Venice, 25 June, 1548.

July 5 to 16. Paris K. 1488. Advices of Events in Scotland from 5th July to 16th July 1548.

Advices of July 5th.

The French ships were scattered by violent gales in such a manner that not more than twenty to twenty-five remained together in the harbour. It is not known what has happened to the rest and five of the galleys, except for the five that were lost: two on the sands near Leith, two near Musselburgh and one off Kelso (*sic*). Yesterday the enemy (French and Scots) bombarded *Vindames** and Burnmouth (*Bulemet*), and afterwards made an assault, but those within met them valiantly and killed a good many, a great captain among the rest. The garrison has strengthened the fortifications of Burnmouth to such an extent that the bombardment appears to have done no lasting damage.

The Regent and M. d'Essé, being informed that the bars of some of the town-gates had been removed and that there was a breach convenient for an assault, went with a large number of seasoned soldiers to reconnoitre the breach, but those within discharged nine or ten pieces of artillery at once, killing four or five and carrying away the legs of the bravest of them. At this the Regent and M. d' Essé retired in haste.

Advice of July 8th.

Lord Grey, fearing that the defenders of Haddington might run short of powder, sent 400 good English and Spanish soldiers, every man of whom bore twenty pounds of powder, which they carried straight through the enemies' camp, and reached the town in safety. He also sent 200 light horse to escort the others, and they attacked the camp, taking some of the enemy prisoners and killing others, and returned without losing a single man.

Advice of July 9th.

The Queen of Scotland came up behind the church that lies outside Haddington to reconnoitre and see the town, but such a storm of cannon-balls from the town broke over her and those who were with her, that many were killed. Sixteen of the dead were of the Queen's principal gentlemen, and she was terror-stricken.

Advice of July 13th.

The French are demanding help from the Scots to storm the town, but the Scots do not seem to be in a hurry to grant it.

* Conceivably Coldingham. The Scottish names are sometimes not easily to be recognised: Haddington is now Din Don, again Dingon.

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Those within have made a mine to countermine the one begun by the enemy, and have erected a mound in defence of Burnmouth, to be used if needed.

The men of Haddington ventured out of the town with an escort of sixty arquebusiers and twenty foot soldiers to look for provisions. A captain of the enemy called Jayme Doga with 100 horse and a company of infantry, some of whom were Germans, attacked them, but the escort, aided by the town's artillery, killed over 70 of the enemy, among whom was a lieutenant of the Rhinegrave's called Meyer, and so the men of Haddington returned loaded with provisions, without losing a man.

The French are still demanding reinforcements, and it seems that the Scots are trying to excuse themselves by saying the French have not done what they promised. The Scots are leaving the camp in crowds.

Advices of July 16th.

Yesterday afternoon the Scots and their allies were ready and determined to storm all the places in the neighbourhood of the town (Haddington). Men, women and children came out to see the sport, but when the garrison heard that the enemy was upon them and ready to storm, so many cannon balls fell among the foe that they turned tail and made for safety as best they might, losing a captain, about 80 soldiers, and a great number of wounded.

M. d'Essé promised the Regent to try to storm the town once more, and said that even if this did not succeed he knew of a way to take it before a fortnight was up. But the Regent, seeing nothing but words and delay without tangible result, began to complain, saying that the French did nothing but lay waste the land. M. d'Essé replied in hot anger that the fault lay with the Regent for having allowed the English to fortify to their heart's content, when he might easily have prevented them, and moreover all the good he (d'Essé) might do was thrown away on such ingratitude as theirs. Thus words were multiplied between them, and the Scots are so much annoyed about the delay that over 1,000 of them have left the camp at night and by stealth.

The French have not kept their promise to try to storm the place to-day.

The enemy, hearing that Lord Grey was coming out to greet them, sent to find a large number of oxen to take their artillery to safety at Aberlady, intending to put it on board their ships, but later decided to maintain the blockade, though with small honour to themselves. However, when they reached the place in question, they made such professions of valour that it seemed the besieged could not hold out an hour against them.

There has been a grand dispute and altercation between French and Scots, and the French say that since they have been encamped before the town they have lost 300 gentlemen, and consequently cannot attempt to storm it as they had resolved to do.

(There follows an account, dated July 17th, of the affray in which

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almost in the same words as that given in Van der Delft's letter of the end of August.)

Aug. 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26. ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(A voluminous letter in cipher giving an account of the King of France's journey to Savoy and Piedmont to visit his fortifications there. The ambassador followed him part of the way, and thinks matters look dangerous in Italy. Perhaps the French intend to interfere with the Prince of Spain when he passes through Italy. . . . )

It is openly said here, Sire, that the Queen Dowager of Scotland and her daughter will soon be in the kingdom, and that the King has sent some gentlemen to Brest to receive and escort them towards the Queen of France. It is even said that a marriage will be arranged between the young Queen of Scots and the Dauphin, not that the French wish to have this marriage actually celebrated, but merely to make the English lose hope of marrying her (to their King), and leave Scotland in peace. With this pretext the King will appoint himself Protector of Scotland in his son's name.

Dandino is following the King, and is to be dismissed in Piedmont. He certainly has negotiated the defensive league, for which purpose the King is to send to Rome 350,000 crowns in ready money, and the Pope a third of that sum to Lyons. The French proposed a fine of 50,000 crowns, to be inflicted on either of the parties for non-fulfilment of the treaty, but the Pope refused to admit this condition. The King is to send to Rome part of the said sum in ready money, if he has not done so already, and the rest is to proceed through the banks. Otherwise the bankers refused to undertake the operation. It is believed here that the Duke of Ferrara is of the league, but wishing it not to be known, he has made no public declaration but holds out hopes of doing so if your Majesty attacks the King of France. They say that his envy and jealousy of the Duke of Florence's greatness has led him to this pass.*

Report has it, Sire, that if the King of France needs men, the league provides that the Pope shall assist him with the troops of Perugia and Spoleto, and the galleys shall go and fetch them at a port to be determined later. They talk about other points besides, which have only been decided verbally and not written down, but will come up when season and opportunity demand. Dandino, Sire, is a pernicious individual in whom the French put their trust at present, hoping that he may encourage the Pope in goodwill towards them, and he was consequently well received here.

When they learnt here that the *Interim* had been published and heard its contents, the matter displeased them as it was contrary to their expectations, and they published abroad that

* In a letter to the Archduke Maximilian (Paris, K. 1488) St. Mauris says that the Duke of Ferrara met the King in Piedmont and gave his adherence to the league on the condition that it should be kept secret from the Emperor. The marriage between the Duke's elder daughter and M. d'Aumale was also arranged.

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the Church was to remain divided on account of the articles touching the priests (*i.e.* married clergy) and communion in both kinds, trying to gain credit with the people on this score, and to mask your Majesty's just and holy intention. But men of worth and religion, who are zealous for the welfare of Christendom, took it differently as soon as they saw the argument of the *Interim*, and the chief theologians of the Sorbonne hope great things of it for the bringing back of Germany to the fold, openly criticising the Pope for having forgotten his duty towards the Council. One of the heads of the Order of St. Francis, named Concily, who has just returned from Bologna, says frankly that the Holy Father upset the Council merely out of prejudice and fear of being reformed, wishing thereby to gain the point of his supremacy over the Council. This made a very bad impression upon the Sorbonne; and the King and his party, above all the Constable, are furiously irritated against the *Interim*, for they had made certain that your Majesty would accomplish nothing in Germany, and that confusion would be worse there than before, enabling them to keep the Pope in his present temper about delaying the Council. Even since the *Interim's* publication, Sire, I observe that they are confident that worse troubles may arise out of it, hoping that Germany may be divided. So much so that they immediately cast their nets over Strassburg, and caused the chief personages of that town to be instigated not to accept the *Interim*. However, as they hear that most of the cities are settling down under it, they are half beginning to lose hope.

Mâcon, 1 August, 1548.

Aug. 15.
Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extracts from a letter written in cipher.)

Sire: I sent a letter to your Majesty on the 2nd of this month. Since then it has been published in this court that the young Princess of Scotland has arrived at Nantes, and it is said she is to be left at Chatellerault to be brought up there. Others maintain that she will be placed with the King's daughters, and it is repeated as certain that her marriage with the Dauphin has been arranged with the Scots' consent, who have wished to see it done because of the English, in order to wreak all the more telling revenge upon them. This was said the other day openly at table, and also that the Scots had sworn fealty to the King of France in his son's name before a proctor sent to Scotland by the King for the purpose, and they had even handed over the Crown of Scotland to be presented to the Dauphin, who might henceforth call himself King of Scotland. From what I have heard the English ambassador here resident say, the Protector and Council of that country are raging about this marriage, for they see they will have to do with a powerful enemy, who may well prevent them from subduing Scotland. The ambassador also says that the marriage opens a black prospect for England and the Low Countries, for 'with the help of the Scots the King of France may bide his time to attempt an invasion of the Low Countries,

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matter, in particular M. de Guise, say that the King has good hopes of making the English see reason by means of it, and that his intention is to leave the ordinary garrisons in the Scottish strongholds, and reinforce the frontier. His army will remain there all next winter if necessary, in order to give the English as much trouble as may be. There are no news that the Queen of Scotland is to move from the country, and it is thought that she will stay until things are in a more settled condition in the King's favour. The King is urging the Regent to hand over the strongholds to him, but it is not known how the country will decide. It is said that the Regent is lending a deaf ear, out of fear of being deprived of his government, but that the French are promising him more authority than he had before and handsome treatment. The King is going to give pensions to the prominent men of the kingdom in hopes of luring them away from the English faction, and promises pardon to such as have gone over, provided they will return.

Your Majesty will have heard of the skirmishes in which the French and English have been pommelling one another since the raising of the seige of Haddington, and how the English ambassador depicted the events in a writing which he gave to me and I sent to M. d'Arras. Later, Sire, the French published that they had defeated in open battle 1,400 English horse on their way to the relief of Haddington. I have heard the same repeated by the Chancellor in full Council, and also the Constable had me informed of it by a man whom he left here, for the French made much of it, thinking the English to be broken. They affirm that the English had promised to surrender Haddington within a fortnight, a thing which the English ambassador denies flatly. They greatly praise Peter Strozzi for making his preparations against Haddington in broad daylight, and believe him to be entirely cured of two arquebuse wounds he received some time ago. . . .

(Here follows an account of French designs upon Italy, and of student riots in Paris directed against the building of houses in a part of the Faubourg St. Germain to which they lay claim as playing-fields.)

Since the above was written, the English ambassador has told me that he has heard the Princess of Scotland has not yet arrived, whatever may be said to the contrary, and that the reports of her arrival were scattered in order to put the King of England off his guard. However, he knows the French intend to fetch her soon, and the English seamen know it too.

Mâcon, 15 August, 1548.

Aug. 21. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extracts from a letter written in cipher. Fernando Gonzaga has written to St. Mauris asking him if there is danger of the King of France suddenly attacking Italy while he is in Piedmont. St. Mauris says he can hardly believe it, as the King has his hands full with the English, and his affairs in Scotland are not running

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In my last letters I advised your Majesty of what the Cardinal of Lorraine and his brother said about the young Queen of Scots' arrival in France, and of the English ambassador's disbelief of the truth of the report. I have since heard from a good source that the young Queen has not come as yet, and that M. de Guise is in great anxiety about it, fearing she may have been taken by the English at sea, for she was to be brought by a small fleet of which Villegaignon is in charge, and taken by the Irish channel to the coast of Brittany. I have heard from one who asserts he heard it from M. de Guise, that it was decided she was to have gone on board a week ago, at a time when it was not known that the King of England had any men-of-war in the seas through which she was to pass, for which reason the voyage was undertaken in a hurry, in order that she might accomplish it conveniently without greatly diminishing the French fleet left in Scotland. The English ambassador, Sire, says that the Scottish annals show that in the past two Scottish Kings have been taken by the English at sea while they were making for France, and consequently he hopes a like event may take place now. He even believes that the said Princess is not yet at sea, for the English ships were scattered by gales a few days ago. . . .

(Here follow news of the Marquis of Saluzzo's death in prison. the rising at Constance, unrest in France, and the salt-works rebellion in Guyenne. The people of Guyenne are clamouring for the same liberties that their ancestors enjoyed under the Kings of England, and which the King of France to whom they transferred their allegiance promised to safeguard. Bordeaux has joined the rebels, and it is greatly feared the King of England may send them help.)

I have heard that the French are trying to soothe general discontent in this country, by persuading the people that the Emperor is in trouble again in Germany with the towns of Constance, Strassburg and Lindau, and that there are hopes of all the others rising against him. They say, Sire, that the envoy your Majesty sent to Strassburg to ascertain the inhabitants' decision about the *Interim* left without waiting for a reply, because he feared they might do him a mischief, so ill-pleased did they seem to be with the *Interim*, which (the French say) they will never accept. I have discovered that Duke Christopher of Württemberg has secretly and in confidence informed the French that most of the towns that have accepted the *Interim* have done so out of fear of your Majesty, as they see you are strongly armed in Germany, but that this will not last unless the Council settles something. He also asserts that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden have entered into a plot with the sea-board towns not to consent to the *Interim* before the Council comes to a decision, and even that Duke Maurice is taking small trouble to induce his people to agree to it, simply leaving the matter to them, because he himself does not sincerely desire to see it observed. The French hope a great schism in Germany may be the result, and that your Majesty may be still more embarrassed thereby. All this concerning the *Interim*, Sire, is what the chief personages

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here say, moved by their desire to see disturbances in Germany, but I believe that everything is not going to their taste. I have seen a writing from Rome, the work of some partisan, which says that the *Interim* will of necessity bring with it the establishment of an Inquisition like that of Spain, and that in order to deal with the towns that refuse to accept it, and with the Protestant leagues, the Pope will be obliged to reform the *Interim* and take the matter in hand. I also have heard that the French prelates who are still at Bologna have written that the Pope and their congregation are beyond words amazed that your Majesty should have wished to impose your decree and authority in matters that concern the faith, for these are the province of the Church and the Holy Father exclusively. And this is all those who condemn the *Interim* find to say against your Majesty. But as I wrote before, good and catholic persons praise the work as it deserves of itself, and for my part whenever an opportunity occurs I let the pure truth be heard, for it will win in the end, come what may. Indeed I perceive that all they say here is born of spite.

(The letter ends with a humble request that the writer's salary may be paid. About a year and a half are owing to him.)

Lyons, 21 August, 1548.

Aug. 25. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 27.

ST. MAURIS to the QUEEN DOWAGER.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher.)

Madam: I am sending you by M. Thierry de Fontenay, a merchant now in this place (Lyons), two copies of letters which I have recently written to his Imperial Majesty. Since I wrote them it has been published here. and is taken as certain, that the young Queen of Scotland has arrived at the port of St. Pol-de-Léon in Brittany under Villegaignon's charge, with only a few vessels, though there were six galleys that put out to sea to escort the rest. The French are overjoyed, and M. de Guise assured me of it in full Council, saying that the lady in question had been very well at sea, and that since her arrival she had often said she desired to see the King her father, which seems to prove that her marriage with the Dauphin has been arranged, as everyone here believes firmly. M. de Guise also told me that, at the time of her sailing, news reached the Queen his daughter (*i.e.* Mary of Guise, Queen Dowager of Scotland), that Peter Strozzi had heard of the presence near by of some English ships, had put out with some galleys and sunk two English ships and taken eight, but he had no certain news as yet, though the truth would come out in a few days.

A report was spread here that the English had raided near Ardres, but M. de Guise told me that, as there were always people of ill life in all quarters, an unspeakable Englishman had violently taken several sheaves of corn from a Frenchman, but the garrison of Ardres had wreaked revenge at once, so that they were quits with the English on that score. By the way, they have told

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English take in France the French will take two capons from them, and that though the King of France wishes to observe the treaty he means that they shall not violate it either. . . .

Sept. 1. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(The first part of this letter, which is written in cipher, speaks of the spread of the salt-works rebellion northwards from Guyenne. It is feared that Rouen and even Paris may rise. The King is in doubt whether to remit part of the exceptionally heavy taxation that has provoked the rebellion, or to crush it by force of arms.)

A certain person has declared to me that the French are again sending 600,000 crowns to Scotland with the four galleys in which Villegaignon brought over the little Queen of Scotland, and that the French fleet will probably not return next winter, because the King intends to push the campaign forward until he has won back all that the King of England holds in Scotland. He also said, Sire, that many noted personages here criticise the marriage of the said Queen with the Dauphin because of the excessive expenses that will have to be met, and because it will interfere with other more important matters, such as thwarting your Majesty's projects in Germany and mending French finances. I have heard from M. de Condé's Fleming that his wife (Condé's) never ceases vituperating the Scottish undertaking, saying that M. de Guise is promoting it for his private ends, and that she will tell the King so frankly.

Mme. de Guise went off a week ago to receive the said Queen, and it is said she will be taken to the Dauphin's place of residence to be brought up with him.

News have come that Constance and Lindau have surrendered to your Majesty, and Strassburg will do the same. The French are half frantic and in despair about it because they had hoped that these towns would keep your Majesty busy in Germany. Prominent men here say that God furthers His own cause by helping your Majesty, because of the object at which you aim, and is chastising the King of France with justice, because of the evident wrongs he inflicts upon his people.

Lyons, 1 September, 1548.

Sept. 7. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher. News of the salt-works rebellion and of the league between France and the Pope. The Pope wishes the King of France to agree to maintain Orazio Farnese, in such estates as the Pope may give him, after the Pope's death, but the King of France regards this as unreasonable.)

*Olsacius* says he has heard that if the league is passed they will do all they can to thwart the Council, and will obtain from the Pope a declaration touching the *Interim* by means of which Germany may be dissuaded from observing it, but *Olsacius* knows not in what form it will be couched.

A few days ago there was a loud rumour that Constance had negotiated (with a view to entering the said league), but they

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now contradict this and consider that the city will make its submission, for it has already sent ambassadors to your Majesty for this purpose, together with others from the Swiss Confederations to assist them. I do not know the facts, Sire, but if Constance has really sent envoys to your Majesty, that would account for what the French say about its having come to terms. Judging by what *Olsacius* says, the French would much like to see the city continue rebellious; so much so that they have written to their ambassador, who is often at Basle, to urge the Confederations secretly to put themselves under French protection, telling him to say nothing of this to any but their trusty friends. However, he tells me they despair of getting the Confederations to give any help against your Majesty and the Empire.

Speaking of the Confederations, they have ambassadors now with the King begging him to grant them the assistance he owes them in infantry and cavalry, in case they were to need it against your Majesty. I hear that the King has granted this aid, and will not break his word. Some of them, particularly the men of Berne and Zurich, have sent to Basle to ask for help in case your Majesty wished to force them to accept the *Interim*, but *Olsacius* does not yet know whether they will obtain it in that event, and rather thinks not.

I have heard from *Olsacius*, Sire, that the French are laying themselves out to persuade the princes and towns of the Empire, with all possible secrecy and dexterity, that your Majesty's intention is to hand over the Empire to our Prince (*i.e.* Philip) with the King of the Romans' consent, and thus to render the Empire hereditary. In this way they hope to create difficulties for your Majesty in Germany, and it seems that Bassefontaine is to be one of the men entrusted with this mission, which is also to be undertaken towards those of the Swiss Confederations that are most friendly to France. . . .

Lyons, 7 September, 1548.

Sept. 20. Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 18.

The BISHOP of ARRAS to VAN DER DELFT.

This letter is to inform you that the Emperor received yours of the 7th instant six days ago on the road, the same day on which he entered Louvain. Because he made a deviation from his main road in order to go out hunting, and stayed so short a time at Louvain, his Majesty has commanded me to reply to you, and thank you for doing your duty so well in advising him of the happenings over there and, with reference to the opportunity you found for speaking with the Protector, for talking to him as you did. As for the German cavalry for which he and his ambassador here have been pressing his Majesty, though as you yourself will have seen the remonstrances and considerations expressed on this side were unanswerable, his Majesty has communicated with the Queen Regent on the subject and decided to permit the levy, as was said to the English ambassador at Louvain. It could not have been done sooner because of the journey. The

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they wish to entrust with the levy in order that he may be given assurance of this fact, and also to decide how and by which road the said cavalry may proceed to England, especially with a view to insuring the Low Countries against any harm from them. In this the Protector and the King his master may recognise a proof of his Majesty's great affection, as he waives so many excellent reasons for abiding by the reply and excuses already made.

As for what the Protector said to you, and Controller Paget repeated, about a closer confederation, you may certify and appeal to the evidence of facts that his Majesty holds the present alliance to be strong and abiding, and that in its observance they shall never find him short, for he will always seek fitting means for maintaining and even drawing it closer in every suitable respect. But as the Protector spoke in general terms, you will try to discover more of his intentions, and inform his Majesty of them immediately, in order that he may reply to you. You will assure the English that his Majesty's affection is and will remain great, and that now and always they shall be dealt with in good faith. As I am certain of your desire to do your utmost in all that concerns the perfect amity between his Majesty and the King, I need not repeat this to you.

You make no mention in your letters of the popular risings against the King of France near Bordeaux and La Rochelle. Nevertheless, we have daily news that the revolted subjects are growing in strength, attracting many to their side, and occupying towns and places of importance. It is said the French greatly fear that they have, or may soon have, an understanding with the English, which might make the proximity of that country dangerous, but as we have no certain news we do not know what to believe, and you will do well to write what you hear of it.

Brussels, 20 September, 1548.

The last point in my letter is written in order that you may find such opportunity as may seem best to talk about it to the Protector or Paget, without expressly urging them to take a hand in the game, for the mere fact of your mentioning it will give them a chance of considering it, without permitting them to try to gain credit with the French by telling them that we are egging the English on to greater discord between the two nations. As for the matter of a closer alliance, you will limit yourself to the terms of this letter, and try to ascertain how and by what means they propose to set about it. Do not go beyond this to anything definite, but try to keep the thing in the air and gain time, even if you may hope for no better result that to prevent the English from entering into a treaty with the French, that might be harmful to us.

Sept. 22.
Vienna
Imp. Arch.
F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extract from a letter written in cipher, the first part of which deals with the suppression of the salt-works rebellion in Guyenne.)

The Chancellor, Sire, speaking of the French army in Scotland, told me that the banners won in the recent defeat

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of the English cavalry had been brought hither; the English force was over 3,000 strong and several captains had been killed. Since that action the French army had encamped before Haddington, though the Scots had most unfortunately abandoned them, and their men had dug so many trenches round about the town, and in such advantageous positions, that the English would be unable to relieve it even if they wished to give battle, unless they desired to invite ruin. In any case the French had little fear of them, for they knew the English to be short of cavalry, and that their foot were not seasoned troops, to say nothing of the fact that the Scots had promised an aid of 20,000 men if the English were to give battle. I have heard for certain from *Olsacius* that the French have written to Peter Strozzi to come with part of his fleet as far as Boulogne, near which place he is to take on board the rest of the soldiers the King of France has in that neighbourhood and carry them off to Scotland, for the King fears that his force there may prove too weak if it comes to a battle. Strozzi's voyage, Sire, ought to be an occasion for putting your Majesty's subjects who sail the seas on their guard lest he harry them, which I nevertheless do not believe he will do, for the French seem covertly to desire to remain on good terms with your Majesty.

The Chancellor also told me that the English wished to convert the wall they were building in Boulogne harbour into a fort, but the King of France had had their masonry knocked down with cannon-balls, and would do the same whenever they began afresh. He talked very pompously about the extraordinary rapidity with which the French had finished their jetty which, he boasted, now commanded Boulogne harbour. He mentioned by the way that the English had another harbour* about two leagues up the coast, but it was considered not to be strong, for otherwise the late King of France would have laid hands on it. I have heard from *Olsacius*, Sire, that the King of France intends to destroy the said harbour and sink some vessels laden with stones in it, in order to prevent the King of England from using it to relieve Boulogne. If the condition of public affairs permit it, he may attempt the recapture of Boulogne next year, for it is the matter about which he cares most. . . .

Lyons, 22 September, 1548.

Sept. 21. Vienna Imp. Arch. F. 26.

ST. MAURIS to the EMPEROR.

(Extracts from a letter written in cipher. The King of France is fomenting discontent in Switzerland and Germany, and promising help to all who will rebel against the Emperor.)

It is being said in high circles that the King of France and his Council are inclined to believe that the King of England will eventually make an arrangement about Boulogne with your Majesty, who is to take over the place, giving something as a recompense. However, *Olsacius* says he has not heard it from a sure source, and does not take it seriously; indeed it seems hardly probable.

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The French have been warned that the King of England is looking for a convenient spot to make a harbour beyond Ardres tower, and some are of opinion that it might be done at a certain place where a little stream enters the sea. However, the French look upon the enterprise as difficult, and even say that if it is attempted they will prevent it sword in hand, rather than submit to the humiliation of seeing their jetty rendered useless. . . .

M. d'Andelot has recently returned to this court from Scotland, where he left Peter Strozzi behind suffering from the effects of an arquebuse wound in the leg. It is believed that one of Strozzi's legs will remain shorter than the other because of this wound. The French are deeply disappointed that their Scottish expedition has not met with greater success, and complain loudly of the Scots, especially for coming to their assistance too late to prevent the revictualling of Haddington, about which they are mightily vexed. The King remained in a rage a long time after hearing of it and, it is said, remarked that he would try his luck once more, for the King of England was not the man to withstand him. It is said that the populace, hearing of the failure of this expedition, laments the expense and shame it has brought France, saying that the King has been very unfortunate in the beginning of his reign, and coupling the rebellion of his subjects here with the rest. Indeed they are extremely out of patience with the Scottish undertaking. The Gascon and German infantry is to be left in Scotland and more troops may be sent there if it is thought necessary. The French at one time intended to do this, but it is said that the hardships of winter will dissuade them. It is certainly not going to be easy for them to keep the field, and the French will do all they can to recapture several little castles which the English have taken in Scotland, hoping that this may not be difficult. There is a report, however, that six well-armed galleys are to be sent to that country to guard the coast. . . .

Lyons, 25 September, 1548.

Oct. 13.
Paris
K. 1488.

The EMPEROR to ST. MAURIS.

(Extract from a minute or copy. The Emperor speaks of the desire for a closer alliance between France and the Empire shown by MM. de Brissac, de Biron, Marillac and Ménage when conferring with the Bishop of Arras. Proposals were put forward for marrying Prince Philip to the Lady Margaret. The Emperor says that all this is empty talk as long as the French refuse to restore the duchy of Savoy to its rightful owner.)

If the Constable says to you anything about an alliance, let us know his remarks, and do not enter into any negotiation yourself, but leave it to him to write whatever he likes to Marillac, or offer yourself to write as he wishes, because we suspect that all this may be aimed against England and that the French may wish to mix up the Scots in it. In any case it cannot be well

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towards the questions pending between us and their King, and the restitution of the Duchy of Savoy.

If he talks to you about wishing to assist us in establishing religious matters in Germany, or anything else concerning our authority there, you will be careful to temporise without compromising yourself, in order that the French may not be able to throw this into the balance to outweigh the restitution of Savoy, or to trump it up as an excuse for negotiating against the English, and in this again you will leave everything to be written, as above.

In other letters you will see what Don Fernando (Gonzaga) reports about the lands that were under the authority of the Marquis of Saluzzo, which are notoriously included in others that we possess in those parts, and how outrageous this (*i.e.* the French pretension to Saluzzo) is, and how contrary to the treaties. You will make such a protest as the case requires, and state that we consider it very extraordinary that the French should so notoriously defy the said treaties.

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| 1884 (1895) | NINTH REPORT. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX. ENGLAND. House of Lords; Earl of Leicester; C. Pole Gell, Alfred Morrison, Esqs., &c. SCOTLAND. Lord Elphinstone, H. C. Maxwell Stuart, Esq., &c. IRELAND. Duke of Leinster, Marquis of Drogheda, &c. | C. 3773-i | 6 3 |
| 1884 | DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX .. Mrs. Stopford Sackville [re-issued, 1904, revised and extended, as Vol. I., Cd. 1892. Price 1*s.* 10*d.* 8vo.] | C. 3773-ii | *Out of print.* |
| | CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G. (or CECIL MSS.). | | |
| 1883 (1895) | PART I. 1306–1571 .. .. .. .. | C. 3777 | 3 5 |
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| 1889 | PART III. 1583–1589 .. .. .. .. | C. 5889-v | 2 1 |
| 1892 | PART IV. 1590–1594 .. .. .. .. | C. 6823 | 2 11 |
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| 1906 | PART XI. 1601 .. .. .. .. .. | Cd. 3134 | 2 10 |
| 1910 | PART XII. 1602 .. .. .. .. .. | Cd. 5291 | 2 3 |
| 1885 | TENTH REPORT .. .. .. .. .. .. (*Re-issued*, 1906, *as a Stationery Office Publication. Price* 6*d.*) This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES: | C. 4548 | *Out of print.* |
| 1885 (1895) | (1.) Earl of Eglinton, Sir J. S. Maxwell, Bart., and C. S. H. D. Moray, C. F. Weston Underwood, G.W. Digby, Esqs. | C. 4575 | 3 7 |
| 1885 | (2.) The Family of Gawdy .. .. .. | C. 4576-iii | 1 4 |
| 1885 | (3.) Wells Cathedral .. .. .. .. [Re-issued, 1906. revised and extended, as Cd. 2810. 2*s.* 11*d.* 8vo.] | C. 4576-ii | *Out of print.* |
| 1885 | (4.) Earl of Westmorland; Capt. Stewart; Lord Stafford; Sir N. W. Throckmorton; Sir P. T. Mainwaring, Lord Muncaster, M.P., Capt. J. F. Bagot, Earl of Kilmorey, Earl of Powis, and others; the Corporations of Kendal, Wenlock, Bridgnorth, Eye, Plymouth; the County of Essex; and Stonyhurst College. (*Re-issued*, 1906, *as a Stationery Office Publication. Price* 6*s.*) | C. 4576 | *Out of print.* |
| 1885 (1895) | (5.) Marquis of Ormonde, Earl of Fingall, Corporations of Galway and Waterford, Sees of Dublin and Ossory, the Jesuits in Ireland. | C. 4576-i | 2 10 |
| 1887 | (6.) Marquis of Abergavenny; Lord Braye; G. F. Luttrell, P. P. Bouverie, W. Bromley Davenport, R.T. Balfour, Esqs. | C. 5242 | 1 7 |
| 1887 | ELEVENTH REPORT .. .. .. .. .. This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES: | C. 5060-vi | 0 3 |
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| 1888 | (7.) Duke of Leeds, Marchioness of Waterford, Lord Hothfield, &c.; Bridgwater Trust Office, Reading Corporation, Inner Temple Library. | C. 5612 | 2 0 |
| 1890 | TWELFTH REPORT .. .. .. .. .. This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES: | C. 5889 | 0 3 |
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| 1888 | (4.) Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. I. (*Re-issued*, 1911, *as a Stationery Office Publication. Price* 5s.) | C. 5614 | *Out of print.* |
| 1891 | (5.) Ditto. Vol. II. .. .. .. .. | C. 5889-ii | 2 0 |
| 1889 | (6.) House of Lords, 1689–1690 .. .. | C. 5889-iii | 2 1½ |
| 1890 | (7.) S. H. le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal .. | C. 5889-iv | 1 11 |
| 1891 | (8.) Duke of Athole, K.T., Earl of Home | C. 6338 | 1 0 |
| 1891 | (9.) Duke of Beaufort, K.G., Earl of Donoughmore; J. H. Gurney, W. W. B. Hulton, R. W. Ketton, G. A. Aitken, P. V. Smith, Esqs.; Bishop of Ely; Cathedrals of Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln and Peterborough; Corporations of Gloucester, Higham Ferrers, and Newark; Southwell Minster; Lincoln District Registry. | C. 6338-i | 2 6 |
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| 1892 | (3.) J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. I. | C. 6660 | 2 7 |
| 1892 | (4.) Corporations of Rye, Hastings, and Hereford; Captain F. C. Loder-Symonds; E. R. Wodehouse, M.P., J. Dovaston, Esqs.; Sir T. B. Leonard, Bart., Rev. W. D. Macray, and Earl of Dartmouth (Supplementary Report). | C. 6810 | 2 4 |
| 1892 | (5.) House of Lords, 1690–1691 .. .. | C. 6822 | 2 4 |
| 1893 | (6.) Sir W. Fitzherbert, Bart.; the Delaval Family, of Seaton Delaval; Earl of Ancaster; General Lyttelton-Annesley. | C. 7166 | 1 4 |
| 1893 | (7.) Earl of Lonsdale .. .. .. .. | C. 7241 | 1 3 |
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| 1894 | (4.) Lord Kenyon .. .. .. .. .. | C. 7571 | 2 10 |
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| 1898 | Vol. I. Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall .. | C. 8829 | 1 4 |
| 1899 | Vol. I. Part II. W. R. M. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth. | C. 9468 | 2 11 |
| 1905 | Vol. I. Part III. Peniarth. Sir T. Williams; John Jones, Robert Vaughan, Esqs. | Cd. 2443 | 0 8 |
| 1902 | Vol. II. Part I. Jesus College, Oxford; Free Library, Cardiff; Havod; Wrexham; Llanwrin; Merthyr; Aberdar. | Cd. 1100 | 1 9 |
| 1903 | Vol. II. Part II. Plas Llan Stephan; Free Library, Cardiff. | Cd. 1692 | 1 8 |
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| 1903 | Ditto. Ditto. Vol. II. Part I. .. .. .. | Cd. 930 | 1 10 |
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| 1900 | Ditto. Beverley Corporation .. .. .. | Cd. 284 | 1 0 |
| 1901 | Ditto. Various Collections. Vol. I. Corporations of Berwick-on-Tweed, Burford and Lostwithiel; Counties of Wilts and Worcester; Bishop of Chichester; Dean and Chapter of Chichester, Canterbury, and Salisbury. | Cd. 784 | 2 0 |
| 1903 | Ditto. Ditto. Vol. II. Sir Geo. Wombwell, Duke of Norfolk, Lord Edmund Talbot (the Shrewsbury Papers), Miss Buxton, Mrs. Harford and Mrs. Wentworth of Woolley. | Cd. 932 | 2 4 |
| 1904 | Ditto. Ditto. Vol. III. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq., Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., Pelham R. Papillon, W. Cleverley Alexander, Esqs. | Cd. 1964 | 1 6 |
| 1907 | Ditto. Ditto. Vol. IV. Bishop of Salisbury; Bishop of Exeter; Dean and Chapter of Exeter; Earl of Leicester; Sir W. Clayton, Bart.; Major Money-Kyrle; F. H. T. Jervoise, Esq.; Glemham Hall; Corporations of Salisbury, Orford, and Aldeburgh. | Cd. 3218 | 1 9 |
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| 1909 | Ditto. Ditto. Vol. VI. Miss M. Eyre Matcham; Captain H. V. Knox; C. Wykeham-Martin, K. B. Tighe, Esqs., Lord Oranmore and Browne. | Cd. 4382 | 2 3 |
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| 1907 | Ditto. Vol. III. .. .. .. .. .. .. | Cd. 3430 | 2 10 |
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| 1902 | Manuscripts. Colonel David Milne-Home, of Wedderburn Castle, N.B. | Cd. 931 | 1 4 |

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| 1908 | Ditto. Ditto. Vol. III. (Prior Papers).. | Cd. 3849 | 2 5 |
| 1904 | American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Vol. I. | Cd. 2201 | 2 3 |
| 1906 | Ditto. Vol. II. .. .. .. .. .. .. | Cd. 2897 | 2 6 |
| 1907 | Ditto. Vol. III. .. .. .. .. .. .. | Cd. 3669 | 1 11 |
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| 1904 | SIXTEENTH REPORT (containing a list of the owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections Reports have been made to July, 1904). | Cd. 2209 | 0 9 |
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| 1907 | SEVENTEENTH REPORT (containing a List of the owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections Reports have been made to June, 1907. | Cd. 3737 | 0 11 |
| 1911 | **Manuscripts. Lord Polwarth.** Vol. I. .. | Cd. 5289 | 2 11 |
| 1911 | Ditto. Earl of Denbigh, at Newnham Paddox, Warwickshire, Part V. | Cd. 5565 | 1 7 |
| 1911 | Ditto. Lord Middleton, at Wollaton Hall. | Cd. 5567 | 3 0 |
| 1911 | Ditto. Pepys, Magdalene College, Cambridge. | Cd. 5721 | 1 7 |
| | Manuscripts of the House of Lords, in continuation of those published in the Appendices to the Fourteenth Report (6) on page 28, are now published as Sessional Papers of the House of Lords; viz:— | | |
| 1900 | Vol. I. New Series. 1693-1695. .. .. | H.L. (5) | 2 2 |
| 1903 | Vol. II. Ditto. 1695-1697. .. .. | H.L. (18) | 2 9 |
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| 1908 | Vol. IV. Ditto. 1699-1702. .. .. | H.L. (7) | 2 9 |
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| 1912 | Vol. VI. Ditto. 1704-1706. .. .. | H.L. (142) | 2 1 |

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| 1842 | 3 | Inventories; Tower of London, continued; Index to the First, Second, and Third Reports of the Deputy Keeper; &c. | C. 406 | 3 6 |
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| 1845 | 6 | Inventories; Court of Ward and Liveries; Index of Deeds, Evidences, &c.; Patent Rolls, continued; Index to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Reports of the Deputy Keeper. | C. 625 | 3 6 |
| 1846 | 7 | Correspondence relating to the Report upon the state of the Old Treasury Records; Mr. Black's Report on the Records, Books, and Documents of the Treasury; Inventories; &c. | C. 703 | 5 0 |
| 1847 | 8 | Slane Compensation; Treasury Records; Catalogue of the Deeds of Surrender of certain Abbey or other Religious Foundations made in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, with a few of the reign of King Edward the Sixth; &c. | C. 814 | 3 0 |
| 1848 | 9 | Inventories of Church Goods in the reign of King Edward the Sixth; Welsh Records; Chronological List of the Judges, &c.; Treasury Records, Report on Mode of Printing the Domesday Book; Index to the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Reports of the Deputy Keeper; &c. | C. 958 | 5 0 |
| 1849 | 10 | Ancient Compotuses of the Exchequer, or, Calendar of the Escheator's Accounts and Inquisitions among the Miscellaneous Records of the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer from | C. 1046 | 3 6 |

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| 1851 | 12 | Ditto .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | C. 1342 | 0 4 |
| 1852 | 13 | Welsh Records: Correspondence relating to the Records kept in the Castle at Chester; &c. | C. 1498 | 0 6 |
| 1853 | 14 | Further transfer of Treasury Records to the Public Record Office; &c. | C. 1663 | 0 6 |
| 1854 | 15 | Proceedings .. .. .. .. .. | C. 1777 | 0 3½ |
| 1855 | 16 | Reports on the removal of Welsh Records and Peveril Records; Report on the Survey of Durham Records; &c. | C. 1941 | 1 0 |
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| 1857 | 18 | List of Records removed from the Tower of London to the General Record Repository and Houses in Chancery Lane; &c. | C. 2230 | 0 6 |
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| 1860 | 21 | Lists of Welsh Records; List of Parliamentary Writs and Returns removed from the Petty Bag Office; &c. | C. 2678 | 0 9 |
| 1861 | 22 | List of Records of the Courts of Common Law, &c., removed from various Offices; Inventory of Court Roll of the Lordship of Ruthin or Diffrencloid; Colonial Documents; &c. | C. 2808 | 0 9 |
| 1862 | 23 | Ditto .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | C. 2970 | *Out of print.* |
| 1863 | 24 | Ditto .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | C. 3142 | *Out of print.* |
| 1864 | 25 | Calendar of Crown Leases, 33–38 Hen. VIII.—Calendar of Bills and Answers, &c., Hen. VIII.—Ph. and Mary for Cheshire and Flintshire. —List of Lords High Treasurer and Chief Commissioners of the Treasury, from Hen. VII. | C. 3318 | *Out of print.* |
| 1865 | 26 | List of Plans annexed to Inclosure Awards. 31 Geo. II.–7 Will. IV.— Calendar of Privy Seals, &c., for Cheshire and Flintshire, Hen. VI.–Eliz.—Calendar of Writs of General Livery, &c., for Cheshire, Eliz.–Charles I.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Hen. III. and Edw. I. | C. 3492 | *Out of print.* |
| 1866 | 27 | List of Awards of Inclosure Commissioners —References to Charters in the Cartæ Antiquæ and the Confirmation Rolls of Chancery, Ethelbert of Kent-James I.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Edw. II. | C. 3717 | *Out of print.* |

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| 1867 | 28 | Calendar of Fines, Cheshire and Flintshire, Edw. I.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Edw. III. Table of Law Terms, from the Norman Conquest to 1 Will. IV. | C. 3839 | *s. d. Out of print.* |
| 1868 | 29 | Calendar of Royal Charters.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Richard II.–Henry VII.—Durham Records, Letter and Report. | C. 4012 | *Out of print.* |
| 1869 | 30 | Duchy of Lancaster, Records, Inventory—Durham Records, Inventory.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Hen. VIII.—Calendar of Decrees of Court of General Surveyors, 34–38 Hen. VIII.—Calendar of Royal Charters.—State Paper Office, Calendar of Documents relating to the History of, to 1800.—Tower of London. Index to Documents in custody of the Constable of.—Calendar of Dockets, &c., for Privy Seals, 1634–1711.—Report of the Commissioners on Carte Papers.—Venetian Ciphers. | C. 4165 | *Out of print.* |
| 1870 | 31 | Duchy of Lancaster Records, Calendar of Royal Charters.—Durham Records, Calendar of Chancery Enrolments, Cursitor's Records.—List of Officers of Palatinate of Chester, in Cheshire and Flintshire, and North Wales.—List of Sheriffs of England, 13 Hen. I. to 4 Edw. III. | C. 187 | *Out of print.* |
| 1871 | 32 | Part I.—Report of the Commissioners on Carte Papers.—Calendarium Genealogicum, 1 & 2 Edw. II. — Durham Records, Calendar of Cursitor's Records. Chancery Enrolments.—Duchy of Lancaster Records, Calendar of Rolls of the Chancery of the County Palatine. | C. 374 | *Out of print.* |
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