III f° [redacted] 16.

Oct. 11. 1900.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE,

AND IN OTHER LIBRARIES OF

NORTHERN ITALY.

VOL. X.

1603—1607.

EDITED BY

HORATIO F. BROWN.

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UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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1900.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	vii.
Corrigenda	v.
Venetian and other Papers	1
Appendix	524
Index	539

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	vii.
Corrigenda	v.
Venetian and other Papers	1
Appendix	524
Index	539

CORRIGENDA.

P. 20, note, for "*Sootile*" read "*Soltile.*"
P. 30, l. 15, for "*whenever*" read "*when.*"
P. 35, l. 37, for "*He*" read "*The father.*"
P. 48, l. 9, for "*Ambassador*" read "*Secretary.*"
P. 61, l. 26, for "*foot*" read "*horse.*"
P. 74, note, add to Earldoms "*Devon*" remove "*Mountjoy*" from barons.
P. 81, l. 32, dele "*him.*"
P. 87, l. 16, for "*eon*" read "*con.*"
P. 93, l. 19, for "*Marin Cavalli*" read "*Anzolo Badoer*"
P. 93, l. 26, „ „ „ „
P. 95, l. 48, for "*good*" read "*goods.*"
P. 108, note, for "*Ferdinands*" read "*Ferdinando*"
P. 127, l. 12, for "*Angelo*" read "*Anzolo.*"
P. 131, l. 43, for "*Parsons*" read "*Persons.*"
P. 202, note, dele from "*though*" to end.
P. 209, note, for "*des*" read "*de.*"
P. 212, l. 30, for "*councilled*" read "*counselled.*"
P. 234, l. 15, for "*Thomas*" read "*Charles.*"
P. 247, l. 27, for "*" print "†."
P. 267, l. 44, for "*Zanthe*" read "*Zante.*"
P. 268, l. 28, for "*Cirnwallis*" read "*Cornwallis.*"
P. 272, last line, for "*Zanthe*" read "*Zante.*"
P. 273, l. 5, „ „ „ „
P. 273, l. 47 „ „ „ „
P. 315, l. 27, for "*France*" read "*Spain.*"
P. 346, l. 8, for "*afar*" read "*and far.*"
P. 349, note, for "*Moreton*" read "*Morton.*'
P. 377, note, for "*Venetion*" read "*Venetian.*

PREFACE.

The contents of this volume cover the period from the death of Elizabeth to the beginning of June, 1607. Diplomatic relations between Venice and England had been renewed, first by the Mission of Scaramelli, as Secretary, and then by the Embassies of Duodo, Molin, and Giustinian, while late in 1603 Sir Henry Wotton was appointed as British Lieger in Venice. Consequently a continuous series of despatches between England and the Venetian Republic is inaugurated, and although they can hardly be said to reveal anything which will alter our views as to the general lines of English history, they frequently help to throw light upon the period and furnish a certain vivacity of local colour which would otherwise be wanting.

The series of documents consulted is as follows:—The Venetian Ambassadors' despatches from London, Paris, Madrid, Rome, Prague, and Constantinople; the minutes of the Cabinet *(Collegio)* and the series entitled *Collegio, Lettere;* the minutes of the Senate in their twofold series of *Deliberazioni* and *Deliberazioni Roma*; the minutes of audiences to foreign ambassadors in their twofold series of *Esposizioni Principi* and *Esposizioni Roma*; the criminal proceedings of the Council of Ten; despatches from the Council of Ten to Venetian Envoys abroad; reports from the Governors of Zante and Corfu. The archives of Milan and Modena have also been examined.

The exact date of Elizabeth's death and a minute account of her last moments are given by the French Ambassador, de Beaumont (No. 32). Writing on the 3rd April (n.s.), 1603, from London, he says, "to-day, the third of the month, at three o'clock in the morning, she died."

She was almost unconscious, and for three days had lost her speech. She suffered no pain. It was the common opinion of the Queen's doctors and of those most closely in attendance upon her, that her illness was entirely due to profound grief; they could discover no symptoms of any malady sufficient to cause death. Her pulse and eyesight were good to the last. Nothing would induce her to take remedies, "as though old age or some secret sorrow were prompting her to seek her own demise."

The accession of James roused various alarms and expectations: the English Lords of the Council who had approved the execution of Queen Mary were doubtful as to the treatment that awaited them at the hands of her son. The Pope and the English Catholics were in high hopes of some amelioration in their lot. France and Spain were both anxious to secure the support of the new Sovereign; France to induce him to continue English support to the Dutch, Spain to secure a peace and to detach him from Elizabeth's policy towards the States. Between these two powers James believed himself to be the "arbiter of peace," and affected that *rôle*.

The fears of the Council were soon set at rest. James received Cecil graciously, and shewed more resentment at Essex' death (No. 40) than at his mother's execution. The hopes of the Catholics were soon dashed, for the King (No. 6) declared "that he was ready to risk all he possessed in both kingdoms, aye, and his very life, in defence of his rights and for the preservation of the religion established in London and in England."

France, the Dutch, and Spain were each preparing a mission and the opening years of the new reign were, as far as foreign affairs are concerned, occupied by their efforts to mould the King to their interests. Neither Henry IV. nor Philip III. seem to have formed a high opinion of James as a man. Henry spoke slightingly of him to the Scottish gentlemen in Paris, (No. 73.);

called him "Captain of arts and clerk of arms"; in France they made this epigram:

"Tandis qu'Elizabeth fut Roy,
L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroy.
Maintenant, devise et caquette,
Regi par la Reine Jaquette."[1]

When someone called James a second Solomon, Henry replied: "I hope not David the fiddler's son." In Spain they spoke of him as a "scabbard without a sword;" and Sir Charles Cornwallis complained to the Venetian ambassador that "Before the peace the Spanish treated my master like a mistress, now they treat him like a wife" (No. 405).

But the king was not so despicable a person as is generally represented. "He hath a fine countenance, noble and genial," writes degli Effetti who saw him; he is pale and very fair; he wears a longish square-cut beard; has a small mouth, blue eyes, fine and aquiline nose; he is jovial, neither too fat, nor too thin; well-made in body; rather above the average size." Scaramelli, the Venetian Secretary, describing his audience of May 28th (No. 66) says: "as to the appearance, height, and complexion of his Majesty, let your Serenity recall the late illustrious Federico Nani, ten years before he died, and you may say you have actually seen the King of England; I cannot remember so striking a resemblance." As we do not possess Signor Nani's portrait this does not help us much; but when the Ambassador Extraordinary, Duodo, and the Lieger Molin, were received at Wilton House (No. 164), the King expressed pleasure at learning that the Doge had caused to be made a copy of his portrait which Sir Anthony Standen brought with him to Venice. In the Museum at Padua there is a portrait of the King, which may possibly be the one to which Molin refers, or may be

1 Harris, *an historical and critical account of the Life and Writings of James the First.* London, 1753, p. 177.

the one which Lennox promised to Marin Cavalli, the Venetian Ambassador in Paris (No. 102). James is represented in the Venetian despatches as "a man of letters and of business, fond of the chase and of riding, sometimes indulging in play" (No. 22). "He speaks Latin and French perfectly, and understands Italian quite well" (ditto). He was genial and fond of jokes (No. 164). He was devoted to his wife (No. 111). Fond of wine, though not apparently to excess; his doctor says that he drank light wine in large quantities, and his head was never affected by it.[1] Weldon[2] represented him as "very temperate in his exercises and dyet, and not intemperate in his drinking;" "his drinks were of that kind for strength, as Frontiniack Canary, High country wine, Tent wine, and *Scottish* ale, that had he not had a very strong braine, might have daily been overtaken, though he seldome drank at one time above four spoonfulls, many times not above two." Coke is rather less kindly in his report; he says "the King was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking, not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wine;" and he goes on to remark that his father, when hunting and drinking with the King, "disordered his head and spoiled his pleasure." There can be little doubt but that heavy drinking went on at Court, though the King's head may have been strong enough to stand it; Scaramelli (No. 113) reports that "their Majesties on the 15th inst. gave a solemn banquet to the Ambassadors of Denmark and Brunswick. The same ceremony was observed as in the case of M. de Rosny, only at this banquet the drinking was German rather than French. The ambassadors drank twenty toasts each and the King replied with twelve." The Constable of Castile was quite incapable of taking his

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1 Gardiner, "*History of England*," 1. p. 87.
2 "*The Court and Character of King James*," London, 1640, p. 179.

leave of the King the day after the ceremony of swearing and signing the articles of the Treaty of London (No. 266); and when Ambassador Giustiniani sought an audience of the King at Theobalds, during the King of Denmark's visit, he found "the Kings with a large retinue just sitting down to table. They had anticipated by a long while the usual hour, intending, after the custom of Germany, to spend a large part of the day over meat." When the Ambassador's Secretary asked Salisbury for an audience after dinner, the Earl replied quite frankly, 'Beg the Ambassador to have patience, for these two days are dedicated to this business'—pointing to the table—'and God forbid that these Danes should hear that we devoted ourselves to anything but the table'" (No. 561).

There is abundant proof in these Venetian despatches that the King, partly from indolence, partly from his inordinate love of the chase and the private company of his chosen companions, gradually surrendered the conduct of business into the hands of his Council. He pleaded his delicate constitution, and in February, 1605 (No. 341), he wrote to the Council that having been recently for three weeks in London he finds this sedentary life very prejudicial to his health; for in Scotland he was used to spend much time in the country, and in hard exercise, whereas repose robs him of his appetite and breeds melancholy and a thousand other ills. He says he is bound to consider his health before all things, and so he must tell them that he intends to visit London but seldom, passing most of his time in the country in the chase; and as he will thus be far away from Court he cannot attend to business, and so he commits all to them, relying fully on their goodness and ability. "This is the cause of indescribable ill-humour among the King's subjects, who in their needs and troubles find themselves cut off from their natural sovereign and forced to go before Council, which is full of rivalry and discord, and frequently is

guided more by personal interests than by justice and duty." But James was far from being wholly incapable of asserting himself. He overrode Lord Salisbury, to that minister's evident surprise, in the case of the orders issued to English merchants to vail before the galleys of the Republic (No. 404). And in the question of the Union he displayed a political insight far in advance of his time, though "the damned crew of swaggerers who seek to create disturbances against Scotsmen"—as he calls his opponents—caused him an infinity of trouble (No. 217).

The King made his intentions about the Union quite clear from the very beginning. In April, 1603, Scaramelli reports (No. 12) that "he is disposed to abandon the titles of England and Scotland and to call himself king of Great Britain." By November of next year he had issued a proclamation ordering all officers and ministers of the Crown to style the King for the future as "of Great Britain, France, and Ireland" (No. 292). Sir Henry Wotton's credentials were made out in the name of the "King of Great Britain."

Scaramelli did not accompany the King from Berwick to London, but he reports the lavish expenditure upon that journey (No. 40). "The drain on private purses is enormous, to such an extent that even the lesser members of the Council, the smaller peers and gentlemen, appear in public with forty or fifty pack-horses, and some with trains of horses to the number of one, two, or three hundred; with double sets of livery, one for the valetaille and the other for the gentlemen of the suites. They keep open house, and, as is the custom of this country, the table is always laid. Although the English usually hold that interest and humour coincide, and many of them do not reckon shameful whatever breeds gold, still as regards spending, no-one can say this is

the realm of avarice." The expenses must indeed have been enormous, for Scaramelli reports that the Queen arrived at Windsor with two hundred and fifty carriages, and upwards of five thousand horse.

The dread of the plague, which was seriously infecting London, delayed the date of the Coronation. The King resolved merely to take possession of the Tower "according to ancient usage, as representing the throne and royal seat; for it holds the treasure and the armoury, that is to say the very forces of this kingdom" (No. 40).

Scaramelli, who was "lodged in a house in the borough, within sight of the Tower, quite new, with a great Italian garden" (No. 56), was invited to be present at the Coronation, but as the terms of the invitation, "that a convenient and honourable place would be reserved" seemed too vague, and as he could not in his capacity of Secretary expect a whole tribune to himself, he declined to attend. Doubtless some of his suite were present, for (No. 105) he furnishes a very full and vivid account of the ceremony, including the following episode: "Then the Earls, Council, and Barons, one by one, kissed the King's hand, kneeling before him on a red, brocaded cushion, and touched the crown, some even kissing it. The Earl of Pembroke, a handsome youth, who is always with the King, and joking with him, actually kissed his Majesty's cheek, whereupon the King laughed and gave him a little cuff."

Though the King was not crowned till July 26, he had reached the neighbourhood of London by May 2nd, where "he began to live with English attendants in the English style at Theobald's; up to that time he had followed his Scottish custom" (No. 40). He found himself immediately confronted with the European situation as represented by the Dutch, the French, and the Spanish. A mission from the States under the guidance of Barneveld was in the neighbourhood of London almost as

soon as the King himself. Its main object was to secure immediate help for Ostend and promises of further support in their war with Spain. But James had already expressed himself "very freely and almost in public," and had "already condemned them as rebels" (No. 55). When Cecil discussed the matter with him on his way to London he had said, "What of it if Ostend does fall?" (No. 36). Barneveld had a difficult task before him, and at first seemed about to fail (No. 73). "Meanwhile," says Scaramelli, "the Ambassadors of the States are spending upwards of three hundred crowns a day, which the world thinks monstrous and the King ridiculous; for while here to beg for aid it is they who are ruining themselves. The news that they are in a fair way to fail in their mission has soon crossed the water, and only four days ago the people of Flushing were within an ace of cutting the English garrison to pieces. Should negotiations be broken off some such disaster will inevitably take place in one or other of the cautionary fortresses." But Barneveld's position was about to be strengthened by the arrival of M. de Rosny's (Sully's) mission from France. The objects of Henry and of the States were identical; the continuance of opposition to Spain and the pledging of the King of England to support that policy. The great Sully—as he was afterwards called—was chosen by Henry to carry out this task. The Venetian despatches throw considerable light on what he actually achieved, on the nature of the Treaty of Hampton Court and the question of the secret clauses.

By June 3 (n.s.) Marin Cavalli reports from Paris that M. de Rosny has been despatched to England. He reached London on June 19 (n.s.). He had encountered a stormy crossing of the Channel, for he embarked at Calais on board an English man-of-war which the King had sent for him. M. de Vic, governor of Calais, to do him honour, accompanied him in two light French

vessels as far as Dover, and the Marquis's suite of ninety gentlemen and three hundred servants was divided among the three vessels. All three set sail from Calais about ten o'clock. "The English Vice-Admiral signalled to break ensign; the French took no notice, and indeed one of the Frenchmen, being a smaller and lighter craft, forged ahead, whereupon, without more ado, the English Admiral fired three rounds of ball cartridge; one ball cut the shrouds, and placed the ship in peril. Then the French ran up the ensign and fell into the wake of the English. The French ambassadors take no notice of the affair" (No. 81)—that is how Scaramelli reports the affair from England; Marin Cavalli gives a slightly different version when writing from Paris (No. 86). "The Vice-Admiral gave orders that his guns should be held ready to fire in case any of the French ships, flying the French standard, went ahead of the English during the passage. M. de Vic forged ahead and the Vice-Admiral fired. M. de Rosny, on asking what that meant, was told that it was contrary to etiquette for any ship to pass the one that he was in." The Vice-Admiral was Sir Jerome Turner, under command of Sir Robert Mansell, Admiral of the Narrow Seas; Sir Robert was lying at Gravellines, waiting for the Spanish ambassador, Sir Jerome was at Calais, waiting for de Rosny. Weldon, in his Life of James, thus describes the affair: "the French ambassador coming first, and hearing the Vice-Admirall was to attend him, the Admirall the other, in a scorne, put himself in a passage boat of Calais, came forth with flagge in top; instantly Sir Jerome Turner sent to know of the Admirall what he should doe; Sir Robert Mansell sent him word to shoot and strike him if he would not take in the flag." With this view of the episode, Richelieu's account agrees: he says that Sully embarked at Calais in a French ship with the French flag on the

main topmast; "but no sooner was he in the channel than meeting with a yacht which came to receive him, the commander of it commanded the French ship to strike. The Duke, thinking his quality would secure him from such an affront, refused it boldly; but his refusal being answered with three cannon shot with bullets, which, piercing his ship, pierced the heart of the French, force constrained him to do what reason ought to have secured him from." But Sully's own account makes it clear that he was on an English ship.[1] "I embarked," he says, "the 15th June at six o'clock in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility; but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect as if they were of my own nation, De Vic, who only sought an opportunity of showing the English his resentment of the violence committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main top-gallant-mast, I found these complaisant English were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the King of England and the King of France, whom I represented: I had reason to think them still more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to consult me, fifty shot were immediately fired against De Vic's ship. It was with great difficulty that I made myself heard; which, however, I at last effected by representing to them that De Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour, and also to give me a more distinguished mark of his respect by dropping his flag upon my first command to do so. I thought it would be most prudent to do this, and my English, hearing what I said, were so far prevailed upon by it, as to make their

1 Max. de Bethune, "Œconomies Royales," à Amstelredam, tom. II., chap. xvii. and "Memoires." The account in the "Œconomies," omits the firings.

next discharge at random. I made a signal to De Vic which he perfectly understood, and took in his flag; but as I was afterwards told, he swore at the same time to be revenged on the English whenever he should again meet with them, though I much question had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened; be that, however, as it may, the dispute was ended by this means, and our passage met no further interruption."

Sully's instructions were to establish a close alliance between France and England against Spain; to this end he was secretly instructed to take every opportunity of pointing out the unjust and violent proceedings of the Spanish; their intrigues to embroil Europe; their usurpations in Italy; their practices in England by means of the Jesuits. If a secret war were resolved on, the alliance was to be cemented by a double matrimonial contract. He was to determine the nature of the succours to be given to the States; to prevent the English Crown from demanding repayment of debts; to induce the King to join equally with France in fresh expenditure; to secure at least the discharge of the States' debt and if possible without the concession of the cautionary towns. In pursuance of these objects Sully was to consult Barneveld, to act in concert with him, and to make it evident that their interests were identical. (*Cf.* Sully's Memoirs, London, 1756, book XIV. and No. 64.)

Sully arrived in London, and it was arranged that he should have four audiences, the first and the last public, the other two private. The first was fixed for a Sunday; the French Embassy, on the express orders of Henry, was all in mourning for the late Queen, though de Vic had warned Sully that no ambassador in England was wearing mournings.[1] On Saturday at midnight the

1 "Œconomies Royales," tom II., chap. xvii.

King sent to say that neither he nor his Council nor the English nobility would take their mourning in good part, and that they had better change their dress if not their feelings. They did so, and all got into their most fantastic costumes and went to Greenwich, where they found the Court in right sumptuous array (No. 81). Meantime the ambassadors of the States, who up to now had failed to obtain an audience, arranged, with the help of some Scottish gentlemen of the Chamber, that Barneveld should be secretly introduced into one of the galleries at Greenwich, through which the King was in the habit of passing. This was done, possibly with the King's connivance; at any rate they met, and Barneveld, after a long discourse, which was carefully attended to, succeeded in impressing the King more favourably towards the Dutch. Sully and Barneveld were working together, lodging hard by each other, and consulting frequently, chiefly by night. Their whole object was to give a satisfactory answer to the King's question, "How can you ask me to go to war in order that you may live at peace?" (No. 81). After the first private audience, four commissioners—the High Admiral, Cecil, Mountjoy, and Kinloss—were appointed to deal with Sully. Negotiations moved rapidly, and, by the beginning of July, the French Embassy had been entertained at a farewell dinner at Court, where "the King made a vast display of plate, and on his person a wealth of jewels. Four hundred persons sat at the lower table" (No. 87).

Sully had kept his government informed of the progress of his mission by a triple series of despatches, one in ordinary character, one in cypher to which Council had the key, another in cypher for the King's private eye, and to which he alone had the key. But Henry found it so troublesome to read that he very soon called in Loménie to assist him, and Sully found it so difficult to write that he was forced to be very brief. This correspondence, however, contained the

real gist of the proceedings, and we shall see presently what happened to it.

Sully, on his return to France, professed himself satisfied with the results of his mission (No. 98). The most important subject in the negotiations had been the formation of an alliance. The point is thus summed up by Scaramelli (No. 90):—"The French Envoys declare that their master will never abandon the States, and they propose a defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, which shall keep on foot eighteen thousand infantry, six thousand horse, and a number of ships. To this explicit proposal the English commissioners, after conferring with the whole Privy Council for two days, replied upon the third of this month (July) declining the alliance for the present; but they said that if France proposed an offensive as well as defensive alliance, the King would reconsider the question, in spite of his present inclination to peace." This is confirmed by Sully's own report of his secret audience with James, in which the King expressed a desire for an offensive alliance in the case of Spain violating the terms of a treaty of pacification, which he proposed that France and he should negotiate; though the King confined himself to promising that he would not suffer the United Provinces, nor even Ostend, to come under the dominion of Spain. But as a matter of fact, Cecil and Sully fenced about the main point, Cecil agreeing to support the Provinces, but asking that Henry should pay the expenses in lieu of his debt to the English crown (No. 90). Sully objected (No. 107), and little came of it all. The despatches contain no confirmation of the famous secret interview with King James, in which Sully declares that he acquainted the King with "the great design"; though the key-stone of that scheme was, as Sully himself says, "an offensive and defensive alliance between England, Holland, and France." Sully represents

that this audience took place after the Sunday audience which the Venetian despatches record as his last. "Our conference," writes Sully, "had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The King called in Admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, Lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately considered my reasons, he was resolved to enter into a close alliance with France against Spain. He reproached Cecil in very strong terms for having both in his words and his actions trangressed his commands; which explanation the secretary received very awkwardly. 'Cecil,' said the Prince, 'I command you, without reply or objection, in conformity to this my design, to prepare the necessary writings, according to which I will then give the dexter, and all assurance to the ambassadors of Messieurs, the States.' Then, turning to me, and taking me by the hand, he said, 'Well, Mr. Ambassador, are you now perfectly satisfied with me?'"

Sully reduced the general plan to heads in a document which was signed by both James and himself; and this is, no doubt, the document to which the Venetian ambassador in France, Anzolo Badoer, refers in No. 124. "At last I have seen the actual agreement signed by the King of England, and signed here by the King of France." And, again, when forwarding a copy of the treaty (No. 162), "I always felt that I should not fulfil my entire duty, unless I sent you a copy of the document. Hitherto I have not been able to do so and at the same time to keep my word, for they never would give me a copy, with leave to forward it. The English Ambassador, who is a first-rate Italian scholar, has finally consented and has even helped my secretary to translate it." The last clause of the treaty provided that "the defensive part of the alliance shall be embodied in a public act, the offensive shall remain secret,"

Sully had, on the whole, been successful; only one "clause providing that if one of the parties died leaving his son a minor, the other should be bound to help him with all his forces," was struck out of the original proposals, though this omission was very distasteful to the French, as proving that England intended the treaty to be for life only, and they did their best to conceal it (No. 147).

Sully had made abundant use of gold and presents; indeed, he is credited with having begun "that angling fashion" (Winwood, *Memorials*, II., 26), and Ambassador Molin reports (No. 191) that the French Ambassador, in his mistress' name, presented to the Queen of England jewels to the value of twelve or thirteen thousand crowns, and offered to eight members of the Council one thousand crowns apiece, "some of them made a difficulty about accepting the gift, and the question was discussed in the presence of the King of England, who declared himself content that each should take all that was offered him."

The Spanish Envoy, Don Juan de Taxis, Count of Villa Mediana, and John de Ligne, Prince of Barbançon, Count of Aremberg, the Ambassador from the Archduke had meanwhile been watching Sully's proceedings in the interests of Spain. They were waiting the arrival of the Constable of Castile, Don Juan Fernando de Velasco, Duke of Frias, who was appointed by Philip to negotiate a peace between England and Spain. The Spanish were far slower in their movements than the French, and James, who was impatient for the arrival of the Constable, so as to demonstrate to the world that he was what he claimed to be, "Arbiter of peace" (No. 97), made sarcastic remarks upon the delay. As a matter of fact the Spanish wished to note the results of Sully's mission, and, moreover, were well informed as to all the secret negotiations that were going on. For Sully's most secret correspondence with his master was tampered with. Sully himself says "among the great number of letters which I sent from London, some directed

to Villeroi and the Council, and others to the King only, one of these last, dated 20th July, was never received by Henry, which he discovered from the contents of my despatch by the next post, and gave me immediate notice of it. It was a letter of the greatest consequence; the courier to whom I entrusted it was one of my own domestics, of whose fidelity and honesty I was perfectly satisfied; I questioned him, and he answered that, upon his arrival, the King being gone to the chase, he had carried the letter to Villeroy, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and forgot to ask his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who also came and spoke to this clerk. . . . I had before had reason to be suspicious, and the affair of the clerk having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted that there was a traitor employed in the King's office." This clerk was a certain Tes, as the Venetian Ambassador calls him, really Nicolas L'Hoste,[1] secretary to Villeroy, who was in the pay of Spain, and kept the Spanish acquainted with Henry's despatches to Sully and Sully's replies from London (No. 249). When his treachery was discovered he fled, but was drowned while crossing the Marne. His body was embalmed and he was put upon his trial as though he had been alive (No. 215). The episode was a serious danger to Villeroy, who declared that he would "pay any sum so as to have the secretary alive that he might establish his innocence" (No. 215). He wanted Henry to declare war on Spain, but was opposed by Sully (No. 222). But the suspicious attitude between the courts of France and England was strengthened, for Henry believed that the Spanish told James all that they could gather of his most intimate views and designs about Great Britain (No. 249).

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1 See Edouard Rott. *Henri IV. Les Suisses et la Haute Italie.* Paris, 1882. P. 312, n. 3. "Œcon. Roy."; tom. II., chap. xxxiii.

When the Spanish ambassador, Don Juan de Taxis, arrived, he found a certain disposition in his favour on the part of the English Ministers, produced to some extent by their annoyance at Sully's success in dealing directly with the King (No. 139). This attitude was carefully fostered by the lavish distribution of gold (No. 127).

On account of the plague, which was killing three hundred persons a day in London (No. 118), the Court was lying at Oxford. Taxis, who was lodging in Jesus College, was to have had audience at Woodstock, but a servant of his household died after a few hours' illness, and the Ambassador was ordered to Winchester, where the Court meant to go for the winter (No. 136). His first audience did take place in that city; "he was brought from Southampton by the Earl of Pembroke. His suite consisted of fifteen gentlemen of quality, and a hundred and forty others. He entered the presence, but, to the surprise of every one, he did not remove his hat till he was half-way down the chamber. The conversation was carried on by an interpreter; the Ambassador speaking Spanish, and the King English, though both new French and Italian. He returned to Southampton by torchlight" (No. 142). An exhibition of his credentials disclosed other grounds for dissatisfaction. James was therein styled "of England France, and Scotland," but Ireland was omitted, either on the ground of Don Juan d'Aquilla's proclamation (Cal. S.P. Ven., 1592-1603, No. 1025), or to avoid offending the Pope, "who claims that Ireland, like Naples, is a Papal fief." Sir Lewis Lewkenor, receiver of Ambassadors, was sent to Southampton next day to tell the Ambassador that this was a very bad beginning. He made some excuses, but an attitude of suspicion marked his first private audience; the King asked for his powers, and wanted to know what guarantees he could offer. Finally, five commissioners were appointed to negotiate. The main points of discussion were the conclusion of a treaty of peace by which

each party should be bound not to assist the 'rebels' of the other and England should pledge herself to abstain from trade in the Indies; on the other hand England demanded that no British subject should be amenable to the Inquisition in any Spanish dominion, and that any insult to the Sacrament should be punishable merely in the person, but not in the goods of the offender. But matters made slow progress, or rather none; for Taxis was considered to have insufficient powers (No. 147), and the Constable of Castile, the Ambassador Plenipotentiary, after getting as far as Brussels, sent to propose that the English Commissioners should meet him there. James declined, with some heat, to assent to this (No. 186). Taxis meanwhile was living at Southampton, and dealing secretly with the Catholics. He was distributing crosses, medals, etc., and a child had even been baptized in his house; though this act nearly precipitated a tumult. As no one dare openly to take Spanish gold, the Ambassador adopted the plan of betting a hundred to a thousand that peace would not be concluded. For the rest he spent his time in quarrelling with Montecuccoli the Tuscan ambassador (Nos. 175, 182). The Constable of Castile was apparently unable to make up his mind how to act. He requested instructions from home. Taxis suggested as a way out of the difficulty that a house should be built on the frontier line of France and Flanders, and that a round table should be used to avoid all difficulties about precedence. The King, however, absolutely refused to send commissioners over sea; he declared that Spain, not he, was seeking peace (No. 202). Finally, Spanish pride gave way, and Taxis asked the King to grant the use of Somerset House, "the most splendid house in London after the Royal Palace," for the lodging of the Constable. Somerset House, by ancient usage, belonged to the Queen; so His Majesty said, laughing, "The Ambassador must ask my wife, who is mistress!" (No.

207). The Queen granted the request, and the King promised to be at charges for the Constable and his suite. This at once gave umbrage to the French faction, for Sully had not received such honours. But matters still hung fire. D'Aremberg, who was to have accompanied the Constable, was laid up with gout, and the Constable himself declared he was ill. The real reason for this delay, however, is to be found in the expectation that Ostend would fall. If that happened the Spanish and Flemish envoys would find themselves in a stronger position when they reached England (No. 213). Finally, in May, Taxis told the King that the Constable was so ill that there was no immediate prospect of his recovery, and that the negotiations could not be put off indefinitely. He accordingly proposed that the Constable should be allowed to transfer his powers, and that they should come to business. James did not like the proposal: it had pleased him to think that one of Spain's greatest nobles was coming to his court as a petitioner for peace; he had also been at considerable expense to prepare a suitable lodging. He was pacified, however, by a promise that the Constable would come over for the ratification, if he could possibly move. The Constable conveyed his powers to Alessandro Roveda, a Milanese, who, in conjunction with Taxis, was to represent Spain; while the President Richardot, the audientary Vereiken, and Count D'Aremberg acted for the Archduke. The Envoys arrived in London on the 9th-19th May. The English Commissioners appointed to meet and negotiate with them were Cecil, the Treasurer (Dorset), the Admiral (Nottingham), Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, and Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (No. 229).

After a little difficulty the Spanish "powers" were recognized and business began. Spain proposed an offensive and defensive alliance: England answered that as for an offensive alliance, the King was at peace; as for a defensive, Spain was too far off to be

of any use. The Spanish dropped this point, and next begged for assurance that no present or future 'rebels' of Spain should receive 'aid' from England. This brought up the real issue. The English replied that as for future rebels, no difficulty existed, but they asked for a specification of present rebels. At the third Session, Spain named the States as 'rebels.' The English at once replied that they had assisted the States as allies and confederates, nor had England ever admitted that they were 'rebels,' the conditions upon which Spain held the States, as heir of the House of Burgundy, having been violated to such an extent as to justify the rising. At this the Spanish Envoys rose to their feet and threatened to withdraw, but were put off their intent by a clever request that they would specify what kind of 'aid' they wished to bar. This was promised.

While negotiations were in progress, Noel de Caron, the Dutch Agent, and the Spanish Envoys made every effort,—the one to stiffen the King to stand by "his friends," the other to win over to their side "many of the principal ministers, and many of the Queen's favourite ladies," by the lavish use of presents. But the Spanish alliance was thoroughly unpopular, and Molin sent home a copy of a speech supposed to have been delivered in Parliament, arguing strongly in favour of the States (No. 230).

In the conference chamber the Spanish were gradually forced away from their position; "the subject of their discussion has been the question of 'aid' to the States, which were always styled 'rebels,' but seeing that the English Commissioners took it ill, the Spanish have at last substituted the word 'enemy.'" Roveda defined "aid" as "all that contributes to strengthen the enemy or discourage the ally." The English replied that this was very vague, and suggested specification, at the same time recommending a moderation which would allow the

King to consider their proposals. Finally the Spanish presented their requests.:—1. All trade between England and the Dutch shall cease, for this trade furnished the Dutch with the money for prosecuting the war. 2. The King of England shall keep the seas open for all. 3. The King shall hand over to Spain the cautionary towns of Flushing and Brill, on payment by Spain of the Dutch debt to England. 4. The King shall not permit the Dutch to raise levies in his dominions. The English Commissioners professed amazement. They said they thought they were negotiating for peace with one Prince, and found themselves invited to declare war on another. The King of England could not be asked to keep a large fleet in commission merely to suit the King of Spain. "Then," said the Spanish, "You ought to allow us to come into these waters with a fleet large enough to protect ourselves"; a reply which "took the English rather aback." As to the cautionary towns, the Spanish proposals could not be listened to; they had been received from the States, to the States alone could they be returned. The Spanish said that as their master was resolved to take them by force of arms he would be obliged to spill English blood, unless the English garrisons were withdrawn. To this the English returned no answer. On the fourth point, the prohibition of recruiting, the reply was that England was so populous that, unless the people were allowed to take service abroad, a serious crisis might arise at home.

As counter proposals, the English asked for the abolition of the tax of thirty per cent. on importations, and that the India traffic should be thrown open. Spain replied that the tax would be abolished if the English pledged themselves not to import goods made in Holland, but as for the India trade, if the English pressed that point, negotiations might as well be abandoned. But as a matter of fact, peace was so important to Spain

that as de Beaumont wrote home, "the Spanish assent to everything the English demand" (No. 240); and by July 14th, Ambassador Molin was able to inform his Government as to the terms. On Tuesday the 7th-17th August the Constable crossed the Channel; at Dover he was received by Lord Wotton, brother of the Ambassador. On Thursday he was at Gravesend, and on Friday he came by water to London, landing at Somerset House, which had been decorated with the most gorgeous hangings that belong to the Crown. He brought with him letters of credit for three hundred thousand crowns, most of which was to go in presents—was, in fact, "the mortar that plastered the foundations, walls and roof of many a brave house[1]"; Cecil, when communicating the terms of the treaty to the Venetian Ambassador, said: "Had the Crown not been in straits for money on account of the late wars, your Lordship may trust me that peace would not have been signed; but necessity knows no law" (No. 261).

Finally, on Sunday, August 19th-29th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the Earl of Devonshire, with a suite of fifty gentlemen richly dressed and on horseback, went to escort the Constable, Taxis, and other Commissioners. The Constable and Taxis were dressed in white most splendidly embroidered. They were on horseback: the others in carriages. The King was waiting them at Court, and all of them descended to the chapel. The altar was covered with silver-gilt plate, and on it stood a copy of the Gospels in English. After some hymns in praise of peace had been sung in English, Cecil handed a copy of the treaty to the Constable, and read aloud the oath by which the King and Prince bound themselves to the observation of the terms, the King and Prince meanwhile laying their hands on the Gospels. The King embraced the Constable, Taxis, and the other commissioners. D'Aremberg was not present, being in bed with the gout. Then they all left

1 "The Works of Francis Osborn." London, 1682, 425.

the chapel and went upstairs to the Great Hall, where a banquet was spread. And presently his Majesty drank to the Constable, wishing health to his Catholic Majesty. The Constable drank to the King's health out of an agate cup with feet and lid of gold, which he offered to the King, and said he had a ewer and basin of the same stone which he would send to-morrow. Taxis drank to the Queen, only his cup was of rock crystal. The rest of the day was devoted to dancing and sports. The Constable was to have taken leave on Monday, but in the night he had an attack of renal pains, and the King, not wishing to delay his own departure, settled the question by visiting the Constable and D'Aremberg in their own houses. "They are still in bed, but will leave on Friday" (No. 266).

The peace was extremely unpopular in England; "there is," says Molin, "a general disaffection towards this peace, for no one can bear to see the Dutch abandoned." In France, though Cecil had kept the French Ambassador informed of the negotiations in progress, they were suspicious and, knowing that the Treaty of Hampton Court contained secret clauses, dreaded lest the Treaty of London might do the same. The Dutch professed alarm, though it was not James' fault if they refused to be made parties to the negotiations as he had proposed. The Spanish declared themselves delighted, but the clauses of the treaty were so worded that they could easily be evaded; for instance on the subject of "aid" to the Dutch the King promised not to "consent" to the levy of troops for that purpose, but Cecil writing to Winwood, who was representing England at the Hague, said: "Consent—a word of which you know the latitude as well as I." And in fact (No. 274) "the Constable on his way to Dover, when passing Gravesend, saw a number of ships full of men going over to the service of Count Maurice. He thought it monstrous that while the ink of the Treaty was hardly

dry, it should be thus openly violated. For the terms are that the King shall neither send aid nor permit aid to be sent." The Constable charged the Justices to stop the ships, which they did; but no sooner was he over the water than the levies sailed. Again, the Spanish supposed that the India navigation was closed to the English, but neither Cecil nor the King admitted this. Molin (No. 291) wishing to hear from his Majesty's own lips how he read the clause, said: "Sire, Your Majesty's subjects may trade with Spain and Flanders, but not with the Indies." "What for no?" said the King. "Because," Molin replied, "the Treaty is read in that sense." "They are making a great error, whoever they are, who hold this view," said his Majesty, "the meaning is quite clear." So again, questions constantly arose as to the clause about English protection for all Spanish ships in English harbours and waters. English harbours, to the great annoyance of the Government, became the scene of encounters between Spanish, Flemish, Dunquerquers, and Dutch (No. 345), and this gave the English a counter claim whenever the Spanish presented demands based upon the treaty. The Dutch were, in fact, becoming very strong and audacious in those waters. They captured a small vessel from Sandwich, and wrapping the sailors in the sails, drowned them all so as to hide the piracy. But the people of Sandwich, getting wind of this, rose against the Dutch Flemings in the town, killed three, and threatened to make an end of them all. Winwood's reports are full of instances of Dutch disregard for the neutrality of English ports. Finally, in June, 1605, a whole Spanish squadron, under Sarmiento, was attacked and partially destroyed off Dover by the Dutch, under Haultain. The surviving ships, to the number of four, took refuge in Dover where they were blockaded for about six months. During the engagement, Dutch cannon-balls damaged the town and killed some of its inhabitants.

When representations were made to the King by the Ambassador of Spain, he replied that he would guarantee the Spanish ships so long as they remained in Dover harbour; if they sailed they did so at their own risk. The whole question of the clause in the treaty was raised and discussed in Council (No. 391). The Spanish party seemed at first to be in preponderance, but Sir Noel de Caron frankly told the Council that the Dutch would fire on English ships that attempted to aid the Spanish. The upshot was an answer to Spain couched in these terms, that his Majesty had no intention of taking offence at what the Dutch had recently done at Dover, but that he had ground of complaint against Spain for hiring British vessels for the conveyance of troops and chartering them for England—in itself a hostile act. But as he really desired to remain on good terms with his Catholic Majesty, he would overlook the effect and consider the intention only, while begging him to abstain from such acts for the future.

Meantime, the Venetian Senate having been informed of the succession of James, passed a resolution on May 17th, 1603, to elect an Ambassador in ordinary to reside in England for two years; "he may not decline to serve; he must set out when ordered to do so; he is to receive two hundred ducats of gold (£50) a month, of which he need render no account, but he must keep eleven horses, including those for his secretary, and four coachmen. Before setting out he shall receive as a gift, one thousand ducats of gold, and if he remain his full two years, he shall receive another thousand ducats of gold. For equipage, trunks, outfit, he shall receive three hundred ducats; current value, and for extras, another three hundred, of which he must render account. His secretary shall receive one hundred ducats, and the two couriers twenty a-piece." There was an amendment, likewise voted, that an Ambassador-Extraordinary also should be sent.

His pay was to be six hundred gold ducats a month, and he was to receive eight hundred ducats, current value, for outfit. He was to pay his own singers and musicians, but for this purpose he received two hundred ducats, for which he was to present accounts. He was bound to keep 25 horses.

The ambassadors elected were Nicolo Molin as Lieger, and Piero Duodo as Extraordinary. They set out together, but parted company at Brescia, Molin taking the Rhine Valley route, and Duodo the French route, but agreeing to meet again at Calais. Scaramelli, the Venetian Secretary in England, meantime made all preparations for the Ambassadors' reception at Dover, and two English men-of-war were sent to Calais as escort. But Duodo, who had gone through Paris, changed his plans, and resolved to cross over from Havre to Southampton, partly no doubt from fear of the plague in London, and partly because the Court was lying at Wilton House, near Salisbury. This change of plan was communicated to Molin at Calais, and he set out to join his colleague at Havre; but the small coaster on which he embarked was driven by a gale into Dover, and Molin then resolved to go by land to Southampton, there to await Duodo. The king was much annoyed with his Ambassador in Paris, Sir Thomas Parry, who was the cause of this change of route; the journey from Dover to Salisbury had been planned so as to bring the ambassadors "through the most lovely parts of this kingdom; a retinue of gentlemen and an escort of 400 horse were waiting them at Dover, and the Ambassadors were to have hunted in the royal demesnes along their route, and to have lodged in the houses of the nobility" (No. 157). Duodo, however, after waiting many days, left Havre on Sunday, the 6th-16th November, and after twenty hours at sea, landed at Portsmouth, "there not being water enough for the great galleon to get into Southampton" (No. 159). Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, received him. He

came with two royal carriages and four mules "and took us to Salisbury to rooms prepared for us by the receiver of Ambassadors. Our train consisted of one hundred horse, and we reached Salisbury at night, for the roads were bad owing to the incessant rain. We found such wretched lodgings that nothing we have met on the journey could match them. We complained gently to the officials, who laid the blame on their underlings, and subsequently came to say that his Majesty was extremely annoyed, and had arrested, imprisoned and disgraced the court-marshal who was charged to engage the rooms, and that we should be properly attended to at once; but so much delay took place that, for the public honour, we gave orders to pay without demur all that the court officers asked for rent of lodgings" (No. 110). Finally, after some twenty citizens of Salisbury who refused to let their rooms had been locked up, the Ambassadors were furnished with beds and chambers but scattered all over town.

St. Andrew's Day was appointed for the reception. The King was staying at Wilton, and thither the ambassadors went at three in the afternoon. The King, Queen, and the Prince were at a window to see them cross the courtyard; all the other windows also were filled with ladies and gentlemen. "We believe that our suites must have made a very fine show; both for number, for variety of livery, for the robes of silk and gold, and the crowd of gentleman not only from Venice but from other cities as well. At the threshold of the presence chamber we made our first bow, and repeated it again in the middle of the room. The King was dressed in a cloak lined with zibelline and, for the rest, was habited as in the picture your Serenity has of him. Surrounded by the Prince and the Council he came down the steps of the daïs, hat in hand, and advanced to meet

us two yards away from the canopy; he gave us welcome, took our letters and listened to the discourse, which was as brief as possible, for it was nearly night. He then covered and bade us be covered. He replied in French, and concluded by saying that he had heard that Your Serenity had taken a copy of his portrait from one Sir Anthony Standen had brought with him to Venice. He apologised again for our bad lodging, and said the citizens of Salisbury who were in prison were at our mercy to deal with as we liked. We begged him to set them at liberty. We then presented Your Serenity's missive to his eldest son. Whereupon the King laughing, said: 'Why the letter is bigger than the Prince.' After that we presented our suites and retired."

The King's apology for the poor lodging provided for the Embassies took the form of sending the Prince of Wales to dine with them one day; "God be thanked!" exclaimed the Ambassadors, "all passed off in perfect order"; and before the Ambassador Extraordinary left England both Envoys were invited to dine at Court.

"A table about sixteen feet long was laid across the room on a daïs, it stood away from the wall sufficiently to allow a free passage to the servants all round. His Majesty's seat was on the inner side, under the canopy about the middle of the table; no other cover was laid but his Majesty's. Before sitting down he laid aside his cloak and sword, and the Lord Admiral brought him water for his hands, making three deep obeisances before approaching his Majesty; he then drew near, kneeled down, and kissing the bowl he first tested the water and then gave it to the King. With similar ceremony the Duke of Lennox handed him a towel. That done they retired, and two other nobles of less degree did a like service for the Prince, and two others for us Ambassadors, with the same ceremony save the kneeling. Then the King's almoner stepped forward

and said grace while the King remained on foot. Then the King moved towards his seat but did not sit down till covers had been laid for the Prince and for us; for the Prince at one end, for us at the other, not at the head, however, but outside. The banquet was sumptuous and abundant in the quality and variety of food, with such a crowd of nobles waiting on us that they could hardly do their duty." The King was affable, discoursed on Venice; frequently invited the Ambassadors to drink, but did not press them against their inclination. In the background were the secretaries of the French, Spanish, and Tuscan Embassies carefully making notes.

So Duodo took his leave, and Molin remained as Lieger to carry on the diplomatic relations between Venice and England. The chief subjects which engaged himself and his successor Giustinian were (1) the question of privateers, (2) the Levant Company and (3) the quarrel between Venice and Curia Romana. Much of their time was spent in contending for precedence with the Ambassador of the Archdukes, or with the Queen's brother, the Duke of Holstein, at the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert; and the details of these intrigues, if not of great moment, are diverting and throw considerable light on the customs and habits of the Court (Nos. 323, 502, 510, 516, 527, 531, 532, 539, 544, 546).

By the beginning of the year 1605 the Government was alarmed by vague rumours of a threatening danger (No. 341). Molin reports in February that "in the place where his Majesty is at present staying there are a number of people possessed with the spirit of prophecy; it is a rare thing in England to find people afflicted with this infirmity. One of the possessed has declared that the King cannot live a year, that the country will suffer great adversity and that soon. He has been clapped into prison, and the

King himself has examined him closely." This is followed by the news that the English Ambassador in France had sent over three or four expresses to warn the Government "that a great revolution was on the point of breaking out in England." The Ambassador furnished no particulars, he only said that at the French Court people were convinced of this. The result was that Council met almost daily and frequently sat till midnight conducting examinations. As far as Molin's information went he thought suspicion fell upon the Puritans as the conspirators. Nothing more about conspiracies is heard in these despatches until Nov. 6th-16th, when Molin sends a full account of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (No. 442). He says that "about two months earlier Lord Salisbury had received anonymous letters from France warning him to be on his guard, for a great plot was being hatched by priests and Jesuits; but as similar information had been sent about a year ago by the English lieger in France, no great attention was paid to these letters, and they were attributed to the empty-headed vanity of persons who wished to seem more conversant with affairs than became them." Molin's account, though very full and interesting, does not add much to our present knowledge, except that he quotes the actual words of the King when shown the Monteagle letter: "I remember that my father died by gunpowder. I see the letter says the blow is to be struck on a sudden. Search the basements." Molin confirms the account of Lord Suffolk's perfunctory search and his report of "beer, faggots, and coal," and says that the King at once exclaimed, "I don't like these faggots and coal; go back and shift all the wood and all the coal and see what is underneath." This led to the discovery of gunpowder, whereupon Sir Thomas Knyvett was sent with a posse to watch the cellar, and there "about two in the morning" he arrested Guy Fawkes, who was coming to the cellar with a badly-closed dark

lantern. He was bound and taken before the Council, where he at once confessed his intention. His actual words on his second examination are reported (No. 443). They are a bold declaration of a desire to punish the King for his cruelty to the Catholics, and an absolute refusal to name his accomplices. The value of Molin's testimony is guaranteed by his statement that about mid-day on Nov. 6th-16th "by order of his Majesty and Council, a secretary of Council visited me, and said that in a matter of such importance they thought it right to inform me how the facts really stood; the secretary then related all that I have reported above." Molin thought the whole matter so important that he sent his despatch in duplicate, one by the ordinary route *viâ* Antwerp, Cologne, and the Rhine; the other *viâ* France. The ordinary post took twenty-two days from England to Venice (No. 261). He added that current opinion was inclined to lay the plot to the door of the disaffected nobility, chief of whom was the Earl of Northumberland; some of the Ministers suspected the Pope, and expressed the opinion that his Holiness was bound to take some steps to clear himself; finally there was a deep suspicion of France whose ambassador, de Beaumont, left London in a hurry on the 1st-10th Nov. He was delayed at Dover by weather, and, on the discovery of the plot, orders were sent to detain him. But de Beaumont had already started; he insisted on crossing on Monday evening, the 4th, despite of the weather. He embarked three hours before the orders to detain him arrived. Molin says that they argued that de Beaumont, if he had not a share in the plot, at least had knowledge of it, and though he admits that this suspicion rests upon weak evidence, he foresees trouble if the Spanish foment the diffidence between the Crowns of England and France. The King of France professed himself indignant at these suspicions of his Envoy (No. 457), and closed his autograph letter of congratulation by re-

pudiating the idea. But for all that suspicion of de Beaumont did not diminish, nay, it grew daily, especially on account of news received from France, that the moment the Ambassador reached Calais on Tuesday morning, the day the mine was to have been fired, he sent a courier to his most Christian Majesty with a letter containing this phrase: "To-day a crushing blow against the King; his family and all the nobility of England is to be delivered, but the issue is still uncertain."

This despatch of Molin's is deciphered all except the sign l[62] which is retained in the decipher, perhaps because of the grave nature of the news, for l[62] means Sua Maestà Xma. Of course if this rumour had been true it would necessarily prove de Beaumont's complicity; but Molin throws doubts on the information, and, under any circumstances, James did not mean to attach blame to any brother Sovereigns, for, by his Proclamation of Nov. 17th he distinctly declared that no foreign Prince had a part in the plot (No. 446).

But, whatever the King may have chosen to say publicly, he certainly told Molin (No. 447) that he concluded "that the plot was hatched on the other side of the water." While they were talking, the Duke of York, second son of his Majesty, about five years old, came into the chamber. His Majesty turned to him and said: "This boy's innocence, and that of the Prince, has had more power with God than the perfidious malignity of men." And when the Nuncio at Brussels visited the English Ambassador to express horror at the deed, and to say that if the priests found guilty were sent to Rome they would be most severely punished, the Government ordered the English Ambassador to abstain from discussing the subject with the Nuncio for the future (No. 490).

Molin further reports on Nov. 11th-21st that Guy Fawkes had already been tortured twice without anything being

wrung from him save the admission that the conspirators were twelve in number; and the news of the fight at Holbeche came to confirm his statement. "The conspirators, seeing themselves in evil plight, resolved to come out and to die fighting rather than be taken alive. Three of them were killed. Percy was wounded by a musket-ball, and, along with five others, was taken alive. As soon as the King heard this he sent off two of the best surgeons and a doctor to attend Percy, and a litter to convey him to London. His Majesty was extremely anxious to keep him alive, as he hoped to wring from him all the details of the plot. But just as the fight with the Sheriff's men was beginning, Robert Catesby stepped forward and said: 'I know you want Percy most of all, as you think he is the leader; but you must know that he has only recently been initiated, and I had great difficulty in inducing him to join. The consequence is that he knows little or nothing of the details of the plot. And this I desire to announce to all before I die.'" Catesby and Percy both fell, the same bullet passing through both. Catesby lived for a few minutes, Percy for two or three days, but not long enough to allow of the King carrying out his wish to examine him. In fact these Venetian despatches quite bear out Dr. Gardiner's estimate of the conspirators that "there was nothing mean or selfish about them."

An incidental result of the Gunpowder Plot was a great anxiety about the personal safety of the King (No. 456), owing to the fact that his Majesty would not renounce his long hunting expeditions in the country; and, as a result, the city was occasionally thrown into violent alarms on the rumour of the King's assassination.

In April, 1606 (No. 503), the King was out hunting. "As he was passing through a village, a hubbub arose about a man who was being arrested. This fellow was on horseback and had a drawn sword in his hand. Thus

armed he put his horse at the gallop; the constables pursued him, shouting 'Traitor, Traitor!'; the villagers joined the hue-and-cry, thinking he must have attacked the King. The crowd grew from village to village, and also the rumour, till people set off at full speed for London to tell the Queen and Council that the King was dead. The news, on being confirmed by new-comers, spread to the City. The uproar was amazing. Everyone flew to arms; the shops were shut, and cries began to be heard against the Papists and the Spanish; and had not a contradiction arrived in time, some terrible accident would have happened to us all. The first his Majesty knew about it was when he saw people running up breathless and speechless with tears, and falling on their knees. He at once thought something serious had occurred in London, and set out there and then." He was welcomed with extraordinary signs of affection; there were fireworks and *fêtes*, and the bells were rung; the Ambassadors were all informed officially, and each one had to make a present to Sir Lewis Lewkenor and the other messengers who gave them the news.

Very soon after this episode, a far more serious plot was brought to light, in July 1606 (No. 550). The plot was hatched by two Italians in Flemish service, Tommaso and Giacomo dei Franceschi. Tommaso and an Irishman named Ball came over to England and were lodged near the Spanish Embassy. They proceeded to sound a certain Captain William Newce, who was known to have a grievance against the Government. After some beating about the bush and the administration of a terrible oath, they laid before him a plan for killing the King when out on the chase, "a good pistol and a swift horse" would do the business; the reward was to be two hundred thousand crowns. Newce, who was really an informer, pretended to lend an ear to the design, but required first that his conscience should be

quieted by a priest. A meeting between him and "a Jesuit, who in the garb of a Dominican was living in the Spanish Embassy," resolved him that "he might undertake the deed without a single scruple." Franceschi and Newce then had a meeting on Tower Hill, Newce taking care that a witness should be within earshot, and there Royston was mentioned as a place where the deed might be done. Franceschi and Ball, however, began to entertain suspicions of Newce's good faith, and at a subsequent meeting they offered him some sweetmeats; Newce ate a considerable amount and put the rest in his handkerchief. On reaching home he gave them to his wife and some other women. In the night they were all violently ill, and the doctor diagnosed poison. Newce then informed Lord Salisbury of what had taken place. Franceschi was arrested, but the Spanish Ambassador, Don Pedro de Zuniga, refused to surrender Ball. On the 8th-18th July Zuniga had an interview first with the King and then with Council at Greenwich. Lord Salisbury addressed him "in terms of great resentment" and advised him, for his own safety, to surrender Ball. It seems that the Ambassador refused, for on his return to the Embassy he found that Ball had been forcibly arrested by the bodyguard on the orders of the King and Lord Salisbury. This step raised an international question which was not settled for many months to come. Franceschi always maintained that he had never meant to kill the King, that Newce's evidence was false, that his sole intention was to induce Newce to join a scheme for seizing Sluys, or some other fortress. The King himself, however, was convinced that his life had been in danger. "What has it to do with Sluys," he said, "to make enquiries where I go a-hunting, at what hour I start, when I return, how many men I have with me, to talk of a fine stroke with a good pistol and a swift horse?" (No. 553). Sir Henry Wotton,

when relating the whole story at length to the Doge (No. 565), admitted that the conspirators only talked of "Sluys," but declared that their talk was cryptic, for when they mentioned "Sluys" they meant killing the King. Whatever may have been truth on this point the whole matter was allowed to drop. Probably Newce's evidence was not good enough, and the Council were unwilling to annoy the Spanish Ambassador any further after violating the Embassy.

When James came to the throne, the English Catholics were in hopes of toleration at least, and the Pope expected to recover England to the faith. Neither hope was unjustified, for James, while scheming for his succession, had played with both (No. 16). Bruce, Lord Kinloss, told Scaramelli that "the king was deeply indebted to the Pope, and called him truly 'Clement'; and added that as long as Catholics remained quiet they would be neither hunted nor persecuted" (No. 36). But James, finding that his succession took place so easily, soon began to show that he had no need of the Catholics, and under Cecil's guidance, he expressed not a persecuting spirit towards them, it is true, but a determination not to let them fancy that he would ever restore their faith. His attitude was summed up at York, when, on the Easter Day, he said: "Those who can't pray with me, can't love me" (No. 40). The Pope and James, while he was still in Scotland, had been coquetting with each other through Sir James Lindsay, who passed backwards and forwards between Rome and Britain. In 1602, Lindsay had received a paper of instructions as to the answer he was to give to the Papal proposals for the education of the King's eldest son as a Catholic; but ill-health delayed his departure until after James' accession to the English Crown. Meantime, Sir Anthony Standen had been despatched to Italy on a mission to Italian Princes. He visited Venice (Nos. 119-122) and Florence, and while there he wrote to the English Ambassador in

Paris (Parry), to say that he had received proposals from the Pope to send an Envoy, either ecclesiastical or lay, to congratulate the King, provided his Holiness were assured that such a step would not disgust France and Spain; and that Don Virgino Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, had been mentioned as a suitable person (No. 154). This information was forwarded to England. Standen, furthermore, through the medium of Father Parsons, induced the Pope to send the Queen of England, by his hands, certain consecrated objects with a view to strengthening her Majesty's strong Catholic sympathies, in the hopes that she would influence the King. By the end of January (No. 188) Standen was back in England. He found himself in disgrace. He was charged with a too open display of his Catholic sympathies, and with forgetting that he represented a Prince of another creed. He was said to have pledged himself to secure the spread of the Jesuits in England, and to report to the Jesuits in Rome, in return for which he was to receive the hat and large revenues. These charges were based on information lodged by a confidential servant of the Envoy. Further, by a trick, Standen's correspondence with Rome fell into the hands of the Government; and finally James was very much annoyed at the Pope's presents to the Queen. Standen endeavoured to defend himself, but on the production of his letters he confessed all, and was lodged in the Tower, "whence," Molin says, "he will not come out alive." Lord Balfour of Burleigh was sent on a mission to enquire into Standen's conduct when abroad (No. 200). He was back again in August, 1604 (No. 259), and reported that he had found out nothing of moment against Standen, who was thereupon discharged from prison.

Meantime Sir James Lindsay was despatched to Rome in November, 1604. The whole story of his mission was very frankly related to the Venetian Ambassador by Lord Salisbury himself in a long conversation in which

he explained the attitude of the Ministry towards the Catholics (No. 353). "Lindsay, a year before the late Queen's death, asked leave to go to Rome. This was readily conceded. When he reached Rome his friends procured him an audience of the Pope, to whom it is probable that he said many ridiculous things, as he has now done. In short the Pope made him a present, and he obtained a considerable sum of money, perhaps by promising to do what he can never do here. He also obtained an autograph letter from the Pope to the King, in which the Pope said that he had heard from Lindsay how favourably inclined the King was towards the Catholic religion, and that, if he could not openly support, at least he would never persecute it; for this the Pope rendered thanks, and promised that the King should have all his support towards the succession to the Crown of England on the death of the Queen; but if he would educate his son as a Catholic, then His Holiness bound himself to employ his substance and his very life to assist his Majesty, and to cause the Catholic Sovereigns to act in concert for the same purpose. Lindsay returned to Scotland two months before Elizabeth died, and reported to the King by word of mouth. The King was very well pleased with the letter, as it came from a Sovereign and contained many affectionate and courteous phrases, but he never dreamed of sending an answer, although Lindsay urged him to do so; the reason was that if the King had written he must have addressed the Pope by his titles of 'Holiness' and 'Beatitude,' which, according to our religion, are vain phrases, and so the matter remained in suspense. Then came the Queen's death, when Lindsay again endeavoured to persuade the King to answer the Pope's letter, declaring that he might promise himself much from the Pope's aid when the right moment came. However, it pleased God so to favour the King that he met with no opposition. Now a few months ago

Lindsay again had the idea to go to Rome. He asked leave of the King and obtained it. When he was on the point of departure he said, 'Sire, I shall have occasion to see the Pope, and he will surely ask me about that letter. What am I to answer?' 'You will say that you gave me the letter, that I was highly pleased with the love and affection it displayed, and that on all occasions I will seek to show my gratitude in acts.' Lindsay replied, 'Sire, the Pope will not believe me; will not your Majesty furnish me with something that will convince him of the facts?' Thus urged, the King made up his mind to take the pen, and with his own hand to write a memorandum addressed to Lindsay, instructing him, should occasion offer to speak to the Pope, to assure him that his Majesty nourishes the desire to prove to him by acts the affection which he bears, and the esteem in which he holds the Pope's person as a temporal Sovereign; and Lindsay is to enlarge on this topic as far as he can. As regards religion the King desires to preserve and maintain that in which he was brought up, in the conviction that it is the best; but as he has not a bloody mind he will not persecute the Catholics, either in goods or in person, as long as they remain obedient subjects. As regards the education of his son as a Catholic, to that he will never consent; for he would merit chastisement from God, and censure from man, if, while professing one religion, which he held to be the best, he allowed his son to be bred in another, full of corruption and superstition. That, said Cecil, is the substance of the memorandum which was sealed by the King's seal, so that the Pope and everyone else should be obliged to give it credence. But now Lindsay, according to our information, in order to ingratiate himself with the Pope, and to draw money, has so far overstepped his instructions that he has induced the Pope to name a Congregation of Cardinals to sit upon English affairs, and

thus has caused us to keep a sharper look-out upon the Catholics, and more especially upon the priests." And as a matter of fact Lindsay, on arriving at Rome, had acted like the "feather-brained fellow" Lord Salisbury said he was. The Pope was only too ready to listen to him and almost immediately established a Congregation on England. Some of the Sacred College were unfavourable to the Papal attitude, and the opinion was expressed that "it would be better not to convoke the Congregation at all rather than to go on with nothing in hand, as they soon found was the case." The Pope's death, however, suspended activity in that direction; and the new Pope, Camillo Borghese, Paul V., soon found himself so deeply embroiled with Venice that he had no time to attend to England, whose attitude, moreover, was so anticurial that he could have nourished no hopes of her return to the bosom of the Church. Lindsay's action was deeply resented by James, and the French Ambassador took the opportunity to point out to his Majesty that if any mischief resulted, from it the blame would lie at the door of Spain "who for many years had had Lindsay in its pay" (No. 361)—a charge which is confirmed by Molin's despatch, No. 399, Lindsay left Rome, and by July 1605 he was at the Spanish court, where the English Ambassador heard that he had received a pension of two thousand crowns a year from the King. Salisbury's hostility and Gunpowder Plot worked together to decide the fate of the English Catholics, and all hopes of toleration were swept away.

It was only to be expected that we should hear less about James and the Puritans than about James and the Catholics in the despatches of a Catholic Ambassador. In the first place the Venetian did not understand the Puritans, and in the second he probably

never met them. All the same we get some details[1] as to the Royston petition in December 1604 (No. 313), which preceded the better known Northampton petition by nearly two months. The enforcement of conformity and the publication of the new canons seems to have divided the Council (No. 347). Arguments were advanced both in favour of the Puritans on the ground that their dissent merely affected questions of ceremony and that it was injudicious to persecute them, and on behalf of the Catholics on the ground that they were loyal and obedient if left in the liberty of their conscience. The King professed amazement that any question should be raised about his punishing either party if they were disobedient, and announced his determination to entorce conformity on the one hand and the recusancy laws on the other.

Diplomatic relations had been opened between England and Venice at the close of Elizabeth's reign. Their object was to come to some understanding upon the thorny subject of English privateers in the Mediterranean. At the beginning of James' reign Scaramelli, the Secretary, was replaced by a fully accredited Ambasador, Nicolo Molin, and the King replied by the nomination of Sir Henry Wotton as lieger in Venice. The scope of the Embassy was somewhat enlarged; Wotton was to establish amicable relations with the Republic and to deal with the question of commerce between the two States as well as to settle the subject of privateering; and incidentally he was called upon to represent Great Britain in the famous Controversy between the Pope and the Republic. Those were the main lines of Wotton's mission. But before his appointment a question arose as to the right the Ambasaador should enjoy of having the Reformed service celebrated at the Embassy.[2] The

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1. In a footnote to page 202, I very carelessly state that Dr. Gardiner ignores the Royston petition; that is not the case, he refers to it in Vol. 1, p. 196. 2. A similar question has arisen about Cornwallis' Embassy to Spain. See Winwood, *Memorials*.

Republic had always desired to avoid any ecclesiastical scandal that might be caused by the presence of the many heretic traders who were settled in Venice; and upon this very point she received a warning from the Pope (No. 165). When His Holiness learned that cordial relations were being established with England he said to the Venetian Ambassadors that he heard that there were great numbers of that nation lodging in Venice; that he feared it would end in a second German exchange-house, the beginnings of which were to be seen in the establishment of an English boarding-house; "Take care what you are about," he added; "league with the Grisons; dealings with the English; all heretics, and all for reasons of State, without consideration of aught else. This is a bad road. I promise you that if you let the English open a change-house in Venice I will never submit to it even though I ended by being flayed alive in that city." Upon this point Secretary Scaramelli, before the arrival of Ambassador Molin (No. 118), had an interview with Cecil, who said that as the Venetian Ambassador would be allowed to exercise the Roman rite in the Embassy for the benefit of his suite and of those Venetians and Italians who were in London it was only reasonable that his Majesty's Ambassador should enjoy a similar privilege in Venice. Scaramelli, in reply, said that he believed the Ambassador would be free to do as he liked in his own house; but the cases were not parallel, for at that moment there were no Venetians in London except the brothers Federici and only six or seven other Italians who could always go to the French Embassy, whereas in Venice there were thousands of English with whom the Flemish were associated, and thus the English Embassy might, owing to the numbers frequenting it, cause a scandal and invite reprisals. And as a matter of fact Sir Henry Wotton had to defend himself

from an attack on this score. Scaramelli proposed as a way out of the difficulty that the King should appoint a Catholic gentleman; and he even suggested to Robert Crichton, Lord Sanquhar, that he should apply for the post. Sanquhar jumped at the idea, and enlisted the Queen on his behalf. He obtained a promise from the King that he should have the place, but Cecil did not intend that he should, and soon afterwards (No. 172) he announced to Molin the appointment of Sir Henry Wotton, a gentleman who, as the King said, "had lived so long in Italy that he was master of its manners and of its tongue."

Wotton left for Italy in July 1604 *via* France, Lorraine, Augsburg (No. 248). He reached Venice incognito on the 13th-23rd of September, and put himself in communication with Secretary Scaramelli, whom he had known in England, to arrange the details of his reception (No. 275-282). As he was the first British resident Ambassador to Venice and as there had been no English resident since the middle of the last century, Wotton was anxious as to the ceremonial to be observed, as it would form a governing precedent. He was assured that his treatment should be that adopted in the case of crowned heads. But he wished for details of the ceremony in the case of France and Spain, for he had heard that Spain only uncovered on reaching the steps leading up to the daïs. He was assured that the Imperial Ambassador, the Nuncio, Spain and France, all uncovered at the door, and he was satisfied that this must be the case when he was told that on the Ambassadors' entry the Doge rose from his seat. He promised that he would not admit the Flemish or Germans to Divine service in his house and the English only in small numbers, so as to avoid a scandal; and that the service would always be conducted in English. That settled, Wotton retired to the island of San Spirito to await his public entry. He was conducted by the

Cavaliere Vendramin, a number of Senators and a great train of boats from San Spirito to his lodging near Ponte Ormesin in Canareggio. The day following, Saturday, October 1st, he had his first audience of the Doge (No. 277).

In this first audience he at once began a part of his ambassadorial duties, which occupied much of his time and gave a great deal of trouble, — the petitioning for graces on behalf of his countrymen or of Italian clients. The reason for the former is, of course, easily understood; but Wotton himself tells us why the latter are so frequent. On a certain occasion he urged as a ground upon which the Council of Ten should grant his petition in favour of a Veronese gentleman, that at both Padua and Vicenza he was well-known for similar favours obtained, but that at Verona he was quite unknown, and if he had to stay in that city he would not know where to lodge. In fact, favours received had to be paid for later on. Wotton was always perfectly frank in expressing his motives. On one occasion, having a very important and delicate communication to make to the Government, he begged that a Secretary might be sent to meet him in the church of San Girolamo, near his house. He opened the conversation by saying, "I desired to speak to one person only, so that in case you should betray me, and my name came out, I should be able to swear that I never said anything of the sort."

The first petition he presented was in favour of a young Scot named Thomas Seget, who was in prison on the charge of having libelled a member of the Malipiero family by writing scurrilous notes and dropping them about the Piazza. It seems that two youths had been suborned to bear false witness against him (No. 367). They were warders in the prison, and admitted to the Ambassador that an agent of another member of the Malipiero family had bribed them to accuse Seget falsely. Finally, after many months, and great persistence

on Wotton's part, the Ten, after voting on the question for three days running, acquitted Seget (Nos. 423, 424, 425).

Far more serious was the case of Nicolas Pert and the Venetian patrician Nicolò Balbi (Nos. 387, 388). Pert was a wealthy English merchant trading in Venice and the Adriatic. Balbi owed Pert a considerable sum of money when the latter embarked on board Balbi's ship at Ragusa, bound for the Levant. Before Pert embarked Balbi gave him a bag containing a certain sum in payment of his debt. Pert was found dead in his cabin one morning with a chest on his head. Pert's serving-man was at once shut out of his cabin and all Pert's papers and belongings were seized. Then Balbi sent for the lad and said: "Listen, my dear John, you are to say that your master left nothing or very little." "But," said the boy, "I've told everything already. All the crew know it." "Oh! you're young and don't know the ways of the world. You give ten ducats to this one and ten ducats to that, and they won't accuse us. I'll take you to Venice and keep you in my house. I'll love you like a son and get you a wife." When Balbi was accused of murder he declared that Pert had died from a gathering in the head, and denied that he had seized Pert's effects. But growing frightened he sent a certain Lorenzo Zanoli to beg the Ambassador to drop the matter. In the course of this interview Zanoli let slip that Balbi really had all the papers and a very large sum of money; on Balbi's behalf he proposed a method for restoring all this secretly through some priest, or friar or confessor. But Balbi was a great noble, with many powerful friends, and Zanoli's outspokenness cost him dear. Balbi and his friends resolved to get him out Venice, while Wotton was severely taken to task for "vilifying the Venetian nobility." Against Zanoli a charge (No. 616) of molesting a noble lady in her villa at Oriago on the Brenta was got up; he had climbed her garden wall and hidden in the shrub-

bery; he had beaten her servants; he had been seen swimming the Brenta,—and this was sufficient to enable the local physician, Dr. Quattrocchi, to declare him mad, upon which he was deported to Verona. The issue of the Balbi trial was that his supercargo Zuan Battista Torricella was banished for ten years, and Ser Nicolò Balbi himself was acquitted. Pert's property was restored to his heirs. Salisbury complained to the Venetian Ambassador in London about the sentence—though in cautious terms: "one cannot," he said, "call it unjust, but one may affirm that it came as a surprise to Sig. Balbi himself; for if he were innocent, why should he have sent his relations more than once to our Ambassador to beg him not to take steps in the matter, and offering to make a suitable recompense to the relations of the dead man?" (No. 439). The Ambassador defended his Government with spirit, and Salisbury let the matter drop. The incident closed with a sarcastic remark from Wotton to the Doge, that he was glad to be able to report to his Master that so grave a tribunal as the Ten held Pert to have died a natural death.

Other cases of petitions for graces, successful and unsuccessful, will be found in the minutes of the Ambassador's audiences. For the rest, Wotton seems to have led a pleasant life in Venice; he made long speeches in the Cabinet, full of quotations from the classics, laudatory of the Doge, complimentary to the Republic, indulging sometimes in puns, all with obvious enjoyment to himself. He lived in a house near the church of San Girolamo, where he was wont to hear the nuns singing. He studied the arts; he frequented the company of the learned circle that met at the sign of the Golden Ship. He had a villa on the Brenta, and passed the autumn villeggiatura there. He went duck-shooting on the lagoon in winter, and thought it pretty sport to kill on the wing "a practice not yet introduced into England" (No. 637).

The three main subjects which filled the wider field of diplomatic relations between Venice and England were, the question of trade, with which was bound bound up the history of the Levant Company; the question of privateering; and the questions which centred round the quarrel between the Republic and the Pope.

The Levant Company was a chartered company of the kind that is known as "regulated," in distinction from "joint stock". The essential characteristics of a regulated company are (1) apprenticeship; (2) unlimited liability; (3) trading on "own bottom." The Levant Company was founded for the exploitation of Levant and Adriatic, Turkish and Italian commerce. It undertook to maintain the Ambassador at Constantinople and the Consuls throughout the East, and in return the Crown granted it the right to levy the tax on currants and sweet wines. For this privilege it paid the Crown £4,000 a year. The first charter was granted in 1581, and the Company was reconstituted in 1593 on a broader charter to run for twelve years. Soon after James' accession the Company surrendered its charter. At a secret meeting the members determined to name one or two persons to make a corner in currants for the English market. "They are only waiting till they have obtained a renewal of their charter, including the right to levy taxes. This is a scheme," says Scaramelli, "that I think I can certainly upset for the present, not without hope of reopening honest trade for Venetian merchants and ships" (No. 40). On July 10th 1603, Scaramelli writes again, announcing the abolition of the Levant Company and pointing out to his Government the line it should now adopt. "I once more humbly submit to your Serenity that not only may we consider trade in England open to Venetian subjects, but that this is a favourable occasion for attempting to draw all the English Levant trade to Venice; for your Serenity can always bar, almost entirely, trade with the rival ports of

Ancona and Ragusa by enforcing the laws of 1543 and 1602, which forbid any ship to lade in Venice unless it has discharged two-thirds of its cargo in the city, or if it has discharged at any other port inside the Adriatic."

The policy of Venice was this: she hoped that the English would retire from all trade with Constantinople and the Levant, and would confine themselves to carrying Eastern goods from Venice to England, making Venice their most easterly port. The result of this would be that Venetian bottoms would recover the Levant trade as far west as Venice, and the English, instead of carrying their tin, wool, cloth, &c. to Constantinople straight, would bring it to Venice, where it would be shipped in Venetian bottoms for the Levant; Venice would thus resume her ancient position as the chief exchange mart between East and West. This was the policy which the Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople and Scaramelli, Molin and Giustinian in England, were commissioned to forward. With a view to assisting his successor, Scaramelli drew up a long and detailed report on the history of the Levant Company (No. 109), beginning from Elizabeth's monopoly in currants and sweet wines, granted to Accerbo Velutelli which brought about reprisals in Venice and the imposition of prohibitive taxation, which in their turn caused the revocation of Velutelli's patent. But Venice, in violation of her promises, did not, on her side, revoke her new dues. Hence began a trade war. Venice prohibited the lading of currants in Zante, and endeavoured to compel all ships to come to the capital for them, and took other steps to ruin the English trade. At the close of his report Scaramelli says: "If free trade is to be restored, reciprocally friendly steps must be taken."

James'[1] indifference and his professions of amity with

1. There is an interesting paper on "The relations of the Crown to trade under James I.," by Hermia Durham, in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. New Series, Vol. xiii.

Spain greatly weakened the position of the Company's Ambassador in Constantinople (Nos. 158, 175); and the policy of abandoning the Levant was still under discussion in November, 1603. But by the beginning of 1604 a change of view took place. The truth is the Company had been trying to squeeze the King by this threat of abandoning Constantinople, and by the surrender of their Charter. When they found, however, that the King merely levied the £4,000 they formerly paid to him, directly for himself without making any proposals for the maintenance of the Ambassador, the Company met again and petitioned for a renewal of their Charter on the old terms. Opposition was at once raised by the outside-merchants, and a commission of six was appointed by the Council to examine and report (No. 192). It reported in favour of continuing the Company, and of admitting new members on the payment of fifty pounds each. But the outsiders objected to the appropriation of their entrance money to the payment of the Company's old debts, and a deadlock ensued (No. 213). When Wotton left for Venice, part of his commission was to point out the injury inflicted by the prohibition to lade currants at Zante (No. 248); and, in view of the deadlock in the Levant Company, it was proposed that the Ambassador should be instructed to sound the Doge as to whether he would allow export from Venice, free of duty, if the English pledged themselves to give up the Levant trade altogether. On the 15th November, 1604, Wotton did lay their case and their demands before the Collegio (No. 294). But while the merchants were quarrelling among themselves, James farmed out the currant tax for £5,500, that is, £1,500 more than the company used to pay him for the privilege of levying it. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Chamberlain, took it up, and thus the King squeezed the merchants who had intended to squeeze him (No. 295).

Finally, after two audiences with the King, in which

the company's Directors offered to pay the Crown as much as the Chamberlain now paid, that offer was privately accepted by the Council (No. 364). But a general meeting of the company again failed to come to an understanding. The members went into the question of their profits. The capital originally embarked varied from 220,000 to 248,000 crowns (£55,000 to £62,000) yearly, but it had now fallen to 30,000 or 40,000. This falling off is attributed to the development of the Cape route to the Indies. It cost those who shipped direct from India a third less than those who shipped in Turkey. The matter was still left in abeyance when, at the close of 1605, the company was reconstructed, and a new Charter granted in perpetuity.[1]

Early in 1605, Secretary Herbert had been appointed to deal with the commercial relations between England and the Republic (No. 321). The Venetian Government showed itself willing enough to enter on negotiations, and at once presented a list of the dues against which it protested (No. 337). But on the English side little seems to have been done, no doubt because of the uncertain position in which the Levant Company found itself for the larger part of that year. Molin and a friend of his, a merchant, evidently sent by Lord Salisbury, had a long conversation on the reciprocal abatement of dues, and the possibility that, in that case, the English would abandon the Levant trade entirely, and confine themselves to Venice. Nothing was done, however, till November, 1605 (No. 439), when Lord Salisbury complained to Molin of the anchorage tax and the operation of the *cottimo*—a tax of two per cent. levied by the Venetian Consuls in Constantinople, the Levant, Bruges, or London, upon goods imported by Venetian merchants. Molin replied that these were ancient taxes, and applied to all nationalities, not to the English only. He countercomplained that though Herbert had been appointed to negotiate

1 See Causton's "Early Chartered Companies," p. 75.

on commercial matters, nothing had been done. Lord Salisbury admitted that the entire blame lay with the English. Herbert had been appointed at the earnest request of the Levant Company; when they ceased to press the matter it dropped. Now, however, the company had been approaching Wotton in Venice. Molin said Venice was the right place for the discussion, and it was agreed to leave the matter in Wotton's hands. Wotton made nothing of it, though he began at once (No. 441). His language was too violent, and Andrea Morosini, a member of the Cabinet, very quietly informed him that his remarks had both hurt and surprised the Cabinet, at which the Ambassador "turned pale and remained silent for awhile." He let his temper appear again in his secret interview with Scaramelli, in the church of San Girolamo (No. 505). He said he had not sought audience for two months, and did not intend to do so, as his requests were never granted; he thought the King might spare himself the trouble of keeping an Ambassador in Venice. This was not the way to attain his end, and he did not. The next time he raised the question he found that the tax had been farmed out, and that proceeding closed, for the present, all questions of repeal or abatement.

As regards the position of the Levant Company at Constantinople, Harborne and Barton, the earliest ambassadors, had won a high place at the Porte. Elizabeth's hostility towards Spain and her Protestant faith secured for her the regard of the Sultan, while on the other hand she took every step to foster good relations with the Turk as a counterpoise and a standing threat to Philip II. in the Mediterranean. But when James came to the throne it was not long before the Grand Signor heard of his peace-policy towards Spain, and possibly of his coquettings with the Pope. There were two ambassadors, the French and the Venetian, who would keep him fully informed of anything that could damage their English colleague. Accord-

ingly, Henry Lello—the Company's Ambassador when James succeeded—very soon found his position untenable (No. 477). Not only had he lost influence at the Porte, but the disturbed state of the Levant Company prevented them from paying his salary. The episode of the "Royal Merchant" came to make his position worse. She was "a ship of good reckoning," commanded by Captain Thornton, flying the Tuscan flag, and sailing in company with a ship belonging to the Viceroy of Sardinia, she "took, after a fight of three days and three nights, a galleon of Constantinople of 1,200 tons or thereabouts, which, after losing her mainmast in a storm, they were forced to sink." Thornton took all her cargo and many of her crew. The cargo consisted of consignments to the principal Turkish merchants in Constantinople, and even included presents "for the Sultana and other women who are the Turk's incendiaries."[1] The news of this event caused the greatest alarm in the Levant Company. They feared Turkish reprisals, and the party in favour of withdrawing from the Levant and trading with Venice only made capital out of the episode (No. 483). Lello was recalled, and succeeded in the autumn of 1606 by Sir Thomas Glover, who no sooner reached Constantinople than he found himself embroiled in the endless quarrel as to the "consulage of forestiers." He had, immediately on his arrival, applied for a confirmation of the English capitulations, but avoided putting in a copy of the original.[2] In the new draft he inserted a clause stating that the English ensign was the covering flag for all nations who were not represented by an ambassador. This was passed by the Porte with its habitual carelessness. But de Salignac (No. 342), the French Ambassador, the moment he heard of it, went to the Grand Vizier, declared that Glover was no ambassador, but only a merchant, asserted the old French claim to fly the covering flag, appealed to the Venetian Ambassador, who

1 See R.O.S.P., Venice. Wotton to the Lord Secretary, 19th February, 1605.
It is very doubtful whether Harborne's original capitulations had ever been confirmed.

bore him out, and Sir Thomas' capitulations were revoked. For this conduct Wotton complained of the Venetian Ambassador at Pera, but he obtained no satisfaction. The outcome of Sir Thomas Glover's embassy may possibly be revealed in subsequent volumes.

The second question with which Wotton had to deal was the question of privateers. As long as Elizabeth was at war with Spain, English vessels had a good plea for sailing armed in the Mediterranean. After the peace, the English, unwilling to abandon so profitable and enjoyable a pursuit, declared that Spanish oppression of English merchants justified and called for reprisals in the shape of letters of marque. As a matter of fact, the Mediterranean swarmed with English pirates. A list is given in No. 53, and Wotton himself writes (10th March, 1606) that "one only (of these), Captain Ward, a banished and proclaimed pirate, has kept the Venetians in such awe both within and without their own seas so long, and has done with them almost as he has liked."

But perhaps the most famous and troublesome of these pirates was William Piers, whose doings are fully recorded in the preceding volume. Scaramelli was extremely anxious to secure his punishment, and on the 10th June, 1603, he reports from London that some of Piers' crew had reached England, and that Piers himself was to be looked for in a bay near Falmouth, where he intended to lie till he saw how matters stood. Piers sailed into Plymouth on board a Venetian ship, the "Veniera," which he had captured and re-christened the "Fox." She was of about six hundred tons burden, and carried about forty pieces of artillery. In Plymouth his friends told him that a warrant was out against him. Thereupon he declared that he was not without a golden key to the doors of the great, and set off for London to see the High Admiral, who was, so Scaramelli believed, determined to shelter the pirate.

Piers had experienced a stormy journey home. At Tunis some of his crew deserted, partly through discontent, partly through fear of coming to England, and Piers had to work the ship short handed. His friend William Cunliffe, another pirate, took advantage of this to board and plunder him. Cunliffe came to England in the most barefaced manner, and was at once "clapped into prison with irons at his heels;" but Scaramelli was not able to lay his hands on Piers for some time. At last he was "caught while flying from London to Plymouth, and was brought like a felon with a mob at his heels" to the Venetian Secretary's house. "He is under twenty-five, squarely built and bold looking," says Scaramelli. "He makes a show of not fearing death, but I don't believe him. I have had him put in such a prison as he deserves, and loaded with all the irons and chains he can carry." Meantime Scaramelli had his eye on another pirate, Captain Tomkins, who was lying off the Isle of Wight, afraid to land; though he is reported to have sent up four chests of money to the High Admiral. A sequestration order against his ship was secured, but the captain and crew slipped ashore in the night and could not be found (No. 128). Scaramelli's agent reported that "two cartloads of money had been sent out" by Tomkins—one to the High Admiral, and another elsewhere. When Scaramelli, in the course of an interview, charged the Admiral with this, he "admitted that he had received six sacks of silver coins, worth about four thousand ducats, which he thought was Spanish loot." If it proved to be Venetian he promised to restore it, also the ship, which at present was forfeit to him on the ground that Tomkins had gone privateering without letters of marque; he promised to do his best to secure justice, and said that as the affair belonged to his department, there was no need for Scaramelli to trouble the King. That was not the Secretary's opinion, however, for he sought an interview with James at Woodstock, and

laid the affair before him, adding that Tomkins's plunder amounted to about three hundred thousand ducats in cash (£75,000), besides cloth of gold, silk and wool. The King, who in all probability had not received any part of this plunder, "listened with extreme impatience, twisting his body about, striking his hands together, and tapping with his foot. He took Scaramelli's memorandum and cried out with a loud voice: 'By God, I'll hang the pirates with my own hands, and my Lord Admiral as well.' Then he turned in a passion to the Treasurer, the Chamberlain and the Secretary who were in the room, and gave strict orders for the execution of justice. Whereupon Cecil stepped in and said to Scaramelli, 'Don't you know that these pirates took to buccaneering under the late Queen, and since God gave us his Majesty, not one privateer has sailed? What do you want of the King? Justice in England, as in Venice, has her ordinary course to run. This is an affair for the Admiral—you must go to him.'" Scaramelli was not to be hectored: he replied that the Admiral himself was a partner in the loot and no competent judge; that as Secretary of Venice, he was accredited to the Crown, not to the Admiral; and that while he could drink at the pure fount of justice, he need not go seeking turbid water in brooks. The King, who was pleased at this, here broke in, and gave positive orders for the restoration of Venetian property, and for the punishment of offenders (No. 141). But before any steps could be taken came news that English pirates had plundered all the property of the Ambassador-in-Ordinary, Molin, who was on his way to England. Matters looked serious, and the Lord High Admiral found it wisest to surrender. He consigned to Scaramelli 1,300 Venetian silver ducats and 150 yards of tabinet; and at the same time a Proclamation to repress all Piracies and Depredations upon the sea, was issued against pirates or "sea-rovers."

Duodo and Molin, the Ambassadors Extraordinary and

Lieger, arrived soon after this, and at once touched on the subject of the pirates, begging especially for the execution of Piers and Tomkins (No. 166). The King replied that he personally detested piracy, but that, as he had only just come to the throne, he was compelled to employ the existing Ministers, who, he admitted, were interested in the proceeds of that industry. He had even been obliged, he said, to give the Lord High Admiral something out of his privy purse, as his Lordship declared he could not keep up his office owing to the failure of revenue from this very source. However, the King promised satisfaction, especially in the cases of Piers and Tomkins, and said he would see about the exaction of adequate caution-money from all ships sailing from England, a device which the Ambassadors hoped might act as a deterrent.

But the Council were not so ready to throw over their pirate friends (No. 170). They informed the Ambassadors that if Piers came under the general pardon granted at the Coronation, it was not the King, but the custom of the country, which the King, therefore, could not contravene, that had granted the pardon ; the King, therefore, could not promise, and therefore could not break his promise. But they pledged themselves to take legal opinion, and to see that justice was executed on Piers and Tomkins. They declined to raise the caution money from 1,000 ducats to the sum total of the damage done, on the plea that as the country was at peace with Spain, privateering would cease. When the report of this interview reached the King he expressed himself dissatisfied, and the following day he came down to Council in person. The whole matter was debated for two hours, and it was finally decided that Piers' pardon was of no value, and the Admiralty Judge was instructed to condemn him to death along with his accomplices. On December the 22nd six

among thêm. The King sent for the Admiralty Judge and told him he would hang him unless he administered justice properly (No. 181). The Judge came to the Venetian Ambassador to say that Piers and another, who were lying under sentence of death, offered to pay a small sum of money if their lives were spared, and that it rested with the Ambassador to decide, for such were his Majesty's orders. The Judge pointed out that if the Ambassador pardoned the culprits he would recover a certain amount of the stolen goods; if he insisted on the death penalty he must abandon all hope of compensation. Molin, after consultation with the agent for the parties at Venice, thought the advice sound, especially as the execution of the six pirates at Southampton had so terrified everyone that numbers of culprits were in hiding and could not be easily caught, whereas if they knew that by a small payment they could avoid the penalties of the law, they would be sure to do so. Molin accordingly said he would wait to hear what sum Piers offered. Piers had made a first offer of three hundred crowns for his life, but on the publication of the general pardon he had withdrawn the offer and spent the money. Now, under fear of death, he offered one thousand crowns and the names of his accomplices. Molin granted a reprieve for two months to allow time for instructions to come from Venice.

Meantime Molin had captured two of the pirates who had stolen all his effects on their way to England. But here again he was told that he could have the life of the culprits or he could recover damages, but he could not have both (No. 221). He complained to the King, who called the law a "monstrous one, unworthy of a civilized people," but said he could do nothing. The English were in fact getting tired of Venetian complaints, and, as Cecil said, they thought they had done

enough in hanging six of them (No. 232) for piracy. When Molin began to complain about smuggling of currants at Zante, they sent Wotton, who had not yet left on his Embassy, to minimize the affair: "Every merchant's a smuggler" he said—and in that spirit he set out for Venice.

But although the English privateers were convinced that the Venetians were slow sailers and bad fighters, though they could say to one another "Come along with me to Levant, and we'll find those solid Venetian ducats that a man may take without risk" (No. 331), they did not get it all their own way. There was a hanging governor in Zante, Maffio Michiel, with whom it was not safe to trifle. He reported in April 1603 that from information received he learned that two buccaneers were on board an English ship lying in the harbour of Zante. He sent for the master on the pretext of giving him letters for England. When the master came to the Castle the governor demanded the men. "I told him I had nothing against him, though I am firmly convinced there is not a sailor of that nation but is a pirate." The captain consigned the pirates, who were locked up pending trial (No. 27). The ship sailed: but presently came news that she had plundered a Venetian and taken her into Modon, a Turkish port in the Morea, where she was sure to find receivers. But here the captain was arrested and sent to the Sanjak[1] at Gastuni, who handed him over to Michiel, though he very soon after demanded him back. The Governor proceeded to try him and the other two prisoners. His name was Christopher Dollard (?) of Dartmouth: he was a man of about thirty-two years of age, rather small, dressed in black velvet trousers and jacket, crimson socks and black felt hat; his shirt collar was

1 *Sanjak means primarily a flag, then the government or province represented by that flag.* In Modern Turkish it cannot mean the man who holds the flag, the governor, as it most undoubtedly did to the Venetians of this epoch.

embroidered with black silk. He was the owner of his ship, whose name was the "Legion"; she was of Flemish build and carried a crew of forty men—all English except three Greeks. He admitted acts of piracy. He and the other two Englishmen were condemned to death, and the two were hung from a tower of the Castle, "where they remained till consumed, as a terror to all such evil doers." But the demand of the Sanjak for the restitution of Dollard raised an international question, and it was only after a long correspondence between Zante, Venice and Constantinople that orders came from the Sultan that the Sanjak was to withdraw all opposition to the action of Michiel. Dollard and another sailor who had been arrested along with him were accordingly hung on the 11th September.

The English pirates in those waters were not slow to revenge these executions. This is the evidence given by Gianbattista Badoer, supercargo of the "Marubbin": "We left Canea eighteen days ago. On the first of this month, old style, when off Venetico, sailing with a north-west wind, being afraid of being carried too far out to sea, we put about for land in the hope that towards evening the wind would serve us better. About two o'clock of the night, with a bright moonlight, a 'berton,' that we had not noticed, bore suddenly down on us. She came out from behind Venetico, where she had been lying-in-wait. When we saw her we tried to escape to sea, but she was so close upon us that she opened fire from her harquebusses and artillery, and her crew cried "Down with your sails." We had to obey, for we were not strong enough to fight. They came on board us, and thrashed us for not taking in sail fast enough, using great violence and foul language to us. They took all our artillery, sent us all below, and fastened down the hatches. Then they proceeded to help themselves to everything, including thirty casks of wine. With great

cruelty they kept us under hatches for four days and four nights, and sailed our vessel up and down, along with theirs, looking for more prey; but finding none they let us go. The first thing they did when they boarded us was to ask if any Venetian nobles were on board, as they intended to hang them straight off, in revenge for the hanging of the Englishmen at Zante, and they meant to cruise there till they had caught a Venetian patrician. They robbed a French passenger of five hundred sequins. We could not find out the name of the ship nor of the captain, but she is a vessel of about two hundred tons, well armed with twenty-six guns. The captain is a fair-bearded, red-faced little man; thin; dressed in purple satin and English breeches, about thirty years old. We were all in terror of death, for they bullied us, and went so far as to put the noose round our necks every day."

But it was against the Governor Michiel that the English vowed chief vengeance, and they took it on this wise. Michiel reports on December 4th 1604 that:—"Three days ago the 'berton' 'Moresini,' which sailed hence on the 19th November, returned to this port. She had been plundered by a pirate just outside the channel. I am the largest sufferer, for these robbers have ruined or stolen the greater part of my household goods and those of my Chancellor and officer. As it was the end of my time of service we had put most of our personal effects on board, thinking that the 'Moresini' was a good, sound, well-armed ship. But unluckily she fell in with these assassins. The master, seeing that he was on board the pirate during the plundering, cannot give ocular testimony, but the passengers assûre me that the larger number of the pirates are English, and that they fell on my goods like mad dogs, though they leít the other merchandize of value alone. What they did not want, sûch as majolica and earthenware, they broke

to bits in glee, and also the packing-cases belonging to my family; but the greatest proof of their cruelty is that they killed some doves that my womenfolk were sending home for their particular delight. The birds were kept in a cage over the ship's side, and the pirates killed them all and threw them into the sea. This they did, I take it, to wreak vengeance on me for having hung a captain and three English sailors. I do not complain, for I am ready to lay down my own and my children's life in service of your Serenity."

The master of the "Moresini" deposed as follows:—"We sailed on the 19th November. When off Prevesa a pirate bore down on us. I challenged her and the answer came in English, which I don't understand. Then, as they still came on, our English captain cried, 'I am Captain Abraham Las,' and immediately the whole crew of the pirate uncovered. We exchanged salutes, and then the master of the corsair came alongside in a skiff, and with him the captain, some soldiers and sailors. We made them welcome; and after eating and drinking they all went back to their own ship except the captain. With them went two of our crew, Englishmen, the gunner and a sailor. After a bit we saw them haul in their boat; and I took it for a bad sign. I hailed them to come and fetch their captain and to send back our two men. They answered that in getting the boat aboard they had stove her in; and asked me to send ours. I consulted with the captain, and expressed doubts as to our safety. He assured me that it was all right, and that he knew his countrymen. I, seeing that we could not any way withstand them, as they had twenty-eight guns and a hundred men, resolved to go in person. This I did next morning; the corsair cruising round us all night. I took some of my crew with me, though they were very unwilling, and an English passenger called Rimondo went with me, and my supercargo, also English.

No sooner were we on board than they all began to chatter together, and presently commenced to put on their swords. Then about thirty of them got into the boat and came aboard this ship. I was taken below to a cabin, where they gave me food. When night came I saw the boat come back from our ship full of things, which they had taken, after breaking open all the boxes and trunks, though their chief officer made us understand that if any of us saw anything belonging to himself he was to point it out, and it would be restored; and under cover of this they did give back a few things, but the most they hid away. A question then arose among them. Some wanted to carry off the ship, others to give her back to us. They came to blows, and one was badly wounded. Our English captain came on board and succeeded in pacifying them, and he was able to rescue our ship for us. We were all sent back, and the pirate went off. I found the whole ship pillaged. The Englishman was about four hundred tons. The crew were all young and beardless, and among them were four or five captains; one was called Bully."

When Wotton went to Venice, it was part of his mission to deal with this whole question of privateering in the Levant. At home, the King at all events was anxious to suppress piracy, and no doubt the example made by the hanging governor of Zante had a salutary effect. Cecil and the Council, moreover, were really convinced that the existing scandals were merely the aftermath of the Spanish war, that peace being declared no new privateers would leave England for the Mediterranean, and that with the extermination of the desperadoes, who were too deeply dyed to trust themselves at home, the whole business of buccaneering would cease. Venice, however, desired to establish some definite method of distinguishing genuine merchantmen from privateers. She thought that a full right of search would meet the difficulty, and for this she negotiated with Wotton. Her demand was that on meeting

Venetian galleys of the State, Englishmen should be required to strike their foretopsail, to heave to, and to send their ship's boat with the papers on board. Cecil was opposed to this (No. 403), on the ground that vailing was a recognition of superiority and could not be observed towards the Republic outside the Adriatic, that is, outside her own waters, though he assented to the ship's boat going aboard. Wotton, it seems, had represented at Venice that the demand of the Republic would be granted in its widest sense, and such, it appears, was the King's intention, for in spite of Cecil's brusque assurances that the orders would be issued as he had "explained them and not otherwise," in the very next interview he has to inform Molin that his Majesty had given orders to the High Admiral that the instruction should issue in the terms reported by Molin and confirmed by Wotton. What result the order produced the documents in this volume do not show.

The third point which occupied the attention of Wotton during the early years of his Venetian Embassy was the attitude England adopted towards the quarrel between the Curia and the Republic. The quarrel arose nominally over the question of ecclesiastical *versus* secular jurisdiction involved in the well known cases of Saraceni and Brandolin, and the question of temporal *versus* ecclesiastical authority involved in the decrees of the Senate which taxed the clergy, forbade the erection of new churches and the further alienation of real estate in favour of the Church. Wotton himself declared (No. 521) that a third of the Paduan district, and that the best part, was in the hands of the Church. The real ground of the quarrel was the excessive claims of the Curia Romana; the claim to "deposing power," the claim to remit allegiance. These claims were supported and inculcated by a combination of Spain and the Jesuits, which Sarpi called the "Diacatholicon." It was Venice, instructed by Sarpi, that stood forward to resist these claims, and her cause was

the cause of all temporal princes face to face with an encroaching Curia. The quarrel soon assumed threatening proportions; both sides armed and sought support. There was danger of setting Italy in a blaze which might easily spread to the rest of Europe.

The attitude of the three great powers was as follows: Spain supported the Pope and was ready to arm though really unwilling to precipitate matters in Italy, while still so hampered in the Netherlands. She was more anxious to be the means of an accommodation if that were possible. France was willing enough to see Spain embroiled in Italy, as that would relieve the pressure on her allies, the Dutch and the Grisons, who were being threatened by Fuentes in the Valtelline; but Henry had made his peace with the Pope; he did not wish to run the risk of excommunication; the Jesuits were powerful in France; the King feared and courted them and had no desire for a French Gunpowder Plot—therefore he too was more inclined to enhance his prestige by securing an accommodation if possible. England was guided by James' unpopular policy of peace with Spain, but was not unwilling to resist the Pope upon the double ground of genuine resentment at his excessive claims, and with the Plot still rankling in its mind; but James was afraid that Henry would land him in a single-handed war with Spain, and then draw aside himself and reap the benefit. Salisbury also doubted whether the Republic would really stand firm against the Pope even if stiffened by foreign support (No. 628). He told the Venetian Ambassador that the common opinion was that Venice would surrender; the strong Catholic sympathies of most of the Venetian statesmen were well known. Wotton reports that Henry held the same opinion "judging that the universality of the commonwealth will not willingly fight."[1]

1 R.O.S.P. Venice. Wotton to the Lord Secretary—undated, but between Dec. 21-31, and Dec. 29 and Jan. 8, 1606-1607.

The policy of England can be clearly followed in the Venetian documents supplemented by Wotton's own despatches. Wotton began by complaining that he had been officially informed of the strained relations between Venice and the Pope later than other envoys in Venice, whereas "there appear to me to be two reasons why your Serenity should have confided in me rather than in any other envoy; the one is that I am freer from interest or prejudice than any, and the other is that I represent a country that knows to a farthing the value of excommunications" (No. 512). A month later (May 16th 1606), he again had audience, and said that he had been revolving within himself how he might be of service to the Republic, and had resolved "to lay bare a secret of his mind, if haply, like an ant, he might add one grain to the mound of Venetian greatness. 'I am,' said he, 'in a free state and in a secret council; I will speak openly but under seal of confession.'" Wotton then went on to broach a scheme for a league between Great Britain, France, the Grisons, and other Swiss cantons, and possibly a German Prince. He supported his idea by citing a memorial drawn up by the Duke of Sessa for Philip II., from which it was clear that Spain dreaded such a league, and he added that it was a maxim of statecraft to put into execution what you know your enemy dreads (No. 521).

But the Doge did not show much enthusiasm. He remarked that the Republic was resolved to maintain its faith while maintaining its possessions, and therefore could not embark on such a scheme.

Meantime Giustinian, the Venetian Ambassador in England, sounded James upon the subject with the following result (No. 532). The Ambassador was explaining the nature and the antiquity of the laws to which the Pope objected; but the King broke in with "a very resolute look and said, 'They are pious, most just, most necessary laws. Not only do I

approve, I commend and sustain them. The world would indeed be fortunate if every Prince would open his eyes and behave as the Republic does; but some hold their tongues because on that condition they are permitted to do what they like; others are indifferent, others afraid. It is the mutual jealousy of Princes, not the will of Christ, that has made the Papacy so great and so insolent. The Pope holds me and my crown for the most abominable thing in the world; but I claim to be a better servant of God than he is. To his divine Majesty and before mankind I protest that I have no greater desire than to see the Church of God reformed of those abuses introduced by the Church of Rome. There is nothing I long for more than the convocation of a legitimate Council. I have informed the King of France, with whom I am on good terms, and who knows but that through these present troubles of the Republic God may open the way for the effectuation of my pious purpose? The Popes, however, do not desire this, for it suits their design to keep the world in darkness. What wonder then if Christianity is ruined and if Princes are exposed every day to annoyance from the intolerable pretensions of Rome? Pope Clement VIII. invited me to join the Roman Church. I replied that if they would resolve the various difficulties in a general Council, legitimately convened, I would submit myself to its decisions. What do you think he answered?—just look at the zeal of the Vicar of Christ!—why, he said: "The King of England need not speak of Councils; I won't hear of one. If he will not come in by any other means things may stand as they are." What do you think of that? Is it not an answer which clearly shows their resolve to be guided by nothing but their interest and their passions? And so it is in every case: so overweening is their personal claim and so outrageous the flattery of those who, from

ambition and avarice, worship them with an execrable adulation, that may be they hold themselves superior even to Him whose Vicar and minister on earth they are. I am not surprised that in their controversy with the Republic they will not listen to reason, for their habit is to admit no reason but their own will.' And here the King embarked on an exceeding long discourse against the usurpation of supreme and absolute power by Popes, employing such a force of reasoning, such a wealth of citations from the holy Scriptures, such a marvellous flow of eloquence, that had his Majesty's speech been taken down and sent to the Pope, perhaps he would turn his attention to other subjects than the molestation of your Serenity. His Majesty said that he studied Bellarmine every day, and found him full of falsifications of the text and the authority of the Fathers, whom he cites in support of his papal idol, to whom he not only attributes spiritual authority, but actually sells temporal authority too, at the price of a red hat. In short, I cannot report half of what his Majesty said on these points. He expressed himself in most vigorous language to his own so obvious satisfaction that the Lords of the Council, who were present,—though somewhat apart,—declared that they had never seen him more content and delighted."

By July 1606, matters looked so threatening for Venice through the Spanish declaration in favour of the Pope, and the massing of troops in the Milanese, that the Venetian Ambassador in London was instructed to extract from the King some declaration of his intentions (No. 549). This was done at an audience with his Majesty at Greenwich on August 10th. "Assure the Republic," said the King, "I shall assist her with all my heart in all that depends on me. I only regret I am so distant, though, as you said the other day, where there is a neighbourhood of ideas Sovereigns can easily do all

the rest. I have written to my Ambassador to make a similar statement in my name to the Republic." This is the first mention of that English succour in force which led Sarpi to formulate his famous saying, embodying all the theory of sea power, namely, that those who have command of the sea are never far off.[1]

On September 5th Wotton made his communication to the Cabinet, prefacing it with the remark that "my master is pleased to consider himself bound on this occasion by my words." He then recited the reasons which induced his Majesty to offer his support, and concluded by saying that the publication or reservation of that offer was left to the Republic herself. On that point the Doge was of opinion that "it will be time enough to show one's hand when the negotiations fail." But the news from Rome, that the Pope had announced his intention of proceeding to force, soon led the Republic to desire the publication of the English offer, and Wotton, who was working for an open breach with Rome, gladly undertook to secure this (No. 582). Following up this favourable opening he pressed the Doge to indicate at once how he wished the King's offer to be carried into effect. The Doge, however, replied that the consideration of this point might be delayed. Wotton did not cease from his exertions to bring Venice to an open rupture. But the negotiations of the Cardinal de Joyeuse, the French Envoy Extraordinary, and of Don Francesco de Castro, coupled with the genuine desire for an accord compatible with honour and temporal independence which animated the Republic, were conspiring towards an arrangement of the differences between Venice and Rome; while in England Lord Salisbury, who did not approve of James' public offers of help, urged upon the King that this policy would bring him little reputation, for an accord would certainly be

1 See Moritz Ritter "Die Union und Heinrich IV." p. 87, Sarpi to Christopher Dohna, "chi può vexire per mare non è lontano."

reached and that through the medium of another sovereign. In fact Salisbury impressed the Venetian Ambassador in London with the idea that the British Ministers intended to "go cautiously in this business and to watch events." They really suspected Henry of trying to embroil them with Spain in Italy. On December 2nd Wotton was informed that Venice had proposed in the interests of peace, that the Pope should remove his censures and that the Republic would then withdraw its protest, and would hand over the two criminous clerics to the King of France, who would receive them in the Pope's name, but without prejudice to the Republic's right to try ecclesiastics in the lay courts. This justified Salisbury's prevision, and although an accord was not reached till April of 1607, it was upon these lines precisely that the accommodation was framed.

The influence of Salisbury was soon felt in England, and by the middle of December 1606 Giustinian complains that the Ministers have determined to stand aside for the present and watch events. "Would to God I had to deal with none other here than with this excellent King, a model of frankness and sincerity." The same influence is apparent in Venice, where a rumour began to spread "that the King of England is not as warm as he was" (No. 648). And on January 29th, while the accord was not yet reached, and in view of the Papal armament which continued at the instigation of Spain, the Senate informed Wotton that they were now ready to discuss the proposals for a League which he had so frequently advanced. But Wotton's answer was far from satisfactory; he had probably received instructions as to the views prevailing at home. He now said that the League was an idea of his own, not submitted upon the orders of his master; that he noted that the Senate approached the matter as though it emanated originally from the King, and was an offer

made to them; whereas he thought it highly desirable that the Senate should appear as the prime mover; for who would guarantee that the Senate, after negotiating for a League, would not yield to the Pope after all. To which the Doge replied that the Senate required to be assured of the attitude of the King of England.

It was obvious that in such an atmosphere of distrust nothing serious could be undertaken. Wotton communicated with his Government, but when the Venetian Ambassador saw the King and Salisbury, he found a great coldness towards the League and incurable suspicion of French designs. Wotton's pet scheme for a coalition to include Venice, England, and France was a failure, and the accord, which was ratified in April 1607, put an end to his proposals for ever.

In the appendix will be found a letter written from England by a Catholic to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish Ambassador in France, drawing a lively picture of the despair of the Catholic party immediately after the collapse of the Armada, and bitterly blaming Mendoza as the main cause of that disaster; also a note on the meaning of "a million of gold."

My best thanks are due to Mr. Story-Maskelyne, of the Public Record Office, for the index to this and the preceding volume.

HORATIO F. BROWN,

Ca' Torresella,

Venice.

March, 1900.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1603.

1603.

March 24. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1. On the 20th of this month the Privy Council resolved that it was expedient to secure the person of Anthony Sherley, Englishman.

Motion made to give effect to this recommendation, and to name a commission of four to examine all papers belonging to the said Anthony Sherley, and to report to the Senate.

Ayes 114.
Noes 9.
Neutrals 63.

The commission was composed of
Nicolo Sagredo.
Hieronimo Longo.
Alvise Grimani.
Iseppo Morosini.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

2. The commission appointed to report on the case of Anthony Sherley, declares that after examining Sherley's papers they have found nothing of moment, except the four letters* just read. Sherley is therefore to be tried for the insult to the Persian merchant's house only.

Ayes 161.
Noes 4.
Neutrals 25.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of April 1, from Zante.

3. Robert Brachia, Englishman, Master of the *berton* named the "Thomas William Good Fortune," deposed: I left London on the first of January last (O.S.) bound for Leghorn with a mixed cargo of iron, lead, leather, tin and broad cloth. After leaving Leghorn came on here. Off the coast of Sicily fell in with a Frenchman laden with corn from Sicily. This we took as we claim that it is ours, our Queen being at war with Spain, and Sicily being Spanish possessions. We brought the corn here and sold it, and then dismissed the ship and her captain, after paying him his freight. We are now going to Chios, and we are forty-seven in all on board.

March 28th, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

* The letters are missing.

1603.
Enclosed in Despatch of April 1, from Zante.

4. Petro Martini of Marseilles, Master of the ship "Sant' Antonio," deposed that he was sailing to Messina along the coast of Sicily; he fell in with three English ships. "One named the 'Thomas William' boarded us and made us strike sail. They took us in to Cephalonia and sold the corn and set us free. We then sailed together to Glarentza, where they discharged the rest of the corn. To speak the truth we have suffered no hardships, for the captain treated us well, nor did he touch our private property; indeed he actually paid me my fare."

The supercargo of this same vessel was examined as to the name of the captain of the English vessel, and replied that he is called Robert Brasich.

March 29th, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.
Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

5. The commission appointed to deal with the affair of Anthony Sherley, at present a prisoner of the Council of Ten, having heard that he is suffering in health, find it consonant with mercy to allow him to attend to his cure in a more ample prison, as he humbly petitions; the petition is supported by the Commissioners themselves.

Motion made that Anthony Sherley with one servant be put in one of the new prisons across the Canal, but on condition that he be allowed to speak to no one, until this Council shall have decided what ought to be done.

[*Italian.*]

April 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

6. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the King had the news of the death of Queen Elizabeth, his Aunt *(sic)*, he addressed letters to the Lord Mayor and Council of London informing them that he was ready, if need were, to come at once to receive that which the Justice of God had given him. For the removal of all ground of opposition to the fiat of God, opposition which some might adopted to their own peril and confusion, he declared that he was ready to risk all that he possesses in both kingdoms, aye his very life in defence of his rights, and for the preservation of the religion established in London and in England. This news immediately spread abroad, and relieved the heretics of all doubt, while it levelled the last remnant of hope in the Catholics, and wrought such confusion of sentiment that this very event, which in its nature is the worst of all misfortunes, has become for many of them a relief. The Archbishop, the Primate, has obtained from the Sheriffs of London the liberation of the Catholics from prison and their release from their pledges, and so everyone goes to his home in the country and commits the future to the divine mercy.

The King has not written as yet to the Privy Council, which expected to have immediate acknowledgment from his Majesty; they say the reason is that in the proclamation by the Council no mention was made of the fact that the Queen had named his Majesty as her heir on her death bed; the omission was made with a view to enhancing the merits of the Council, and to leave room for anxiety in men's minds. The King, who is fully informed from other sources, resents this fresh news, and orders are awaited daily,

1603.

The bearer of the letters to the City of London is a Scot, David More, gentleman of the Chamber to the King. He has already been to visit me in company with the ordinary agent, and in his Majesty's name he said that so great and so ancient is his desire for a close alliance with your Serenity that he anxiously awaits the opportunity to converse with me in order to discover what steps he must take in order to achieve his object both on his own behalf and on behalf of his posterity, and also to give me all that satisfaction as regards my special mission which I have hitherto waited in vain. I replied in cordial terms to the gentleman, and I will do the same to the King as far as my own person is concerned and the special objects of my mission; leaving to your Serenity the issue of such other orders as you may deem advisable.

The agent told me that this unexpected declaration that the King is resolved to maintain the heresy will cut all the Catholic princes to the heart. He regretted that the King found himself instantly compelled to overthrow this column of support, but he said he was certain that the Catholics though deprived of churches and priesthood, would not be persecuted in their private actions.

The action of the Earl of Hertford is attributed by rumour to the French, and his Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador is in serious embarrassment. But the younger is beginning to yield to the elder and the rumour is dying away, for the elder Earl of Hertford, crippled as he is, swears that he will have himself carried to London, and there sign the proclamation himself and pledge his son's hand to the same. Arabella, too, no longer mad, writes, in all humility from her prison, that she desires no other husband, no other state, no other life than that which King James, her cousin and Lord, in his goodness may assign her. And so, as the Crown falls peacefully to his Majesty one hundred thousand ducats have been voted for the cost of his journey, which is to take place in May, and another four hundred thousand at his disposal for his coronation.

Meantime the body of the late Queen by her own orders has neither been opened, nor, indeed, seen by any living soul save by three of her ladies. It has been taken to Westminster near London, and lies there in the Palace, all hung with mournings. There the Council waits on her continually with the same ceremony, the same expenditure, down to her very household and table service, as though she were not wrapped in many a fold of cere-cloth, and hid in such a heap of lead, of coffin, of pall, but was walking as she used to do at this season, about the alleys of her gardens. And so, in accordance with ancient custom will it continue till the King gives orders for her funeral.

The new Queen is named Anne. There are only two sons. The eldest does not reach ten years of age. No one knows if he is to be called King of Scotland or Prince of Wales, according to the usage of the English crown. There is one daughter.

The Dutch fleet on its way back from the Portuguese Indies is lying in a harbour at the extremity of England. It numbers seven ships all richly laden with booty. It brings no news of the English fleet that sailed twenty-three months ago.

London, 12th April, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
Enclosed in Despatch of April 12th, from Zante.

7. Olivier Chiavari, Captain of the Frenchman the "Sant' Antonio," deposed that "Off Goza on St. Thomas's day we fell in with an English ship, which gave us chase and captured us. Our cargo was leather and oil, chiefly the property of the French Ambassador in Constantinople. The Englishman took us into Patras. It was of no use our assuring him that France was an ally of England, nor did it serve to shew him patents from the English Ambassador in Constantinople. On the 12th January we came into Patras, where the Captain of the *berton*, after conferring with the English there and the shipping authorities, sold all the cargo to the Turks. He only left one hundred and eight hides in bad condition, which he said would do for our freight.

The Captain of the *berton* was called Thomas Tumnechin (? Tomkins), she was a ship of two hundred tons burthen, with a crew of eighty men."

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of April 12th, from Zante.

8. A certain Benjamin Lock, an English merchant, passenger from London, deposed that he took passage on board the "Ulysses," Master Nicholas Abrual of London. He was at Patras when the Maltese galleys attacked the Castle, which they captured before sun-rise on a Sunday morning. They immediately afterwards captured the Castle of Lepanto. Both Castles were burned and raised to the ground. On Monday when leaving Patras we were fired on by the galleys and by the forts, and returned the fire.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of April 12th, from Zante.

9. Piero Albertini of Venice, master and part owner of the *berton* "Jesus," arrived in this port, deposed that he came from Syracuse (*Saragosa*) with a cargo of sardines; that four months ago he was robbed by an English royal ship (*dell' armata della Regina.*) Later on, on the 15th of January, he was again robbed by an English ship. The first was a long, rakish looking craft, with two guns on the upper deck in the bows. She had about seventy men on board. They told us she had thirteen oars on each side. The other ship was a large one with twenty guns, and a crew of eighty but without oars.

April 9th, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

10. Marin Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Scottish Ambassador and the many Scottish resident here are delighted at their King's succession to the crown of England. They are especially thankful that so important an event should have passed off quietly, thanks to the orders issued two days before the Queen's death. The new King cannot be in London before the end of the month, and preparations for his coronation are already on foot.

The States of Holland promise themselves the same assistance from the King as they received from the Queen; for she left to her

1603.

successor the injunction to maintain friendly relations with his neighbours and to continue the policy she had pursued.

When the King comes to Paris an Ambassador Extraordinary will be sent to England. Speculation as to the person is rife.

Paris, 14th April, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

11. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The death of the Queen will prevent the forces raised in Scotland and England from passing over to Holland for the present, though the States are doing all they can to obtain leave for them to start. They clearly intend to undertake some operations of moment this year. Count Maurice has a large number of small boats on the Scheldt, and is suspected of a design to cut the dykes and to flood Flanders.

Paris, 14th April, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

12. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King entered Berwick on the 14th of this month. Berwick is the strongest place the English hold, it lies upon the Tweed and is washed by the waters of the North Sea. The Scottish lost it in the fierce wars with England. By this sudden entry the King has at one and the same time taken possession of England and bridled Scotland. He will stay a few days in Berwick in order to arrange the form of the union of these two crowns. It is said that he is disposed to abandon the titles of England and Scotland, and to call himself King of Great Britain, and like that famous and ancient King Arthur to embrace under one name the whole circuit of one thousand seven hundred miles, which includes the United Kingdom now possessed by his Majesty, in that one island.

From Berwick he made the first use of his royal authority by issuing orders about his coming to London, about the funeral of the late Queen, about the defences of the Kingdom and the succours to be sent to the States of Holland, Zealand, Brabant. As to the new Government he has issued authority to the old Council in terms which have roused comment, for they distinctly state "during the royal pleasure" and "till the King's coming to London." The troops raised during the illness of the late Queen have passed over to Flushing. They were kept embarked at the mouth of the harbour, and they do not exceed even if they reach the number of two thousand. Statesmen here declare that nothing can be argued as to war or peace with Spain from this despatch of troops, nor as far as they are concerned will they admit that, whatever peace there may be, can the States be allowed to fall under the yoke of Spain or be driven to accept French protection. They affirm that as soon as the King has been crowned, consecrated and anointed as are the Kings of France and of the Romans—a ceremony peculiar to these three crowns—then a general Congress will be held in London to settle the question of peace or war. The King is

1603.

absolutely determined never to abandon his claim to a certain territory across the water. *And although the French Ambassador is careful to enunciate the doctrine that in the friendly relations of France and England lies the safety of both Kingdoms, nevertheless, the recollection of assistance given by the late Queen, especially in sums of money larger than is generally supposed, of the peace which his Most Christian Majesty made with Spain purely in his own interests, the knowledge that France has always had secret relations with Scotland as well as with Spain, and that recently, in return for supporting the King's claims to the Succession, the French Ambassador preferred certain demands that the King should leave a son behind as King of Scotland, and should cease to bear the title of King of France, all these induce in the minds of Statesmen that wavering attitude which marks a serious crisis.*

London, 17th April, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

13. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the subject of the plunder of Consul da Mosto's ship I have taken the necessary steps and obtained orders for Barbary as well, as I learned that the English pirate had gone in that direction; but communications with that part of the Sultan's dominions are very rare. I have also obtained orders to the Sanjak of Santa Maura to betake himself to the waters of Valona and Durazzo. Meantime the Sanjak of Elbassan has been here to dine with me; we concerted measures and he has given me his solemn oath that he will extirpate these thieves. *As to the two thousand sequins to be given to the Capudan Pasha I will see that he receives them with a proper form of words.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th April, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

14. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have gathered from the depositions of the master of a Venetian *berton*, recently from Coron, that a Venetian *marciliana* laden with wood belonging to your Serenity, had been captured by privateers and carried into Modon to sell the booty. The Turks there imprisoned the Captain and two others, on the ground that they had looted a Venetian vessel. I have thought it my duty to beg the Turkish officials to retain these English as prisoners until the stolen goods are recovered, and also to punish them in accordance with the terms of our treaty and in obedience to orders recently received from the Porte. I have written in this sense to the Cadi of Modon and to the Sanjak of the Morea.

It is quite certain that the best way of stopping these villains is to insure that they are denied shelter in Turkish ports.

Zante, 18th April, 1603. Old style.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

15. We arrived last night from Coron with a cargo of oil. We were driven by a gale into shelter at Sapienza. While lying there on Friday last, the 15th of this month, an English *berton* sailed in. I do not know her name. Her captain was a tall handsome young man, but I do not know his name. He had with him a Venetian *marciliana*, with a cargo of wood, bound for Candia. He tried to sell the wood to the Turks at Modon, but when they learned that all this was Venetian goods they declined to buy anything that belonged to Venetians, though they said they would have purchased had it been Spanish goods. The Turks then arrested the Captain, the pilot and two others, and when we left they had not come back. The English prisoners are said to be guarded by six Christians and ten Turks. The *berton* has thirty-six men on board between sailors and soldiers. The *marciliana* had either six or nine persons on board. The *berton* was in ballast and came from Tunis. On our way back we sighted other suspicious sail.

[*Italian.*]

April 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

16. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The succession to the throne of England took place quite quietly, without any of those difficulties and obstacles which many had foreseen. The Queen's great prudence contributed to this result. Foreigners to the number of five hundred were shipped over to Holland, and a like number of Catholics were imprisoned and only liberated after the proclamation of the new King. The King himself proceeded with great judgement both in his relation towards the Queen and in his efforts to obtain the support or the neutrality of foreign princes. With this object in view he negotiated with the Pope through the medium of some private persons, and when exhorted to be converted he replied that for the present he could not. The Pope, besides supplying the King with a certain amount of money, always kept a secret agent at the Scottish Court. The King had understandings with the King of Spain and the King of France, but nothing was more useful to him than his relations with the English Council.

The Queen before dying named the King of Scotland as her successor, and said she had not done so before because of the danger to her life, which would at once be menaced by those who desired to disturb the peace of England. She exhorted her Council to be loyal to the King and the King to continue her policy. She called Cecil to her and gave him a casket which he was to consign to the King's own hands. The casket contained papers, one of them being a memorial on the methods of governing well. She has left a vast quantity of jewels and hangings for her palaces, and a good sum of money. At Easter a million of gold came in and had not been touched. There are hopes that the King may become Catholic. Peace with Spain will probably follow. It is said that the King wishes to call himself King of Britain. If he allies himself with Spain he will prejudice France, if with France he will injure Spain.

Paris, 20th April, 160[illegible].

1603.
April 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

17. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Rosny has been nominated Ambassador Extraordinary in England. The King has selected him because he is a Huguenot and therefore the King of England will treat with him the more freely.

The King of England is very prudent, able in negotiation, capable of dissimulating his feelings. He is said to be personally timid and averse from war. Before leaving Scotland he pacified various feuds between his nobles.

Paris, 20th April, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 21.
Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

18. Despatch to Secretary SCARAMELLI in England.

We had heard that the Queen died on the third of this month, and that the King of Scotland has succeeded. We wait your despatches before instructing you.

This goes *viâ* Antwerp, the easiest and surest route.

Ayes 146.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 3.

[*Italian.*]

April 21.
Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

19. Having heard that Anthony Sherley is brother to the buccaneer, Thomas Sherley, the commission now sitting on Anthony Sherley are to examine on this point, and to find out whether he has any share in his brother's plunderings, and to report to the Senate.

Ayes 120.
Noes 4.
Neutrals 19.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

20. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fate of the "Balbiana" compels me to trouble your Serenity with further despatches. She was captured by a *berton* from Rochelle, manned by French, Dutch and English.

Zante, 22nd April, 1603. Old style.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

21. Deposition of Simon Giustinian, supercargo of the ship "San Giovanni Battista," came from Zea and Athens with a mixed cargo for Venice. While at Zea two Spanish ships came into port. They lay alongside and stole some of our belongings. We came on to Athens and took in the rest of our cargo and sailed for Zante. But on last Saturday evening, the 20th, when off Modon we sighted four English *bertons*. Three of them were towing a prize into Modon. The four came up to us. The Captain is called John Piers. He boarded us with twenty-five of his crew. He

1603.

ordered the master to make sail, then he locked us all up in a cabin and took command of the ship. After a day they began to plunder us. The English said they were sixty on board the *berton*, but one of our men who was aboard reckons them at forty.

[*Italian.*]

April 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

22. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is now some days ago that Secretary Cecil spoke to me about some corn which was brought to Zante as far back as 1597. He begged me to petition your Serenity to give orders that it should be paid to a certain Geoffrey (*Giafferie*) Luter, an English merchant in Venice, who holds the powers of attorney and all necessary instructions in the matter. Cecil said that it was desirable that the parties who are complaining should be satisfied so as to avoid complications.

I replied in general terms and undertook to make representations on the subject when furnished with fuller information than his Lordship had given me by word of mouth. Cecil has now sent me a memorandum in English, presented to him, and in courteous language he invites me to beg your Serenity to order the statement to be made in Venice to the representative of the parties interested. I enclose a translation, and no doubt the illustrious gentlemen, through whose hands this business will pass, which as you see is a question of plunder, will be able to return such an answer as will satisfy the Council if not the parties interested. I must add that the Treasurer, who is a relation of the owner of the ship, the "Royal Merchant," which is taking out the goods I have recovered, has asked me to beg your Serenity to remit a fine which was inflicted on the Captain George King (*Chinch*), an Englishman, for having laded raisins at Zante last year just at the beginning of the prohibition. Two sons of the Treasurer, gentlemen of importance, have made a similar request. Thus solicited I have given a letter to Captain King, which will serve at least as a letter of introduction when he reaches Venice. He will offer his excuses and recite his services in having on several occasions furnished the island of Zante with corn when there was a famine, and will receive from your Serenity the grace he may have merited, more especially for having at this period of interregnum, when everything was full of alarm, taken his ship with the recovered goods upon it safely down the river to the sea and saved the merchandise from various dangers.

I hear on all sides that the King is a man of letters and of business, fond of the chase and of riding, sometimes indulging in play. These qualities attract men to him, and render him acceptable to the aristocracy. Besides English he speaks Latin and French perfectly, and understands Italian quite well. His Majesty has ordered the funeral of the Queen to take place without waiting his arrival, and they say he wishes to see her neither alive nor dead, for he can never expel from his memory the fact that his mother was put to death at the hands of the public executioner, with great disgrace and cruelty, an indignity to a crowned head

1603.

that has no parallel in history except the cases of Corradin, decapitated in Naples by Charles the Eighth of France, though he was not a King only a pretender, the two adulterous Queens of Henry VIII. of England, Anne Boleyn and Catharine Howard, and Jane, who rebelled against Mary of England. Elizabeth's portrait is being hidden everywhere, and Mary Stuart's shown instead with declaration that she suffered for no other cause than for her religion. The Earl of Southampton, who was lying in the Tower of London under sentence of death for complicity in Essex's affair, and also Baron (Sir) Henry Neville, who was one time Ambassador in France, have been released, and it is said that the King wishes Lady Arabella to appear as the sole Princess of the blood at Elizabeth's funeral, which is being arranged for the second week in May. Lord Kinloss* (*Chinlos*) arrived last week; he is a Scot, of the King's Council, and more intimate with the King than anyone else in Scotland. He carried orders that he was to be admitted of the Privy Council, and he at once took possession to the disgust of the Lords, who pretended that no one but Englishmen should hold honours and office in England. Lord Kinloss is Abbot (Commendator) of a rich benefice in Scotland,† conceded to him by the King, and allowed by his Majesty's religion, which is not, as was said, Calvinist, but Protestant, as may be gathered from a book published by his Majesty in the English tongue, and sent to press here within an hour of the Queen's death.‡ In this book he drew up regulations for the guidance of his eldest son Prince Henry, and incidentally warned him to beware of the proud Bishops of the Papacy, and calls the Puritans a very plague. For all that, everyone who comes here from Scotland affirms that the religion of this country will not be changed, except that the recusant Catholics who have agreed to pay to the Crown a large sum every month in lieu of attendance at heretical services, may perhaps be relieved of that payment and freed from persecution for their religious acts in private. If that takes place then in the next Parliament the Catholics will attempt nothing further than the revocation of that law of Elizabeth, which makes it the capital crime of *læsa Majestas* for any Englishman in any part of the world to enter Latin orders. As all this reaches me with some positiveness I must not fail to report it to your Serenity.

I paid a visit to this new Scottish Councillor, and he repeated to me what Hudson (?) (*Uzzon*), the King's Envoy in Ordinary, had told me, and also More, the King's Chamberlain, and added that a packet of letters addressed to your Serenity had already been made up and a gentleman appointed to convey them to me and to open some secret negotiations with me, when news of the Queen's illness reached Scotland, and soon after the news of her death.

I endeavoured to discover the contents of these letters, and Lord Kinloss replied to me that it had occurred to the King that as an Agent of the Republic was in England it would be desirable to find out what sort of sentiments the Republic held towards him, but now that both tide and wind had been in his favour circumstances were altered and there was no more need to touch on that subject. It

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* Edward Bruce, afterwards Master of the Rolls.

† Kinloss Abbey.

‡ The Basilikon Doron.

1603.

only remained for me to show the way to the effectuation of that good understanding which his Majesty desires to establish with the Republic.

I replied in general terms, with cordial attestations of the satisfaction with which your Serenity had received information of his Majesty's excellent disposition towards the Republic. I then passed on opportunely to touch on the subject of my mission, and I said I hoped his Majesty would conclude my business, and would treat directly as from Prince to Prince, relieving me of any further dealings with Commissioners, who are both judges and parties in the cause. To which he replied, "The King knows what you want, and as it will still take some time before you can approach him here in London on such a subject which requires information and attention, I should advise you to suspend your present negotiations here, which are partly of a private nature, and to go to meet the King at some place upon his route, where I, who must presently go back to him, would already have preceded you and could make an appointment; in this way, even if your credentials have not yet arrived, his Majesty will be very glad to receive your public and private congratulations, and will speak with you." I made as though I were highly pleased with this offer, and tendered my thanks. I did not, however, conclude the appointment, not because I did not wish to do all that I considered opportune for the service of your Serenity, but because as the affair of the "Speranza," about which chiefly I was sent from Venice, is now completely closed, and I do not see where to apply myself in these unexpected circumstances, in which expenses are excessively increased.

London, 24th April, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

23. Petition of EDWARD LILLY, NIVEL DAIVES, SALAMON GRAVENER, EDWARD NEWMAN, and others to the Privy Council.

Hugh Whitbrook and his consorts in June, 1597, captured on the coast of Sicily two ships, one had a cargo of grain and belonged to Messina, the other a cargo of wood and belonged to Trapani. They took out of them several copper cauldrons and other goods, and let them go on their way. At Zante the Proveditore Cornaro compelled us to sell the corn, as there was a great dearth in the island, at forty-seven *gazzette* the measure, though at the moment it was worth sixty. We were badly handled and beaten, and the corn taken from us without payment; also the bill of lading and letters. The Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet were in accord over this action. The loss amounts to two thousand sterling and upwards, as will be proved, that is about eight thousand ducats.

We petition for the sequestration of Venetian goods to that amount, or that his Majesty should write to Venice on our behalf.

Report as to what actually took place.

Hugh Whitbrook and others agreed to make a voyage from London to Leghorn on board a ship named the "Thomas." Arriving at Leghorn on the 8th of April, 1597, they discharged their goods and left on the 14th of May for Zante and Alexandria to pick up a

1603.

cargo. While coasting along Sicily they captured two ships, one hailing from Messina with a cargo of grain, the other from Trapani with a cargo of wood. Out of this ship they took eleven parcels of copper weighing three thousand five hundred pounds, and one box of white wax candles and torches to the weight of six hundred pounds. After that they let the ship with the cargo of wood go free. On board the other they put some sailors. She was of one hundred tons burden, and had a cargo of one thousand five hundred measures of corn.

On the 4th of June they reached Zante with the intention of taking on board a part of their cargo. Hugh Whitbrook, who was the merchant, went on shore to the Castle. The Governor asked him where he came from, he answered that he came from Leghorn, and that on the way he had captured booty. The Governor gave him a cordial welcome, and declared he was pleased at their arrival, as there was a great dearth of corn. The following day, a Sunday, the Governor sent for Whitbrook and others; and from the ship's books and the evidence of four witnesses being assured that the booty was fair prize, captured outside the Gulf,* still he would not let them go with their booty, owing to the great scarcity of grain. By fair words and promises Whitbrook was constrained to part with the grain at forty-seven *gazzettas* (a Venetian coin) the measure, ready money. They, under this compulsion, began to unlaid a part of their grain, and while that was going on six Venetian galleys arrived in port. The Spanish Consul there resident went to complain to the Commander of the galleys, who at once sent for Whitbrook and others of his company, and examined them separately; but finding no just ground for objection he dismissed them all, though he kept back their letters and bills of lading. The following day the Commander of the galleys consulted with the Governor and with the Captain of the Castle, and determined to strip them of their booty, and did so. To facilitate their design the Commander of the galleys sent for Whitbrook and some of the principal officers on the pretext of offering them a banquet, but he detained them as prisoners, while he sent some of his soldiers on board the "Thomas," and took all the booty and some of the corn which was on board for the use of the ship's crew besides, by which act of cruelty the said ship "Thomas" was in great straits. Besides they broke open and carried off various other articles, and although Whitbrook complained he met with no redress. When they demanded a certificate setting forth the treatment they had received, this was refused, and they were referred to Venice. The value of this stolen property is at least two thousand pounds.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

24. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose letters from the master of the *marciliana*, laden with wood for Candia, and recently captured by the English.

Zante, 28th April, 1603. Old style.

[*Italian.*]

* i.e., the Adriatic.

1603.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

25. I was attacked by three English *bertons*, who took whatever pleased them; sails, artillery, cables, anchors. They took us into Modon and tried to sell the remainder of the cargo and the ship. When the Aga found out that the goods belonged to your Serenity he sent Battista Giustinian to Sapienza, where he induced the Englishman, his brother, and two other English to come ashore. They were instantly arrested, and told that unless they brought the *marciliana* to Modon they would be put in irons and sent to Zante.

Signed Antonio, son of Hieronimo, of Venice.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

26. Letter from GIOVANNI BATTISTA GIUSTINIAN.

Four days ago an English *berton* put into Sapienza. Her master is called Buer, a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six, and very rich. He brought a prize, the *marciliana* "Mema et Costantina," captured off Strivale. The people of Modon refused to purchase, on the ground that the goods belonged to your Serenity. I tempted the Captain, his brother, and two others ashore, and they were immediately arrested and ordered to bring the *marciliana* under the guns of the Castle or they would be clapped into irons and sent to Zante. The Captain obeyed, on condition that as soon as the ship was brought in he and his people might go free.

Modon, 28th April, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

27. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I was informed by the Chioggian, Battista Corsari, that on board an English ship lying in harbour were two of the buccaneers who had plundered his ship. I sent for the master of the Englishman on pretext of giving him letters to take to England. When he came to the Castle I demanded the men, and told him I had nothing against him, though I myself am firmly convinced that there is not a sailor of that nation but is a pirate. He obeyed my orders and consigned the men. They are in prison and have readily confessed the deed. They plead that their Captain took them in. I shall proceed to try them.

Zante, 29th April, 1603. Old style.

[*Italian.*]

April 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

28. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I waited on the Archbishop of Glasgow, Ambassador here for the King of Scotland, and on the Ambassador of England.

The King left behind him in Scotland his eldest son, so that the Scottish might not be altogether deprived of the Blood Royal. One hundred thousand pounds sterling were sent from England for his journey; but the King said he would keep them for other purposes. All vessels landing people near the Straits of Dover are searched. The Archduke had destined Don Gaston

1603.

Spinola as his Envoy to England, and given orders that English shipping shall not be molested.

M. de Rosny has not left yet. He is waiting till the return of Baron du Tour (*de Thou*), the King's Ambassador in Scotland. *The Nuncio does not like de Rosny's appointment.*

Paris, 29th April, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

29. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Reports on Mondino's mission to the Sanjaks of the Morea and of Santa Maura to secure the execution of the orders obtained from the Porte upon the subject of privateers, and to deal with the case of the "Veniera" and of the frigate captured by the pirate Delali. Encloses Mondino's report to him. Reports that a frigate bearing his despatches home was fired upon by an English *berton* three days ago, when off Cephalonia, but escaped by using oars.

Zante, 30th April, 1603. Old style.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

30. Letter to FRANCESCO DI HERIEDI from LAMBRIANO PAZZO.

Does not think that the six galleys which are going to Modon will find the English there. Went to Patras and told the English Consuls that they were all in league together. In company with two English and two Cavasses went to Modon; found the ships had sailed. The Captain is a prisoner and is being sent to the Sanjak.

Gastuni, April 27, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

31. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No sooner had the King received news of the Queen of England's death than he sent orders to all the ports to prevent the departure of any foreign ships until further orders. There is endless speculation as to the friendship or hostility of the new King, but nothing positive is known. What I gather is that on this side at least they will do all they can to establish friendly relations on account of the drain caused by Flanders; and therefore the Irish expedition will be abandoned, as well as all acts of hostility. *But as it is not impossible that in this new conjuncture of affairs they might succeed in recovering some of the strong places in Flanders which were pledged to the Queen, they will not forego any steps such as bribery which may conduce to this result. They will argue that the death of the Queen has dissolved the oath of loyalty, and that any attempt to recover the patrimony of this crown cannot be interpreted as a hostile act towards the new King of England. They add that in England both the ministers and the people are anxious for peace.* The whole question, however, turns on this point, will the support of the Flanders' rebels cease or not, and only time can settle that.

1603.

I enclose a copy of the proclamation of the King of Scotland as King of England, and also a copy of a letter, written by the French Ambassador in England, to the French Ambassador here. The latter tells me that the Queen's niece is laying claim to the throne.

Valladolid, the first of May, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

32. Letter from the FRENCH AMBASSADOR* in London to the FRENCH AMBASSADOR in Spain.

A few days before the death of the Queen all the nobility and commons of England prepared themselves for the immediate election and nomination of the King of Scotland as her successor. To-day, the third of the month, at three o'clock in the morning, she died. She was almost unconscious, and for three days she had lost her speech. She had no fever and suffered no pain during the whole course of her illness, nor did she lose her intelligence and consciousness till the end. The King of Scotland was at once proclaimed in the Court at Richmond, and the same day was proclaimed in the city by the King-at-Arms on horseback, surrounded by all the Lords of the Council, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons and Knights to the number of three hundred. Cecil read the proclamation I now enclose. The change has been accomplished in this manner, though for years all Christendom held for certain that it must be attended with trouble and confusion. The satisfaction is universal among the English, and so miraculous is the unanimity of the King's own nation that one sees his hand or his luck to be great, and his prudence even greater; for on this question of his assumption of the throne, which he dared not have broached to the Scottish earlier, he now finds such conformity to his wishes and such rapid union among all, notwithstanding the great difference of temperament which exists between the English and the Scottish, not merely in the matter of religion, but on account of the last events of the Queen's reign, and of that rooted and ancient hostility of the English to the Scottish, which seemed destined to retard the arrival of the King at the throne of England. But his title is most legitimate and is supported by the good opinion the English have of his character, by the fact that he has sons, and because he is already versed in government. Add to this the alarm that everyone feels lest discord should open the door to foreigners. All these considerations have counselled to unanimity and promptness in receiving and recognising him. We shall see him here in a few days, and we will observe how he proceeds in his ideas, what order he will restore upon the Catholic question, how he will bear himself to his neighbours.

Meantime I must inform your Lordship that the common opinion of the Queen's doctors and of those who were most closely in attendance upon her and waited on her, is that her illness was entirely due to a profound sorrow which had fallen on her secretly

1603.

on the fact that she showed no symptoms of any malady sufficient to cause death, unless it were old age; her pulse and her eyesight were good to the last. Throughout the whole of her sickness she declined all remedies that were proposed, notwithstanding the prayers and menaces of her creatures and her doctors, who told her she would die; as though her old age or some other secret sorrow—which I can attribute to no other cause than to the death of the Earl of Essex—were prompting her to desire and seek her own demise. However that may be, certain it is that the moment she felt herself stricken she declared that she wished to die. She left no will, nor did she name her successor; she would not go to bed till three days before her death. For fifteen days she lay on a mattress without undressing, with her eyes fixed on the ground, refusing to speak or to see anyone. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, along with the Almoner,* ministered to her in the hour of death, when she displayed great devotion and gratitude to God. *(In questo mezzo dirò a V. S. Illustrissima che la commune opinion dei medici della detta Regina, et di quelli che più stavan giunti alla sua persona et la servivano, è che la sua infirmità nonprocede da altra cosa, che da una tristezza grande che le diede secretamente alcuni giorni avanti, che si lamentasse d'essa; et fondan il suo parer perchè non ha mai in essa veduto apparenza nessuna di male che se potesse causar la morte, se non questa della vechiezza, havendo tenuto sempre il polso et l'occhio buono fino che mancò; et principalmente che in tutto il corso della sua malatia non ha voluto usar nessun rimedio che le sia stato proposto, non ostante i prieghi et minaccie che i suoi creadi et medici le facevano che si moriria, come se o sua vechiezza o alcun altro secreto sentimento, che non posso attribuirlo ne creder nascesse de altra cosa se non della morte del conte di Esses, l'avesse mossa a desiderarla et cercarla essa medesima. Sia come si voglia, è cosa certa et vera che subito che si senti tocca del mal, disse che desiderava la morte. Non ha fatto testamento, ne dichiaration nissuna di successor, ne stette nel letto se non soli tre giorni avanti che morisse, essendo stata più di quindeci sentada in un cussino senza spogliarsi, tenendo gli occhi sempre verso terra, senza voler parlar ne veder nessuno. L'Arcivescovo de Cantorberi, il Vescovo di Londra giuntamente col suo limosiniero, non han lasciato d'assisterle all'hora della morte nella quale ha dato qran segni de devotion et riconoscimento di Dio.)*

London, 3rd April, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

33. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The people of Scotland are opposing the departure of their King for England, out of hatred for the English. The King is endeavouring to overcome their opposition.

Valladolid, the first of May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
May 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

34. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King continues to support those houses and persons who were oppressed by the late Queen. In pursuance of that policy, besides what I have already reported, he has named the Earl of Northumberland of the Privy Council. The Earl had been as it were banished from Court because his estates on the borders of Scotland, near the North Sea, were so great, and because the Queen had some suspicion of those secret intelligencies with the King of Scotland, which are now apparent. The King has conferred the same honour on Lord Thomas Howard, son of the late unhappy Duke of Norfolk, beheaded for being affianced to Queen Mary, his Majesty's mother. The fact that he has bestowed a similar honour upon the Viceroy of Ireland proves that his Majesty was not in secret correspondence with the discontented nobility only but also with the Queen's most intimate advisers. He was afraid of the Queen's intentions and of the negative attitude of the English people towards his succession, and so he always thought it necessary to maintain not merely such internal supports but foreign force as well, in order to win in the struggle. This was the cause of all his past negotiations, not only with France and Spain but with the Pope too, on various occasions, quite recently through the Grand Duke by means of one of the Guicciardini family who was here. His Majesty was resolved that the question of religion should assist him to the throne, and he calculated that if he should find repugnance among the heretics he might rely upon the Catholics and draw his profit from risings in various parts of the country. But his supporters say that now that he has learned by experience that his prospective arrangements have brought him good fortune and resulted in the happy success of his succession to the throne, all his plans will be allowed to drop, and all those intrigues,—which never had any other object than the confirmation to his Majesty of the absolute independent dominion of these kingdoms without acknowledging any spiritual allegiance or temporal jurisdiction as due to the Pope, an independence of which the nation is proud,—will be broken off. And although rumour runs that peace is made with Spain and consequently with Flanders, where the Archduke has already issued orders in Dunquerque that English shipping is not to be molested, nevertheless as the minds of a part of the old Privy Council are deeply impressed by the lofty aims of the late Queen and are convinced that the best way to preserve oneself is to harass one's neighbours, there is a disposition on their part to propose to the King the continuance of the war in opposition to some members of the Council and the general wish of the English people, who in the interests of commerce desire peace.

I must tell your Serenity that the Queen, as I understand from those who may be said to speak almost with her voice, suffered deeply because she could never find a safe and suitable occasion to propose to the Republic means for reducing the King of Spain; and that she was delighted with the arrival of a Secretary, through whom she proposed to suggest the first method, which was to stir up dissensions in Portugal, although the opportunity of availing themselves of him who was called King of Portugal was gone by. She declared that however luckless he might have been, every Prince, your

1603.

Serenity and the Grand Duke in particular, should have supported him, as sent by God to be the scourge of Spain, which was insidiously aiming at the dominions of all other Sovereigns. She proposed that her fleet and the fleet of the States should attack the India fleets of Spain, in which the King's strength resided, and should eventually destroy that traffic. This would assist Venice on the other hand to extend in Italy by expelling the Spanish and weakening them even if the Pope would not consent. Not only those Councillors who retain a lively recollection of the Queen's designs, but all the others as well, are anxious that without a moment's delay the King should send to succour Ostend. They point out the consequences of its fall, for the Spanish could keep in that port their vessels both armed and unarmed, and make an arsenal for building others, which owing to their proximity to England would be a standing menace. Secretary Cecil, who has gone to join the King at York, one hundred and fifty miles away, where his Majesty will keep Holy Week and Easter, writes to the Council that the King has listened to but not accepted his advice about helping Ostend. The Earl of Tyrone has sent back to the King the pardon recently granted him by the Queen, and has told the King that he renounces all the conditions of the pardon, and throws himself entirely on the King's good will; he adds that he has laid down arms, had an interview with the Viceroy, and that peace is established.

Lady Arabella has been released and has gone to meet the King with three hundred horse; after that she will attend the Queen's obsequies.

Ambassadors from most of the powers are coming here; from Spain among the number, though the Spaniards are in the habit of saying that England is but a hand's breadth of ground compared with the worlds possessed by his Catholic Majesty. It is rumoured that the Landgrave of Hesse and some other Protestant princes will attend in person. Secretary Herbert, just returned from his mission (to Copenhagen), which is no longer necessary on account of the close relation between the two sovereigns, says that the King of Denmark will himself make the journey or send a brother to be present at the Coronation, which is to take place both for King and Queen on St. John's day, old style, as far as present arrangements go. In the meanwhile the expenses for the funeral, the entry and the coronation are really great as is usual in this country.

I have your Serenity's orders as to the saltpetre and will attend to them.

London, 1st May, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

35. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have made enquiries as to the saltpetre. I find that it is only in recent years that any quantity has been made in this country. All that was consumed before that date came from abroad, chiefly from Frankfort, where it is collected and sold at the time of the fair, and brought down the Rhine through Holland. They also got it from Lorraine and earlier still from Morocco and other places in

1603.

Barbary. Saltpetre is a royal monopoly, and none has ever been sold to other princes, so far as I know, except a certain amount granted by the late Queen to the King of France and the States. I had a tender for three hundred tons at one hundred and forty ducats the ton, but I hope to cut that down to one hundred and thirty or a little more. These goods are to be delivered in Venice free of cost and at the entire risk of the vendor. I enclose a draft of the contract, and to the Directors of the Artillery I send a sample. I hope that I can make the payment at the rate of thirty-two deniers (*denari*) of English money, for each Venetian ducat of six lire four soldi, which are really at thirty-four, thereby making a gain for your Serenity. Perhaps, however, it would be quickest to pay in bills of exchange, for in this way nothing more than the exact amount of the price would issue from the treasury, and you would always have a hold over the vendor for the quality of the goods. The tender is made by an Italian merchant, who desires to remain anonymous.

I have used my best endeavours; will your Serenity instruct me, after consulting the enclosed, whether I am to deal with the King or not, for without your express orders I will take no steps? I have begged the tenderer to keep silence, so that no competition may spring up. From the saltpetre merchants or public farmers of the monopoly here in London, it would be impossible to get more than ten tons, even with the King's consent, unless the King should sell the military stores, which is not credible. If the affair is too long it would be possible to buy it at the Frankfort fair and bring it to Venice, *viâ* Holland, a route no longer than that from England to Venice.

London, 8th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

For the satisfaction of your Lordship upon the matter of the saltpetre I will now set forth the conditions which should bind both parties, but I reserve to myself the choice as to whether I will or will not carry out my proposal, supposing your Lordship consents to accept the terms I am about to offer, after you have received an answer from Venice, as it is not fair that you should be free while I remain bound, in view of possible accident which may arise to hinder or to modify my plans; although humanly speaking I foresee no grounds for alarm.

I charge myself to supply three hundred tons of saltpetre made in England, refined, up to sample I have furnished.

I will lade the saltpetre on one or more ships for one or more voyages, within six months of my receiving from your Lordship or from others his Majesty's licence to export.

I will send the saltpetre to Venice at my own risk and charges and will order it to be consigned by my agent there to the person or persons indicated by your Lordship, but the consignment shall take place on board ship and at no further cost to me.

In case from some cause or other the whole or part of the saltpetre should be lost on the way before reaching Venice, it shall be

1603.

permitted me to replace what is wanting, and that within six months' notice of the loss, without in any way altering the conditions of the contract which may be stipulated by us.

Your Lordship shall bind yourself in your own name and in that of the Republic to the observation of the following conditions, under pain, in case of failure in all or part, of making good any expense, injury, loss or protested bills. Before I begin to act your Lordship will hand to me the King's licence to export from England the said amount of three hundred tons.

Should this licence be opposed or recalled or should any other difficulty arise by which I am prevented from sending the saltpetre in whole or in part to Venice, your Lordship shall be obliged to accept here the quantity that I may have procured but can not, for whatever cause, not my fault, export; and shall pay me for it the sum agreed, less the cost of carriage to Venice and insurance to be awarded by mutual friends.

The price shall be one hundred and forty ducats of six lire four soldi the ducat, Venetian currency, for every ton light weight of Venice * (*di pesso sottile di Venetia*), reckoning fifty-four pence of English money to the Venetian ducat.

The value of the saltpetre, that is six thousand ducats or their equivalent, shall be paid to me in London upon the stipulation of this contract; the remainder shall be paid upon the presentation to your Lordship or your representative.

I shall be at liberty to retain the said six thousand ducats till the last consignment, and they shall be deducted from the price of that consignment. For this sum of six thousand ducats I will give security here or in Venice against any damage that the saltpetre may suffer by sea.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

36. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Secretary Cecil has come back from being presented to the King as the principal minister, who for eight years running has been Chief Secretary to the Queen. Among the many points which are anxiously gathered from his report there is this, that when the danger that Ostend would fall was brought under the King's notice he said "What of it? Was not Ostend originally the King of Spain's and therefore, now, the Archduke's?" From this everyone concludes that his Majesty's inclination is for peace with Spain. Besides we know that in his almost private and studious days in Scotland he used to say that it was a King's duty to govern his people in peace rather than to enlarge his kingdom by force of arms. All the same part of the Council is determined to urge war. Couriers are flying backwards and forwards between England and France, and the French Ambassador does his best to impress upon everyone, if possible, that by this peace the Spanish would become supreme over all other Sovereigns, including England itself, which he describes as an ample kingdom full of people, arms and all the

* Peso sootile or peso Veneziano; a measure for precious merchandize. The pound = 0,301,2297 kilo. *Cf.* Rezasco, *Dizionario de Linguaggio Italiano storico ed amministrativo Firenze*, 1881. Thomas. *Capitulari del Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. an. 1479.

1603.

necessaries for war, and, therefore, compelled not to allow those forces which are valuable outside the kingdom but hurtful inside, to rot in idleness. It is well known how important this question is for France, but it will not be decided till Parliament meets, that is after the coronation.

Meantime an Ambassador from the Archduke is expected here. They say he is to be Count d'Aremberg,* if the gout allows him to cross the sea, or else Don Gaston Spinola. The Count has always had in hand certain threads of negotiation for this peace with Lord Cobham and the High Admiral.† On the other hand four Ambassadors from the States are also expected, they are Count Henry of Nassau, younger brother of Count Maurice, Barneveld (*Barnavel*), the Councillor, a man of great worth, and two others. Their mission is to prevent the King from abandoning the States. Meantime M. de Caron, ‡ the ordinary agent for the States, in understanding with the French Ambassador, goes putting it about that the States when they find themselves isolated will consult their own interests, and yielding to necessity will come to terms with the King of Spain. He points out the double advantage to the King and the consequent danger to others, one that he would save the enormous cost of his war in Flanders, the other that the naval power of the States will be at his disposal for acquiring supremacy on the sea; and the importance of these considerations every wise Prince perceives, at least in general. But although all this is put about with a purpose, and more to throw light on the situation than in hope of being credited, yet I am informed from a sure source that the States really have opened negotiations with the Archduke, taking advantage of the occasion offered by the Archduke's most important proclamation, made in Bruges on the death of the Queen, whereby all those who had taken refuge in the States and been deprived of their homes and property as rebels, are allowed to return freely and enjoy them.

The most powerful reasons which induce the King to lean to peace are that he knows the rebellious nature of the Scottish, especially should they in his absence, be corrupted by gold; that he is well aware what years of toil and what promises it cost him to acquire favour in England, and he has an inner doubt that if he is not able to satisfy everybody he may find it more difficult to reign in peace than it was to acquire the throne.

Lord Kinloss came to visit me, the Scotsman of whom I wrote on the 24th of last month. In conversation upon weighty topics, wherein he showed himself capable of conducting the most important affairs, he pointedly told me that the King was deeply indebted to the Pope and spoke of him as truly Clement, for though often approached by Princes, not through religious zeal but for political ends, yet he never consented to dishonour his Majesty by placing him under excommunication. His Majesty is aware what importance might attach to this in certain eventualities, and desires to show his gratitude if he can. Lord Kinloss added that as long as the Catholics remain quiet and decently hidden they

* Count d'Aremberg came as ambassador. He was also in correspondence with Arabella Stuart. *Cal. State Pap. Dom.* 1603, pp. 22, 31.

1603.

will neither be hunted nor persecuted. I, replying as was suitable to this friendly and agreeable discourse, remarked that this would hardly fulfill the expectations reposed in the King, which had already reached the ears of various Princes, that his Majesty sooner or later would restore the Kingdom of England to the Roman cult, he answered "No! beyond a doubt this will never happen; our bow which hitherto had two strings will have but one for the future, for he who wishes for the peaceable enjoyment of a kingdom must take care how he changes the religion of it, the smallest suspicion of such a thing is too serious a matter in a people firmly rooted in one faith." He added, "True it is that if the Pope wished to summon a General Council, which, according to the ancient usage, should be superior to all Churches, all doctrine, all Princes, secular and ecclesiastic, none excepted, my master, upon whom, as they will soon find out, depend in this and in other matters, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Free Cities of the Empire and the States as though upon an Emperor, would be extremely willing to take the lead and to prove himself the warm supporter of so great a benefit to Christendom. Beyond a doubt abuses would be removed on all hands, and a sound decision would put an end, perhaps for ever, to the discords in the Christian faith, nor would his Majesty think he could act more nobly than to be the first to offer complete obedience to Council's decrees." He then went on to assure me of the excellent disposition of the King towards the Republic, and added that the Duke of Lennox and Lord Home * (*Huuen*), the Scottish Ambassador in France, had expressed the same sentiments to Ambassador Cavalli. These gentlemen, he told me, are coming with the King, and I will find them very much attached to Ambassador Cavalli.

This morning the body of the late Queen was committed to the tomb in the famous fane of Westminster, dedicated to St. Peter by Segbert, King of the East Saxons, exactly one thousand years ago. After the Anglo-Saxon period the building received such magnificent additions and decorations from so many holy men and saintly Kings that even now in spite of the change in religion it still remains in admirable preservation. The coffin will lie for a month under a catafalque, and on it is the Queen's effigy, carved in wood and coloured so faithfully that she seems alive. She will then be laid near the bones of Edward the Sixth, her brother, in the earth, not in a vault, at the foot of the high altar and at the head of the tomb of Henry VII., her grandfather, a small structure of such richness and beauty that even a hundred years ago it cost sixty thousand crowns.

The magnificence of the ceremony consisted merely in the universal mourning worn by all the ladies and gentlemen of the Court, which cost an immense sum; but at the actual funeral service little else was done except the chanting of two psalms in English and the delivery of a funeral oration, as I have been informed; for although the Council, as is the custom of this kingdom, sent to me and to all representatives of Princes, cloth to make mournings for myself

* See Cal. Border Papers, published by the Register House, Edinburgh, 1896. Vol. II., p. 791. Alexander, Lord Home, left Scotland in July, 1602, as Ambassador to France. He seems to have been in London in October of the same year, on his way back to Scotland. He accompanied James VI. to England in 1603.

1603.

and four servants, which is all that we are allowed to take with us into the great crowd, and also repeatedly and cordially pressed me to be present, I declined the invitation, and offered a good reason for my refusal. I did this because it was not my place to go, and also to avoid entering the church and attending heretic services, and thereby causing inevitable scandal and a danger to myself. The French Ambassador expresses extreme grief, not merely on account of the relationship but because of the long alliance which has existed between his master and this Crown. He attended the ceremony in hood and mourning cloak, whose train was more than six yards long. He not only entered the church but was present throughout the whole ceremony, upon orders received by courier express from France in answer to the question he addressed to the King. This is contrary to the custom of the French Ambassadors, who, since the rebenediction of the King, have never taken part in church ceremonies, such as Coronation Day.

In the Tower of London, owing to a lack of foreign silver, they are melting down a large quantity of silver plate for coining money with the royal die. The gold and silver mines of England are not worth working. The Treasury, too, is exacting the existing subsidy in order to collect as large a sum of money as possible. It is reckoned that what with the crown jewels, the dresses and private jewels of the late Queen, the rich hangings of so many palaces, the silver and gold, including many sacred vessels,—the heritage to which the King succeeds amounts to six millions in gold, not counting the two millions of revenue.

London, 8th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

37. Order for the release of Anthony Sherley, and an intimation to him to leave Venice and the Venetian dominions within eight days, nor is he ever to return, under pain of our indignation, and his papers are to be restored to him.

Ayes 99.

Amendment that Anthony Sherley be set free on no conditions at all.

Ayes	44.
Noes	0.
Neutrals	15.

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

38. Marin Cavalli, Venetian Ambasador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Archbishop of Glasgow is dead. He held a rich abbey of four thousand crowns a year, which the King has conferred on one of his old Scottish ministers.

As there are many questions pending between England and France his Majesty has been advised not to employ his Scottish guard any more for the present. They are the troops which are nearest to his Royal person.

1603.

The King of England is expected to make his entry into London on the 14th of this month, after the funeral of the late Queen. Before his departure from Scotland the heretic ministers endeavoured to gain authority to act as they might think fit, but the King replied that he was leaving behind him the Council, to which they could appeal, and if any serious questions arose, although far off he would issue whatever orders might be necessary. Many Catholics have flocked to the King to recommend themselves to his Majesty; he has answered that they will not be molested, as they were under the late Queen, if they continued to live quietly until he has issued his orders. Besides his Secretary he has advanced to the Council board three English nobles, none of whom is held to be hostile to the Catholic faith.

The Baron du Tour, French Ambassador in Scotland, who has followed the King on his journey, is expected here day by day. He has been summoned to give a full report of the situation before M. de Rosny is charged with a mission.

It is reported that the King may move into Picardy, partly to inspect the strong places, but much more in order to be within easier reach of M. de Rosny.

Paris, 12th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

39. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archduke hoped to conclude the siege of Ostend, for he had captured some fortified positions round the town, which were held by the Dutch, the bombardment from the platform was heavy, and he had nearly succeeded in closing the harbour; but three thousand men and fresh provisions have been thrown into the town, which is now prepared to stand the general assault which was to have been delivered. From Ostend the Archduke went into Dunquerque and Gravelines, which he has fortified. The Dutch, meantime, have sent four Ambassadors to the King of England. The Archduke intended to send Don Gaston Spinola as his envoy to England, but it seems that he now inclines to Stephen le Sieur * (*Count de Sur*), a Councillor of great importance, but nothing will be done till answer comes from Spain.

It is now confirmed that the English will be admitted to trade in Flanders, and orders have been issued that they are not to be molested.

Paris, 12th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

40. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Neither the King nor Arabella was present at the funeral of the Queen. The King has declined to put on mourning, although he knows that the Queen wore strict mourning when she took the life of his mother. He has sent orders to bury the body without the usual delay, and has summoned Council and the Court to

* *See* Cal. S. P. Dom., s. v. Le Sieur.

1603.

attend him. Three days ago his Majesty began to live with English attendants in the English style at Theobalds (*Tibals*) up to that time he had followed his Scottish custom.

At this beginning of his reign the King's virtues are represented as heroic and he is said to lack no kingly quality. Among other actions he has declined all the valuable gifts, which, according to custom, the owners of the houses where he lodged brought to him, and has displayed much magnanimity and judgment. The great lords of Council recently created, and who were one might say almost despised by the older members, are now doing all they can to make the King proud and resolute in place of lukewarm and languid as he is said to be. They are resolved to show that these kingdoms depend entirely upon the supreme will of the sovereign. At every place where the King has halted they have caused a great number of cut purses and other criminals to be brought before him and executed on his royal warrant alone, this he has frequently done; on one occasion sixteen were hanged at a time, including two gentlemen. He is also entertained with stag-hunting and other rude sports, as they say to accustom him to death and blood. On the other hand the most intimate councillors of the late Queen, who in truth are of inferior birth, and of whom some may almost be said to have their hands red with the Queen of Scotland's blood, fearing lest their necks should depend one day upon their action on that occasion, have extracted from Queen Elizabeth's most secret papers a proof in writing, got God knows how, that the said Queen Mary, after putting Henry Stuart, her husband, to death for having slain with his own hand Gioseppe Rosso, a Piedmontese, whom she brought with her from France with the title of secretary, and who had taken refuge in her lap,—intended to kill her only son as well, and to marry for the third time. They hope to make it appear that Elizabeth, full of compassion for this innocent nephew of hers, resolved, under the impulse of this secret stimulus far more than on the grounds adduced by the thirty-six members of Parliament, to put Mary to death. They are in all the greater alarm because the King has declared that he intends to pardon all the nobles condemned for political offences by the late Queen, that is by her Privy Council. The King asserts that he wishes to restore the nobility so that his kingdom may be adorned again by its ancient pearls. This makes it quite clear that there never has been any plot against the late Queen in which the King had no hand. But more than that, it has now been discovered that the whole action of Essex in 1601 was based upon a document signed and sworn by six conspirators. This embraced two points only, first, there was to be a rising in which Secretary Cecil and Councillor Raleigh were to be killed as the cause of the Earl of Essex's disgrace; second, they were immediately to cry "Long live the Queen, and after her long live King James of Scotland, the sole and rightful heir to the English crown," and in this way to make that declaration of James as heir, with the approval of the popular voice, a declaration which the Queen had always refused to make; and so keenly did she feel about it that she proclaimed as a rebel anyone who should venture to mention the subject either in public or in private. On his journey his Majesty meantime, has destined to great rewards the Earl of Southampton

1603.

and Sir Henry Neville, as I have informed you, and also others, and has received the twelve-year-old son of the Earl of Essex and taken him in his arms and kissed him, openly and loudly declaring him the son of the most noble knight that English land has ever begotten. He has appointed the lad to bear the sword before him on his entry into the city, and has destined him to be the eternal companion of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales. All this helps to show not merely that change of Kings means change in kingdoms, but also that what is impossible at one period becomes easy at another.

Three Englishmen, charged with complicity in a conspiracy of the Catholics, have been arrested. The plot was to murder the King ten days after his coronation in case he should refuse to grant the petition of a certain Earl to allow the Catholics to employ the Latin rite. And although one of the three has already confessed under torture, the name of the Earl has not been published yet, nor do they seem to attach much importance to the whole occurrence. Besides this the King has issued a proclamation offering rewards for anyone who will discover and seize two Scottish brothers, who left Scotland with the desperate intention of following him and murdering him in revenge for the murder of the Earl, their brother, whom the King caused to be put to death for a reason which no one dare mention, *though they say it was because he was in love with the Queen.* And so one sees that Kings at the height of their external glory sometimes suffer from an inner wound; and especially at this juncture, for the King left great discord among the Scottish nobles when he crossed the border. A Scottish Bishop,* to whom the Pope had conceded a See in the district of Avignon, writes from Paris to the King, asking for a safe conduct. It is said that for the present he will not get it. Moreover one of the English Catholic priests has had the audacity to preach to the King at one of the places where he stopped. He ventured to say that the Catholic religion had died out with the King's mother, and that without this religion no one can rightly bear the title of King. That Solomon by neglecting the statutes of his father brought about the division of the Jewish kingdom. His Majesty enquired what college the priest belonged to, meaning what English college, the which are almost innumerable and all of them hotbeds of heresy, and if he had any companions. He replied that he belonged to the true College of Christ, and that in this kingdom he had forty thousand of his religion, whereupon the King said, "Well then, among so many, have you never found a chief to take ten of your tribes and lead them elsewhere?" The priest was sent to London under arrest. When some of the Catholic gentlemen who were with the Court withdrew, so as avoid going to church on Easter-day in the city of York, the King said that they should all come to church, for "Who can't pray with me can't love me." He has sent orders under his sign manual and seal to all the preachers in the kingdom, and especially in London, that they are to announce from the pulpit his intention to have only one God in heaven, one King and one Christian religion only in England, and assuring them that for his part he would make no change.

1603.

No one can say whether all this is done for conscience-sake or in order to bind the popular feeling to him and to ensure quiet in that great concourse of people, which is gathering together for his Coronation.

The Coronation is put off till the fifth of August, the feast of St. James, the King's name day. Until that date the King will not make his entry into London, but will merely take possession of the Tower, according to ancient usage, as representing the throne and royal seat; for it holds the treasure and the armoury, that is the very forces of the kingdom. Until his Coronation he will occupy the royal residences and pleasure houses in the neighbourhood of London, and will await the Queen. Six great ladies of the Court with an escort of two hundred horse have already set out to meet her across the Scottish border. The object of this all is to make one entry, one Coronation, and consequently one single expenditure. For bills of exchange for Irish service, to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and some other debts, fall due, and although this is no very heavy burden for this Crown, still the expenses of the Coronation must be very large, and the Council wishes to proceed so carefully and cautiously that when all is over there may be no debts, even if there is no ready money. So much about public expenditure, but the drain on private purses is enormous, to such an extent that even the smaller members of the Council, the lesser Peers and gentlemen, appear in public with forty or fifty pack-horses and some with teams of horses to the number of one, two or three hundred horse with double sets of livery, one for the valletaille and the other for the gentlemen of the suites. They keep open house, and, as is the custom of this country, the table is always laid, one may say, with abundance of provisions. And although the English usually hold that interest and honour coincide (*in modo che, seben gli Inglesi communemente hanno opinione che dov'è il commodo sia anco l'honore*), and many of them do not reckon shameful that which breeds gold, still in the act of spending no one can say that this is the realm of avarice.

For the Coronation, the Heralds—whose office it is to arrange the pageant—are examining precedents, even remote ones. I have quietly endeavoured to find out anything which might interest your Serenity on this point, and I am informed that the Ambassadors of Saxony and Bradenburg, and, earlier still, of Burgundy, have had precedence of the Venetian Ambassadors. The news which I sent you that the King of Denmark would come in person or would send his brother, and that other Protestant Princes would be present, has not as yet received confirmation. The Ambassadors of the States are already here, and it remains to be seen whether the Ambassadors of Archduke Albert will also arrive, in which case a conference might take place between them in the presence of the King if his Majesty's inclinations still lie in the direction of peace with Spain.

The English merchants* trading in currants have agreed at a secret sitting to name one or two persons who shall yearly

* The Levant Company had surrendered their charter; causing a loss of £4,000 per annum to the Crown. Proposals for the restoration of the Company were submitted in February, 1604. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1603-1610, pp. 51, 79.

1603.

buy all the currants required for the English trade; this with a view to cutting out other dealers and putting the currants on the market at the lowest possible price. They are only waiting to begin operations until they have obtained a renewal of the Charter of their Company from the King, including the right to levy taxes, for which they pay annually to the Crown the sum of four thousand pounds sterling, that is sixteen thousand ducats. This is a scheme that I think I can certainly upset for the present, not without hope of re-opening honest traffic and restoring the ancient freedom of trade for Venetian merchants and ships, and thus breaking the ice.

London, 15th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

41. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador is supporting my representations on the subject of privateers. He has advised the Turks to send an envoy to the Queen of England. They have resolved to send a cavass with Imperial letters. Rumour represents the booty acquired by the Corsairs as something extraordinary, and I believe nothing like it has ever been known.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th May, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 17. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

42. Orders from the GRAND SIGNOR to the BEGLIERBEY and CADI OF TUNIS.

William Piers, an English Corsair, has captured and plundered the Venetian vessel conveying the Consul of the Republic and many other rich merchants to Venice.

Orders to recover the goods and hand them over to the Agent of the Ambassador, who is the bearer. If the goods have been sold the officials are to extract from the English all the money accruing from the sale; and to punish the English, so that it shall not be necessary to repeat these orders.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

43. Letters of congratulation to the "King of England and of Scotland" on his succession to the throne of England. Containing credentials for Secretary Scaramelli.

Despatch to Secretary Scaramelli, covering preceding letter. Motion to elect an Ambassador to convey congratulations and to reside in England for two years, according to the ordinary rules which govern the appointment of liegers. He may not decline to serve, he must set out when told to do so by the Senate, he shall have two hundred ducats of gold a month, of which he need render no account, but he must keep eleven horses, including those of his secretary, and four coachmen. Before leaving this city he shall receive in gift one thousand ducats of gold, and if he remains his

1603.

full two years he shall receive another thousand ducats of gold. For equipage, strong boxes, outfit, he shall receive three hundred ducats of lire 6 soldi 4 the ducat, and for extras another three hundred, of which he must render account, his secretary shall receive one hundred ducats, and the two couriers twenty a piece.

Ayes 37.

Amendment.—That an Ambassador Extraordinary be sent to England in addition. That his pay be six hundred ducats of gold a month, eight hundred ducats of lire 6 soldi 4 for outfit. He shall pay for his singers and musicians, but for that purpose he shall receive two hundred ducats, for which he shall account. He shall be bound to keep twenty-five horses.

Ayes 112.

Amendment.—That an Ambassador Extraordinary only be sent to England.

Ayes 11.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 8.

May 17. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

44. Prolongation of the time within which Anthony Sherley is to leave Venice, to twenty more days, in order that he may be enabled to pay his debts and to recover his health, which, as the doctor's certificates show, is very bad.

Ayes 86.
Noes 68.
Neutrals 12.

May 15. Files of the Senate. Secreta. No. 74.

45. Medical certificate.

That Anthony Sherley (*Don Antonio Seerle*) is suffering from disease of the kidneys and renal pains, on account of which he is obliged to make a radical cure, otherwise he runs an obvious danger to his life. In faith of which I, Hortensio Zaphi, have put my hand and seal.

May 14. As above.

46. Petition of Anthony Sherley for extension of the time within which he must leave Venice to three months, in order that he may pay his debts and cure himself of the stone.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

47. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I informed your Serenity that I had in my hands two Englishmen, who formed part of the crew of the ship which had plundered a Venetian cargo, belonging to Rimondo Vidali. While I was drawing up the charges against them I learned that the captain under whom they served had plundered another Venetian ship, and taken her in to Modon to sell the cargo. There he was arrested and sent to Gastuni, to the Sanjak, along with a companion. I thought he ought to be handed over to me, and I asked certain Athenian merchants interested in the case to endeavour to bring him here. They did so, and the Sanjak at once sent the prisoners to me with a letter. Soon after the Sanjak wrote asking for the prisoners to be sent back again. I thought it neither decorous for this Government nor advantageous in this affair to comply with

1603.

his request without express orders from home. I have held an examination, and the English Captain and his companion both acknowledged their crime and the robbery committed. Were it not for the pretensions of the Sanjak, who asserts that he sent them here on conditions, I would proceed at once to their punishment, as I shall certainly do in the case of my first two prisoners, but I shall do nothing against the Captain until I receive instructions from you, which I beg you to send me as soon as possible, for as he is a person of some consideration in his way, the English merchants here are distressed at his capture, and I am obliged to keep careful watch over him. Meantime I will put off the Sanjak with formal phrases, but should he insist I will take the steps which justice requires. I have arrested two other Englishmen, one the actual, the other the late Consul at Patras. They both fled from that place whenever they heard that the English Captain had been arrested at Modon, for they knew they were guilty. One is suspected of having had a share in the sale of the plunder, the other of being aware of all that was going on. I will place them on trial, and then with the assistance of my Council I will sentence them as justice points out.

Giovanni Antonio Valle acts as interpreter. I receive various reports of fresh depredations by the English.

Zante, 18th May, 1603. Old style.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

48. Letter from the SANJAK OF THE MOREA.

The Captain of an English ship which plundered some merchants of Athens and Venice, was arrested at Modon and sent here to me. I had him examined and sent for the English Consul at Patras, but he had left for Zante, nor was his Dragoman to be found at Patras, and the result was that I could discover nothing. I have therefore sent him on to you, relying on your good faith, and that you will cause him to be tried in the presence of the Consul, and the ship and goods to be restored, or, if that can not be done, that you will send him back to me that I may consult the Porte.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

49. Letter from the SANJAK OF THE MOREA.

I send you, under escort, an English buccaneer. You will send his companion at once to Tunis to recover the ship that he stole and the cargo. You will then send the said Captain back to me, for I have to send him to the Porte.

Gastuni.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

50. MAFFIO MICHIEL to the SANJAK OF THE MOREA.

I was out of the city on business when your escort arrived along with the Athenian merchants, bringing the English buccaneer. I returned at once and opened an examination. I arrested both the present and the late Consuls in Patras. I am pushing on the

1603.

trial and will use all diligence, so that the sufferers may be compensated. To carry the matter out fully will require time and repeated examinations of the Captain, and so I can not immediately comply with your request to send him back. I have reported all to my Prince.

Zante, 17th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

51. There was brought from prison to the room behind the Presence Chamber of his Excellency the Governor, a man, rather small, dressed in black velvet trousers and jacket, crimson silk socks, black felt hat, brown beard, and shirt collar embroidered in black silk, age about thirty-two. He said, "My name is Christoffalo d'Oloard of Dartmouth (?) (*d'Artme*), England. I am a soldier by trade, both on sea and on land. I was arrested by the Turks at Modon." As he did not understand Italian the Governor sent for an interpreter. The Englishman continued, "I was arrested because they say my ship, a *berton* of Flemish build called the "Legion," had committed a piracy. The ship is mine, I command her and fitted her out at a place called Dartmouth (*d'Armet*). The whole crew, which numbers forty in all, were English except three Greeks, I don't know from what place. I shipped them from a Venetian vessel on the high sea. It is five or six months since I left England. The Venetian was a small ship with a cargo of chestnuts, glasses, cloth." He admitted having captured another Venetian vessel with a cargo of cotton, silk and oil, and said that while he was on shore his crew had sailed off with the ship in the direction of Barbary; he was not sure whether to Tripoli or Tunis. They went there to sell their booty to the Turks, Moors and Jews. He turned two Englishmen out of his own ship for insubordination. One was called Albert, but he could not remember the name of the other. When he dismissed them he had paid them in Venetian money. All he possessed in the world was on board the ship his sailors made away with. He knows no English merchants in Zante.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

52. Deposition of Nicolas Alvil, son of Richard Alvil of ? (*Demstem*). Had been in service with another Captain, who had gone privateering, and handed him over to the man he is now in prison with. Had no post on board ship, for he was not used to the sea and was always sick. Confirms preceding deposition.

May 9. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

53. List of the names of various English privateers, who between the dates of May, 1602, and February, 1603, have plundered French shipping and brought their prizes into Tunis. Furnished to the Consuls in Marseilles by Vice-Consul Antoine Berenger (*Antonio Baringier.*)

Richard Gifford (*Rizzar Giffad*).
Thoua.
Whewel (*Huel*).
Arnold (*Arnoul*).
Harris (*Arice*).

1603.

Holland (*Ollant*).
Perry (*Perrê*).
Faske (*Faschi*).
Pers (*Piers*).
Ferrers (*Feris*).
Bors.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

54. Deposition of the master of the ship, "Mema e Constantina," plundered by the English Captain Bower (*?*) (*Buer*).

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

55. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's despatches, enclosing a communication from the parties interested in the ship, "Speranza," setting a limit to my expenses, declaring that they are satisfied, and that as far as they are concerned I may return home.

The King has been here four days in a monastery at one time belonging to the Carthusians. Yesterday he made his solemn entry into the Tower, without passing through the city. He will stay there all to-morrow for the ceremony of taking possession, then he will move to Greenwich, a pleasure-house of the late Queen on the banks of the Thames. The six men-of-war and the two armed pinnaces, which, at the moment of the Queen's death, were commissioned to harass the Spanish, have received orders to move down to Greenwich, as the King wants to see them. The King will amuse himself with the chase and other pleasures, and will set his household in order, then he will begin to grant audience to Ambassadors. I have been assigned for my audience the day after the French Ambassadors. I have resolved after compliments to endeavour to raise the case of the "Veniera," which I have so much at heart, owing to your Serenity's earnest recommendations, all the more so as it has been already settled by the Council.

Upon the King's entry into the Tower all the prisoners of whatsoever quality were set at liberty, including some Jesuits even and others, called here traitors and guilty of *laesa majestas*. There is talk of a general pardon, and on this account I will see that the orders about the "Veniera," which were granted by the Council during the last days of the Queen's life, are carried out before the Coronation.

Baron du Tour* (*Turs*), who was Ambassador for his most Christian Majesty in Scotland, and has accompanied the King to London, claims to continue his Embassy, but the other Ambassador. M. de Beaumont, here resident, has been too quick for him, and has received the confirmation of his office with a salary of six thousand crowns a year. Du Tour is summoned to France to furnish some information relative to the mission of M. de Rosny, who is coming here as Ambassador Extraordinary, and left yesterday by post. His wife, the daughter of Hieronimo Gondi, stays behind; she is seven months gone with child.

* See Sully's "Memoires," edit. cit. II., 162-166.

1603.

The assembly at Court amounts to upwards of forty thousand persons of all conditions, and it is held for certain that by the date of the Coronation there will be more than one hundred thousand extra mouths in London. Two weeks ago the plague suddenly broke out here. Last week there were fourteen deaths, and this week, as far as it has gone, eleven, in the six infected parishes. There are one hundred and three uninfected parishes, where the mortality from other diseases is about one hundred a week, and there are more than that number of births, as is proved by the registers carefully kept to be sent to Court. The King has named five Scottish Lords as members of Council; the Duke of Lennox,—who has also been appointed President, a post never held by anyone during the late Queen's reign,—the Earl of Mar, Lord Kinloss, who has received a post* worth twelve thousand ducats a year; his own Secretary† and the Treasurer‡ of Scotland. The Treasurer has been associated with the Treasurer of England in the management of affairs, and consequently in the profits of his office, and now there are two Treasurers and two Secretaries, to the no small chagrin of the English ministers, not merely because the supreme offices are bestowed upon Scots, but because every day posts are taken from the English and given to the Scotch. All these changes the King carries out in that highhanded manner which was recommended to him by the English Lords themselves. Indeed they are charged with having sold England to the Scots, for no Englishman, be his rank what it may, can enter the Presence Chamber without being summoned, whereas the Scottish Lords have free entreé of the privy chamber, and more especially at the toilette, at which time they discuss those proposals which, after dinner are submitted to the Council, in so high and mighty a fashion that no one has the courage to raise opposition. The King has named of the Council a son and also a brother of the Duke of Norfolk,§ and two other English Lords, all three malcontents and survivors of the condemnations pronounced on those who followed the party of the Queen, his mother.

While advancing the Scotch and those English, to whom he says he is under obligation, the King shows small regard for the rest. He has deprived Secretary Cecil, head of a powerful party, of the Wards in Chancery, which brought him, at a moderate computation, forty thousand crowns ‖ a year, besides the fees to the Crown, which were twice as much again, taking one year with another. And as he is seen every day to deprive some one of his office, and never lets a day pass without lamenting that his mother's head fell, at the third stroke, by a villainous deed, all those who, even by relationship are stained with that blood, grow fearful, not merely lest they should lose their appointments but lest their end be a bloody one. To the people and the private nobility he endeavours to give every satisfaction in general terms; for besides the declarations he causes to be made from all the pulpits that he is not going to change the religion from its Evangelical purity and Christian liberty, phrases most dear to the ears of this people, he by royal proclamation announces many reforms for the general weal and the alleviation of

* Master of the Rolls; worth £3,000 per annum. Gardiner 1.95.
† Sir James Elphinstone. ‡ Sir George Hume. § Thomas and Henry Howard.
‖ 10,000 pounds sterling.

1603.

the poor; but above all he professes strict justice, and so wherever he goes he is received with cheers and plaudits. There are not wanting those who say that this policy of disgusting and alarming the ministers of the late Government may throw them over into the arms of the Catholic party, should this party revive some day, and during the interregnum it was only held down by its lack of leaders; moreover the King's inclination towards peace with Spain will certainly rouse the suspicions of the King of France, and will induce him to support the Catholics in England, so as to have that faction on his side, whatever may occur, and this in view of the claims which the English Crown is beginning to advance, not merely on the remote questions of Normandy and Guienne,—the ancient patrimony of the English sovereigns,—and of all that the English seized by force of arms in the bowels of France during the long struggle between the two Crowns, but also on account of recent loans, for which they now demand repayment, and which amount to about three millions of gold between subsidies and loans, not counting free gifts.

The States, whose Ambassadors give out that they have come here to place the decision of peace or war in the King's hands, after making their very important statement, will meet with no small difficulty, for his Majesty very freely and almost in public discusses and debates their position, and has already condemned them. But this may be of service to them, for Barneveld, one of the Ambassadors, endeavours to encourage the belief that what they lose here in favour and in aid they will gain on the other side of the water, meaning that they know they can count on the King of France. Lord Kinloss, upon whom, as being the most prudent and powerful minister, they impress these views, has said that since the King of France cannot undertake the protection of the States without engaging in war with Spain, the King of England will let them go to war, and in the meantime will endeavour to secure for his kingdom a breathing space, in which to recover from the ills bequeathed by the late Queen, and thus to make the English, who have been more than men on the sea, live now for a while at home, as if they were softer than women. And briefly both he and the other Lords of the Council declare that they know for certain that the King of France will neither accept openly the protectorate of the States nor will he make the smallest objections to continuing his peace with Spain, for in fact he lives in terror of a rupture.

London, 22nd May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

56. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King had not been two hours in the Tower of London,—in sight of which, and hard by, I have my lodging in a house in the borough, quite new, with a great Italian garden, belonging to a merchant of Lucca,—when his Majesty sent one of his gentlemen to wait on me with expressions of great affection for your Serenity, and kindliness towards your Secretary and servant. He informed me that he was well informed about my business and about myself,

1603.

and he excused himself for not having summoned me to audience, but promised to receive me after the French Ambassador and before Nassau, the States and all other Ambassadors, and to speak to me more in private than in public. I returned thanks, and assured the gentleman that his Majesty might count on the sincere affection of the Republic.

I thought the exchange of compliments had ended the interview, but the gentleman added that his Majesty had a great esteem for Sir Anthony Sherley (*Signor Antonio Giarles*), who is now a prisoner in Venice. Sherley had always been of the King's party, and had not returned to England after his voyage to Persia for no other reason than that as a relation and dependent of the Earl of Essex, he would have been exposed to persecution by the opposite faction after the Earl's death; that he is not the bad subject he is represented to be, nor was he ever a dependent of the King of Spain, except in so far as the service of the King of Scotland, now King of England, required; his Majesty therefore begs your Serenity, unless Sherley is a prisoner for plotting against the Republic, which cannot possibly be, to hand Sherley over to him to answer for all other misdeeds, as the King would have the greatest pleasure in seeing him once more, in order to recompense him. He added that the King's request did not end here, but that he begged your Serenity to instruct your Ambassador at Constantinople to do nothing hostile to Thomas Sherley, Anthony's brother, who is a prisoner in an island of the Levant,* but to exert his great influence with the Porte in order to secure Sherley's liberation.

I assured the gentleman that I would at once comply with his Majesty's request and would write instantly. The gentleman took his leave, saying that the King hopes for a speedy and favourable reply. The house of Sherley is really noble in this kingdom, and Thomas may be said to have ruined himself by fitting out a squadron of seven ships at his own charges and at a cost of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, with the intent to sail to India. When about to pass the Straits of Magellan he discovered that he had been cheated by his agents and had not provisions enough, and so was compelled to return home; from that moment he began the downward course. He who, as I am informed, went down on his knees to the King at Theobalds and called to his mind the loyalty of the three, Henry, who is in Persia, Anthony and Thomas, is still in the same plight as when I wrote on the 27th of February last.

London, 22nd May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

57. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I am continually receiving news of fresh acts of piracy committed by the English, and I enclose the depositions of a Frenchman plundered in the port of Paleocastro in Candia. I resolved,

* That is Zea. Cal. S. P. Ven. 1592-1603. Preface. Part III.

1603.

accordingly, to allow no English ship to leave this port without depositing caution money against any damage that may be inflicted on your Serenity's subjects. In execution of this resolution, I exacted from William Brown, Captain of the "Salamander," a surety of ten thousand ducats before I would allow him to sail for the Levant to fetch a cargo of grain. This sum was paid down by Jasper Roll, an English merchant, who has been for long resident here, and has a large business. I shall continue this policy.

I enclose a statement as to the capture of two privateers by the Commander of the Galleys.

The *marciliana*, "Mema et Constantina," which was stripped of all her gear by the English, has been unladen and the wood stored. The master and supercargo of the "Salvetta" have asked me to give them some soldiers on board, on account of these perpetual robberies. I and the Council of twelve have agreed to permit them to hire twenty-five arquebusiers.

Zante, 23rd May, 1603. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

58. Deposition of Francesco Buso, and John, a sailor, as to the plunder committed upon them in the port of Paleocastro in Crete by English pirates, who took all their money to the amount of twenty-five thousand reals, as well as carrying off the Captain and seven others. They do not know the name of the ship nor of the Captain, but the ship is a small one of about two hundred tons burden, and the Captain a young man of medium height, fair complexion, and budding moustache. The ship had about eighty men aboard and much artillery.

May 20th.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

59. Paragraph from a letter written by Don Anastasio Ruchani to Don Richard Pearson (*Person*), English merchant in Zante, reports the capture of two privateers by the great galleys on the 12th, after a chase.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

60. Meeting of the Council of twelve, under presidency of the Governor and officials.

Order made to unlade the *marciliana*, "Mema et Constantina."

Order to the Captain of the English ship, the "Salamander," to find surety for ten thousand ducats.

Jasper Roll, English merchant, voluntarily offers himself as guarantee for the above sum.

[*Italian.*]

May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

61. Simon Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is entirely occupied about the question of a peace with England, and has abandoned for the present all other business. They are waiting to see what kind of an answer the King of

1603.

England will return to an Ambassador, who is shortly to go to England from the Archduke. His Catholic Majesty will be guided by his report. His Majesty has given orders to all his ships that if they fall in with Englishmen they are not to molest them; also that if any English ships arrive in Spanish harbours with passports signed by the King of England or by the Archduke they are to be well received. I am informed that the King of England is also much inclined to peace, and that he has prevented certain privateers, fitted out to harass Spaniards, from sailing. His Catholic Majesty will shortly send an Ambassador to congratulate the King and to deal with questions in dispute between the parties. Here they show great relief at the death of the Queen of England, and they declare that affairs in Flanders are already looking more favourable for the King than they were some months ago. They believe that Ostend will soon fall. And in very truth, owing to the Queen's death, a few days have sufficed to change the aspect of matters from one of despair to one of hope.

Valladolid, 24th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

62. Simon Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has appointed Taxis * as Ambassador to England, he is to take a suite of eighteen persons between gentlemen and servants, and has received twelve thousand crowns. He is to go to Flanders first to learn what the Archduke's Ambassador reports of the king's disposition, and to regulate his conduct accordingly.

Some Jesuit Fathers, belonging to Madrid, after an interview with the King, have left for England.

The French Ambassador tells me that he is ordered by his master to inform his Catholic Majesty that the King of France will grant free passage to troops for Flanders, and will do all he can to maintain the peace.

Valladolid, 25th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

63. Marin Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England has written to say that as his Majesty of France intends to continue to keep a lieger at the Court of St. James, he would prefer that it was someone other than M. de Beaumont, on the ground that M. de Beaumont had meddled in the affairs of the kingdom and had acted contrary to the orders which M. du Tour held, namely, to assist the King's succession. The English Ambassador fulfilled his task and the King of France showed some annoyance, declaring that he was no novice of a King that he should require someone to teach what he ought to do, and added that he would send his answer by M. de Rosny. Some think it possible that on the death of the Queen M. de Beaumont may

* Juan de Taxis, Count of Villa Mediana. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1603, p. 27.

1603.

have made some remarks not wholly favourable to the King of Scotland. No one believes that the Baron du Tour is responsible for the incident. *No one entertains for a moment the idea that the King of England can have a good understanding with Spain.*" Ten Catholics have presented to the King of England a petition demanding liberty of conscience. But they recalled the death of the King's mother, a painful memory, and alarmed some members of the Council, and, accordingly, in place of being gratified in their demands, they were ordered to leave the kingdom.

Paris, 25th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

64. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has had a brief but very severe attack, they called it colic, but it really was pain in the kidneys with retention of urine for some hours. So intense was the pain that he twice fainted. There remained a slight tertian fever, from which he is now free, and as there is nothing the matter except the exhaustion caused by his malady he will soon be in his wonted health. During the crisis M. de Villeroy and M. de Rosny were summoned, and his Majesty lamented bitterly that he would leave the Dauphin so young.

The English Ambassador* has been confirmed in his appointment. In five or six days M. de Rosny will leave for England. The Baron du Tour has arrived, and was received the very day of his coming. *M. de Rosny's chief duty is to establish a good understanding between these Crowns; that is the substance of his mission; and as no alliances are held to be solid at the present time, unless cemented by a common interest, he is, therefore, to arrange not only certain commercial treaties but he is to settle the manner in which these two Crowns are to deal with the question of Holland, which is treated everywhere as a most delicate affair. If the States made submission to his Catholic Majesty they would arouse the greatest suspicion in France and in England as well, for both these kingdoms would be exposed to serious trouble from Spain; on the other hand, it would be to the interest of both Crowns to come to some agreement, by which an acceptable form of Government might be established in the United Provinces under the name of the States of Holland, and for this purpose a certain amount of assistance should be rendered to them, which is what they are asking for. The States, having once tasted the sweets of self-government, are resolved, unless driven harder, to submit themselves to no foreign Prince. To carry out this policy M. de Rosny cannot be in London less than fifteen days, and in order to be nearer him his Majesty will very likely move into Picardy, towards Calais. The King is assured of England's friendly attitude, but he cannot help being anxious, as the Spanish are leaving no stone unturned, and openly show that they have no anxiety from that quarter, basing their opinion on the new King's inclination towards peace.*

Paris, 25th May, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Sir Thomas Parry.

1603.
May 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

65. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I informed your Serenity that I had in my hands two English Corsairs. They freely confessed their crime, and were, moreover, identified by the Captain, the crew, and the merchant on board the plundered ship, further their own Captain qualified them as pirates. Convicted and confessed as guilty of this crime, I, with my Council, condemned them to be hung by the neck, and the sentence was carried out on a high tower of this castle, where their bodies remain in sight of the city and of the port until they be consumed, as a terror to all such evil doers. I have also condemned to a like punishment the English Captain and his companion, but respect for the Sanjak of the Morea has caused me to suspend execution.

Zante, 28th May, 1603. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

May 28.
Original. Despatch, Venetian Archives.

66. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I was received in audience yesterday at two o'clock, at Greenwich. I went there and found such a crowd that I never saw the like even at Constantinople in time of peace. There were upwards of ten or twelve thousand persons about. All the efforts of the guards hardly enabled me to reach the first, let alone the inner chamber, owing to the throng of nobility. At length having arrived at the chamber where the King was, I found all the Council about his chair, and an infinity of other Lords almost in an attitude of adoration (*quasi in atto d'adoratione*). His Majesty rose and took six steps towards the middle of the room, and then drew back one, after making me a sign of welcome with his hand. He then remained standing up while he listened to me attentively. At the opening and at the close he held his hat in his hand a while. He was dressed in silver grey satin, quite plain, with a cloak of black tabinet reaching to below the knees and lined with crimson, he had his arm in a white sling, the result of a fall from his horse when out hunting, which occasioned more danger than damage; from his dress he would have been taken for the meanest among the courtiers, a modesty he affects, had it not been for a chain of diamonds round his neck and a great diamond in his hat; they say it is the one Don Antonio of Portugal pledged for eighty thousand crowns, but is now valued at two hundred thousand. As to the appearance, height, and complexion of his Majesty let your Serenity recall the late illustrious Federico Nani, ten years before he died, and you may say that you have actually seen the King of England; I never remember such a striking resemblance.

My discourse was brief. I said that though the causes which induced your Serenity to send me to England were displeasing, and were still lying in obscurity awaiting the light of his Majesty's judgment, yet it was a matter for congratulation to your Serenity that the occasion now offered after fifty years to despatch a representative of the Republic, who had the good fortune to be witness of his Majesty's happy succession to the throne. And I took the

1603.

occasion to present congratulations in the name of the Republic, until such time as your Serenity could openly prove your affection.

The King replied, "I know that you speak French, and so I will employ that language so as to dispense with an interpreter, for I cannot speak Italian as I could wish. I am sure that the Republic must rejoice at this right, which God has bestowed on me, for everyone who ever came from Venice assured me of the goodwill the Republic bears to me, and it is only distance which has prevented certain relations between us. Assure the Republic that I desire to respond to these sentiments. The affairs which you could not discuss with the Queen I am ready to conclude with you." He stopped a moment, but seemed desirous of saying more, then he added, "Assure the Republic of my regard, and that will do for the present." I returned thanks and presented a memorial on the case of the "Veniera," which his Majesty received. I then took my leave, and the Ambassadors of the States were called; they had arrived before I did, but the King insisted on granting audience to me first.

The Queen, whose father was a Martinist, and who had always been a Lutheran herself, became a Catholic, owing to three Scottish Jesuits, one of whom came from Rome, the others from Spain. Although in public she went to the heretical Church with her husband, yet in private she observed the Catholic rite. With the King's consent the mass was sometimes secretly celebrated for her. He is much attached to her, and she has obtained leave to bring up her only daughter, a girl of eight, as a Catholic. In order to secure the Protestant education of Prince Henry, the King has kept him far away from his mother; and on his departure he left the Prince in Stirling Castle in charge of the Countess of Mar, whose husband is the Prince's governor. The King intended later on to bring the Prince in state to London as Prince of Wales. The Queen, however, was desirous to have her eldest son with her in Edinburgh, and went, accordingly, to Stirling; but as she could not induce anyone to carry him off, she conceived a violent repugnance to seeing him. In support of the refusal, the Prince's governess told the Queen that if he went with her the Catholics would certainly abduct him, in order to have a hostage in their hands when they rose in revolt. And in fact many of the Scottish guard in France openly declared that the Scots should not let the young Prince leave the kingdom, otherwise they would lose all chance of ever having a Scottish King. The Queen flew into a violent fury, and four months gone with child as she was, she beat her own belly, so that they say she is in manifest danger of miscarriage and death.

On receipt of this disagreeable news, the King despatched the Earl of Mar post haste to Scotland, and to-day the Duke of Lennox has left for the same destination to take what steps may be necessary. The Court has shown itself hostile to France, and declares that peace should be concluded with Spain. The King is so well disposed towards this peace that he is thought to be resolved on it. When speaking of the States he uses the term rebels, and declares that such a bad example should not be encouraged, nor would it ever have occurred had not the States found support; he blames the King of France, who, in violation of his good faith and purity of spirit, which every man and much more

1603.

every King should preserve intact, has fostered, not even secretly, the States in their rebellion, hence the irritation of the Kings of Spain, which induced them to encourage plots inside the kingdom of France; nor does he blame the late Queen any less for mixing herself up in affairs which brought her Crown to the verge of ruin. The King shows a desire to be asked to arbitrate between the States and the Archduke, and this in opposition to the opinion of many of his Council. This tendency keeps everyone in suspense, and the Ambassadors of the States begin to say that the King shows this hostile opinion about them in order to force them to offer him the Protectorate of the States. There is no doubt but that Queen Elizabeth might have had it if she chose, but she declined it for a variety of reasons. The glory of that Queen, which they pretended to have buried along with her body, having even gone the length of removing her effigy, now becomes, in such circumstances as these, greater than ever.

It is reckoned as one of her most remarkable achievements, that, although she never had the smallest intention of taking Alençon for a husband, she led the French to that most momentous step of making him Protector of the States, and she spared no amount of gold, in order to establish a balance, by throwing France into open war with Spain; her second and not less remarkable action now comes to light, for at the very height of the Spanish preparations against England in 1588, she, of her own initiative, despatched into Flanders Robert Cecil, a little hunchback, and then in private life, but very wise; and he, in simple traveller's garb, but with credentials from her, whispered to the ear of Alexander Farnese that the Queen would give Arabella as wife to his son Ranuccio, and with her the succession to the throne; the whole world has seen the results of that step.

For the conclusion of the peace a certain person called Corso has arrived from the Archduke, he was at one time in Scotland, and he brings letters from his Highness asking for a safe conduct for the Count d'Aremberg, his Ambassador. The safe conduct has been already despatched, together with another safe conduct for Taxis, who is to represent his Catholic Majesty at this Court.

At the audience granted to the French Ambassador the day before yesterday, the King spoke of the King of France, a title which the late Queen never employed in order to maintain the ancient pretensions of the English Crown. She always spoke of the King of France as his most Christian Majesty. The Ambassador told me that the King used expressions which seemed to him to be exaggerated.

Two Ambassadors from Denmark have arrived with apologies from the King for his inability to cross the sea just now, and to announce the birth of a son. Ambassadors also from Dantzig, and others are expected from all quarters.

The King on learning the discontent among the English has suddenly created four Barons from among those whose support it is prudent to secure. One of them is Secretary Cecil, to whom he has also restored the guardianship of Wards. He has also created one hundred and forty knights. The King is convinced that the security and peace of the kingdom depend upon the question of religion, and has resolved, in order to put an end to all doubts, to declare himself head and governor of the Anglican Church, although in

1603.

the proclamation of Accession he was purposely not called such. He proposes to exact the oath from all servants of the Crown, even if they are Catholics, and none has had the courage to refuse, though there is a Bull excommunicating those who take the oath. Nay, old Howard, who has lately been appointed to the Council, and Southampton, who are both Catholics, declare that God has touched their hearts, and that the example of their King has more weight with them than the disputes of theologians. They have become Protestants, and go to church in the train of the King. He declares that he does not want the recusants to pay money for not going, but he wishes all to go in the same spirit as he goes.

At Waterford, and Cork, and elsewhere the Catholics have made processions for the accession to the throne, and have expelled the heretics from the churches which they have washed; they have incensed the altars and restored them to the ritual of the Roman Church, whose vassals they say they are.

On hearing that Tyrone and other Irish leaders thought of coming to England to confer with him, the King said that if Spanish influence were banished he would undertake to conclude all else peacefully.

Lady Arabella, who is a regular termagant, came to visit the King on Sunday last with a suite of ladies and gentlemen. She has returned to favour, and they say that should the Queen die she would be wedded and crowned at once.

The plague progresses. In nine infected parishes last week thirty-six died of plague and one hundred and twelve of other illnesses. As the day is nineteen hours long here, and the season unusually hot, there is dread of the disease spreading, especially as no steps have been taken as yet, except to kill the dogs and mark the houses by fastening upon them a great printed paper with these words, "Lord, have mercy upon us."

London, 28th May, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

67. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has had another audience after the arrival of his instructions, which were to declare that his master desired to maintain the existing friendly relations. This pleased the King of France, who had been annoyed that the first audience contained a complaint of his Ambassador in London. His Majesty declared that the real cause of it all was the sinister action of an individual, who wished to remove M. de Beaumont. The Baron du Tour has brought *no positive information as to the exact situation in England.*

In Scotland, the Queen, finding that she could not take her son to England, was completely upset, for she was pregnant.

Paris, 3rd June, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1603.
June 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

68. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Rosny has been despatched to England; although he is a Huguenot the Nuncio has procured that he shall be charged to exhort the King to become a Catholic.

Don Juan de Taxis is expected here on his way to England. Count d'Aremberg will also go as envoy from the Archduke.

Paris, 3rd June, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

69. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News of the change of sovereigns is bringing back into these ports these privateers who have been plundering everyone, but more especially the Venetians, some of whose property has been sold in Barbary, some brought here. I made representation that a certain parcel of sugar should be sequestered by the Admiralty until the interests of your Serenity's subjects therein had been ascertained, but the Secretary sent to beg me to abstain from presenting any petition until I had received my new credentials from Venice, the ones addressed to the late Queen being of no further value; moreover these were letters of limited credence, referring to a single subject. This answer forced me to draw back, but this will not prevent me from pursuing my object by another road. I am told that his Majesty had intended to give me a private audience, but that this same obstacle had restrained him.

Three days ago I received letters of May the 2nd and 9th from Niccolo Tron and Paulo Querini, representatives of the interested parties. They inform me that as their business is successfully finished I am to return at once. I will await Your orders, failing any I will return immediately, for I came here in such a hurry, old man as I am, almost flying one might say, in the belief that my mission would last a few days only, and so I have all the more urgent need to return home.

The son of the Earl of Mar has arrived to report on the affair of Stirling. He was greatly praised by the King for having exactly carried out his wishes. Soon after came the Earl of Orkney (*Orches*), who had been with the Queen on the occasion, and brought letters from her to the King, who received them with disgust, which showed itself towards Lord Orkney.

The Queen, though really seriously ill, has made herself out worse than she is, in order to win the King's pity for her in her disobedience. The King, understanding her maternal affection, has given her leave to bring her son with her to England, and it was on this business that Mar and Lennox left for Scotland.

The question of the Coronation is coming up. The anointing has always been performed by a Catholic Bishop and with the Catholic rite, both in the case of Edward VI. and also of Elizabeth, although Protestants. Queen Elizabeth, indeed, could not persuade the Archbishop Primate to dispense with the Elevation of the Host, and so, at the moment, she hid her face in a handkerchief. This was the first public sign of her heresy, which she had dissimulated

1603.

when she succeded her sister Mary. As anointing is a function appointed by God to mark the pre-eminence of Kings it cannot well be omitted, and they cannot make up their minds what expedient they should adopt. The people loath the priestly benediction be it in oil or in water, nor do they admit the sign of the cross except in baptism. The King is an ardent upholder of these objections, and he says that neither he nor any other King can have power to heal scrofula, for the age of miracles is past, and God alone can work them. However he will have the full ceremony, so as not to loose this prerogative, which belongs to the Kings of England as Kings of France.

In the firm intention not to permit the practice of the Catholic religion in this kingdom they give it to be understood that they will allow the Catholics to sell or let their property, and leave the kingdom on the proceeds, and in this way, say those about the King, the Pope will have to content himself with an absence of persecution if he cannot have allegiance.

The King has heard with disgust that the States have sent six armed vessels to Calais to cut off the Ambassadors of the Archduke, nominated to England.

He thinks this is an act of disrespect to himself, and, in addition to the safe conduct, he has ordered his Commander-in-Chief to take the sea, and to secure the passage of the Ambassadors. These ships of the States have made some prizes, among others a richly laden vessel on her way from Spain to Flanders.

The ill-will between English and Scottish goes on rising rapidly. It serves nothing that the King declares his resolve to extinguish both names, and that both people shall pass under the common name of Britons and be governed by one and the same law. The English, who were at first divided among themselves, begin now to make common cause against the Scots, but so powerful are the latter, and so highly valued by the King, that there can be no doubt but that they will win, unless they split over some questions; and indeed, one begins to hear that there is a diversity of opinion among the Scottish over the two important points of peace with Spain and the pacification of the States and the Archduke. Some of the Scots are French in sentiment and perhaps by interest, while others are slightly bound to Spain, *above all the Queen, beyond a doubt, to say nothing of the King himself, who was often in need of Spanish help to a sum of money, especially before Spanish and Flemish commerce came to Scotland,* when their ships traded to Brittany and Denmark for the most part. It was then only and not earlier that the revenue, which ordinarily did not exceed one hundred thousand crowns, was greatly increased, as the King was able to tax the seaports, which were growing rich by imposing customs upon wine and other commodities throughout the kingdom.

The States, too, thanks to this war, have become in these thirty years great and powerful, by appropriating the Church property in eight cities, which amounts now to the value of four hundred thousand crowns a year, and by introducing important imposts, not merely upon land but a poll tax on men and animals as well. These imposts are exacted in monthly rates at the moment when the army takes the field and the fleet puts to sea. Moreover, they have levied such sound and solid taxation upon articles of food

1603.

that everyone knows that if he requires so much for his household he cannot escape paying so much to the government, and likewise in the taverns the tax on wine and beer, etcetera, brings in an incredible revenue, for the larger part of the population are sailors, soldiers, or fishermen, and by habit or by circumstance spend most of their time and money in the public houses. The Government, thanks to their long experience and to the continuance of the war, has become very astute, and now, in this negotiation to prevent the King from abandoning them, their Ambassadors omit none of those ways to win the Scottish by presents and promises, which the English suggest to them. They declare that they do not want an accord with the Archduke, and that if they did they have no need of the King of England to help them to it, and they touch on even wider interests, for they declare that if the King does abandon the States that means abandoning France and Italy, too, and inviting Spain to make everything an excuse for pretensions to the States, not only of others but of himself as well.

The issue, as everyone sees, will be this, unless there are some secret countervailing reasons, that the union of Scotland and England will induce the King to make peace with Spain, otherwise Scotland, which he dearly loves as his ancient birthplace, would fall into the depths of misfortune. Besides this, the King is naturally pacific, and claims to be able to bestow peace where he will.

London, 4th June, 1603.

Dead of the plague, twenty-two in thirteen parishes.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

70. Simon Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish hopes for peace with England go on increasing. The envoy of the Archduke has brought back a most favourable answer. The King sends greeting to the King of Spain, and the Queens exchange similar compliments, but as to the question of withdrawing the aid to Flanders and surrendering the fortresses, which are the essential points, nothing is settled as yet. Those who understand the nature of the business and the interests of the English do not think that these points will easily be conceded by the King of England. At the outset of his reign *he will speak fair, until he is well established in his new kingdom, and will follow implicitly the advice of his Council. The Nuncio, it seems, is urging his Majesty to arm as the best method for securing favourable terms.*

Valladolid, 7th June, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

71. Maffio Michiel, Governor in Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

Although stringent orders have been sent from Constantinople to the Turkish officers in the various ports that they are not to shelter nor trade with the English privateers but to capture and

1603.

punish them, all the same the Turks openly and courteously admit them and barter with them as they would with any honest merchant.

An English privateer, whose name I do not know, captured and carried into Nauplia a Ragusan laden with linen and leather. In that port they are openly selling their plunder, and I am told that the Sanjak of the Morea has sent to ask the Captain for the present of three guns for the Castle of Lepanto.

I must repeat that as long as the Turks shelter the English these waters will never be free.

Zante, June 9, 1603. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

72. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As soon as I received your Serenity's despatches of the sixteenth of May, containing news about the capture of the ship, "Balbiana," attributed to the English, I resolved to endeavour to overcome the repugnance displayed here to receiving any further memoranda from me. This repugnance may be based upon the interest which some of the Lords of Council have in this buccaneering, although they declare that it is a question of the dignity of the Crown, which they exalt in the highest degree, especially where other Princes are concerned, and hold as an injury the smallest indication that France or Spain ranks higher. Those who are best versed in the etiquette between Princes are those who most frequently enquire what the Republic intends to do about the King of England. They suggest this attitude to the King who, of his own accord, would probably hardly have changed his modest habit of life which he pursued in Scotland, where he lived hardly like a private gentleman, let alone a sovereign, making many people sit down with him at table, waited on by rough servants, who did not even remove their hats, treating all with a French familiarity, reserving all expenditure and pomp for the service of the Queen. But now the Government are re-introducing the ancient splendours of the English Court, and almost adoring his Majesty, who day by day adopts the practices suitable to his greatness. On Sunday last he dined in state, as it is called, waited upon by the greatest lords of the realm; it was a splendid and unwonted sight.

But now, to leave these topics, though I imagine that there is no harm in having reported them once at least, I determined to make some way with the Scottish, who in his Majesty's name have dealt with me hitherto. The upshot was that no sooner had the King heard my request than he issued orders to all ports of the kingdom that whatever vessel suspected or known to be a privateer entered any harbour of this kingdom the Captain must first make a declaration in the Admiralty Court before any goods may be landed, and that the cargo is to remain in sequestration until ample proof is produced that no action prejudicial to Venice has been committed. This answer was most promptly and courteously brought to me at my house last night by Lord Kinloss, notwithstanding that he is a Privy Councillor and one of the great ministers. On his Majesty's behalf he made use of most honourable expressions towards your Serenity, and offered me audience any time I might require it, in

1603.

spite of the objections raised by the English Councillors. He also said that as soon as I could give him any positive information about the case of the "Balbiana" he would send out a vessel on purpose to find out and recall this and other privateers, who have damaged Venetian property inside the Straits of Gibralter, for he holds that such a step is due not merely to his regard for the Republic but to the honour of his Crown, as he knows that there are as many as twenty-three English privateers in the Mediterranean.

I returned thanks, and then leading the conversation I begged, as of myself, to be told what was in the despatch which his Majesty had intended to send to the Republic shortly before the late Queen's death. Lord Kinloss quite frankly, but in strict confidence, said: "The King could not rely upon any of those sovereigns who had promised him aid in the question of his succession, for he knew that each one would claim some reward, and so he had resolved to ask your Serenity whether, in case he met with opposition, you would not only say a favourable word for him, but would be willing to advance him a sum of money upon suitable security. That the King had conceived a hope that if the negotiations were conducted secretly your Serenity would see your way to making this loan, as the sum was not great, only twenty thousand pounds sterling (eighty thousand ducats), and although by a Divine miracle all has gone well, and there is no further need to talk of the subject, yet his Majesty will never forget the favourable impression, which he conceived and retains as to the greatness and wisdom of the Republic. The King thought of making a similar appeal to the Grand Duke, who for many years past has been making him great offers." After begging me not to let the King know that I was aware of this, should he ever speak to me on the subject, and also to keep the information a strict secret, Lord Kinloss returned that same evening to Greenwich to the Court. The Danish gentlemen, after a private audience of the King, went to Scotland to visit the Queen, and passed thence to Copenhagen, whence a solemn embassy will presently arrive. It has been settled to give the various Embassies Extraordinary lodging only, but not board at the public charges as the French claimed.

The Ambassadors of the Elector Palatine had audience with the usual pomp. They presented a letter begging the King to intercede with the King of France to allow the Duke de Bouillon to return freely, without being obliged either to justify his action or to ask pardon. The King will not consent so readily. He is gathering information on the matter.

The Ambassadors of the States justify their action about their ships, by showing that the Archduke began the misunderstanding by sending eight of his ships to Dunquerque to capture the Embassy, as it passed with an escort of only three ships, this induced them to send three more.

As the plague is gaining ground the King has ordered all gentlemen, not immediately in service at Court, to return home to the country till after the August rains. When the cold sets in the plague usually stops.

The King has remitted the debt owing to the Crown from the father of Anthony Sherley, for moneys to be supplied in Flanders

1603.

and to the States, and has asked his creditors to leave him in peace for six months, during which period he trusts to be able to make such dispositions as will allow him to satisfy them all.

In the case of the "Veniera" they have arrested the partners who fitted out William Piers, and some are already in London.

London, 12th June, 1603.

Dead of plague, thirty-two in fifteen infected parishes.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

73. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England, by two letters and by the mouth of M. *Foschis* (?), his Majesty's Ambassador in France, has begged the King of France to allow the Baron du Tour (*di Turs*), who was French Ambassador in Scotland, to remain as Ambassador in Ordinary. He supports the request by affirming that M. de Beaumont had shown himself hostile to the succession. M. de Beaumont declares that all he ever said, when the Queen died, was that it became every good Catholic to protect and favour ladies, and this to encourage Lady Arabella. The King of France replied with some heat that as far as the King of England was concerned he had had no notice of the late Queen's demise, nor of the King's accession, and yet his Majesty's first act was to bring charges against the French Ambassador. However, he did not lay this to the door of the King, so much as to the ambition of the Baron du Tour; and he intended to place the question of M. de Beaumont's conduct in the hands of M. de Rosny. He is resolved that if de Beaumont is innocent, as he certainly is, then either he shall remain Ambassador in England or there will not be an Ambassador at all. The English Ambassador has immediately given formal notice of the King's accession, and at the same instant has asked for payment of the debt due from France to England. The King of France replied that he was quite ready to pay on any date to be established in a friendly spirit; meantime he offered two hundred thousand francs, which sum the King of England readily accepted, and has appropriated it to the cost of the Coronation. As regards the question of the Ambassador the King has already received M. de Beaumont twice, so that is settled, and he wishes no more to be said on the matter.

Among the annoyances which I understand that the King, while still on the throne of Scotland, received from the King of France were these, that the King of France endeavoured to impose two conditions upon his succession to the Crown of England, one that he should abandon the title of King of France. the other that he should leave one of his sons behind as King of Scotland. But there are now come to light two other annoyances, hardly lighter, one that the King of France has refused to restore the Scottish guard, which was suppressed at the revolution under Henry III., unless the Prince of Scotland is sent to be educated at the French Court. The King of Scotland was extremely anxious for the continuance of the Scottish

1603.

guard, which would furnish him with a number of trained soldiers bred at another's charges. The second point is that the King of France, speaking to some Scottish Colonels and Captains, said that the King of Scotland did very well as a scholar, but if William of Normandy, King of England, was a bastard, there was no reason why another bastard—referring to his own, Cæsare de Bourbon—should not pretend a similar conquest. All the same the King of England beyond a doubt is, at present, desirous for peace with everybody, and he has caused it to be notified to the King of France, in order to bind him to take no separate steps with the States, and to come to no resolve without the King's knowledge and advice. The proposals before the Council are that in Flanders they should make a reciprocal suspension of arms, to date from the conclusion of peace between England and Spain. It is thought necessary to take some formal step of this nature, though as a matter of fact war has never been actually declared by either party. It is said that whenever it suited them to say so, and especially in this last conference at Boulogne, the Spanish have always maintained that the war was a private quarrel between Philip II. and Queen Elizabeth, which began, as the English now say, in some lovers' disagreement, and was fed by reasons of State, and gradually passed into hatred, and finally into open hostility. When the suspension of arms has been effected they will endeavour to formulate special terms between the States and the Archduke only, by which the Protectorate shall remain in the hands of the Archduke, with a sufficient income and sufficient forces, and with power to levy extraordinary forces for the security and benefit of all the seventeen provinces of the Duchy of Burgundy, while the supreme power in Friesland, Holland, and Zealand is to remain in its present condition, with freedom of conscience and the right to elect among themselves to the offices of justice and of command, both civil and military, with the revenues that they at present possess, and a certain limited right of navigation in the East Indies. Both parties are to pledge themselves to the King of England for the observation of the terms, and he undertakes to cause them to be observed by lending his aid against the party that violates them. For this purpose the King is to retain possession of the three fortresses of Flushing, Brill, and Rammekens (*Ramachin*) (*Soubury*) without any right in the States to recover possession on payment of a fine. The seven members of Council, who support the King's views, hold that the question of Ostend is no obstacle, for in the meantime till the suspension of arms is agreed upon, the siege will go on to its issue, whatever that may be. But the remainder of the twenty-four, for that is the number of the Council at present, who are of a contrary opinion, continue to support the policy of the late Queen, and to declare that any deviation from that policy means the ruin not only of England but of all the world, owing to the most important fact that the Infante has no children. Various reasons are alleged for the pacific attitude of the King; as I gather them I will send them on to your Serenity, as I have hitherto done every week by the costly Antwerp route, which runs day and night.

As the King is by nature of a mild disposition, and has never really been happy in Scotland, he wishes now to "enjoy the Papacy." as we

1603.

say, and so desires to have no bother with other people's affairs and little with his own; he would like to dedicate himself to his books and to the chase, and to encourage the opinion that he is the real arbiter of peace. He has a suspicion in his mind because he has heard that the Pope has occasionally discussed the possibility of uniting France and Spain against England as well as against the Turks, and for this reason he is resolved, if possible, to stand well with all Catholic Princes, and with your Serenity in particular. He will draw close to the strongest of them, the King of Spain, and will seek to gratify the Emperor, while he is bound to the Protestant Princes by his religion; and in this way he calculates that he can secure the friendship of France and even the alliance of France and the respect of the whole world. From these calculations, made in Scotland and carried with him to England, the English find it difficult to move his Majesty. They are glad that M. de Rosny is to arrive before the Archduke's Envoys and the Spanish Ambassador, and they hope that the representations of France and of the States together may possibly succeed in causing the English view to prevail; that policy is entirely directed to preventing the King of Spain from, even at any time, now or after the death of their Highnesses, becoming possessed of the naval forces of the States, which they say would be sufficient to secure for him the command of the sea.

Meantime the Ambassadors of the States are spending upwards of three hundred crowns a day, which the world thinks monstrous and the King ridiculous, for while here to beg for aid it is they who are ruining themselves, and they are no longer visited and favoured by the Court as they were at their first coming. The news that they are in a fair way to fail in their mission has soon crossed the water, and only four days ago the people of Flushing were within an ace of cutting the English garrison to pieces. Should negotiations be broken off some similar disaster will inevitably take place in one or other of the cautionary fortresses, for it is impossible that the people or the Government of Holland should not seriously resent the hostile attitude of the King, when one remembers that up to now, owing the small distance of only one hundred miles of sea, they have been able to supply themselves from England with all necessaries, more especially with artillery,—which they cannot make over there, nor can they even recast a single piece,—cannon-balls, powder, saltpetre, and above all men and arms and, at a pinch, even money; besides this there is the danger that the King of England, owing to his close relationship to the King of Denmark, might succeed in closing the Belt against them, and that would cut them off from Dantzig, which now yearly supplies them with corn for bread and barley for beer, and thus virtually blockade them in their marshes, even if France assisted them and allowed them to draw grain from Normandy and Brittany. These are the matters which at present are on hand, such the events, such the policy, and opinions, which I regret my inability to set forth less tediously.

London, 12th June, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
June 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

74. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The cavass with a letter for the Queen of England has left for Marseilles. His mission is the question of English pirates. The news of the death of the Queen made them think of altering the letters and addressing them to the new King, but they have not done so, in order to avoid being the first to make advances.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th June, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

75. Letter to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Recites the capitulations by which foreign merchants sailed under French flag and could claim protection from French Consuls.

Recites the capitulations with Venice. English merchantmen have begun to sail fully armed as if for war, and to plunder the unarmed merchant ships which they meet, and to wrap up the crews in the sails and throw them into the sea. Turkish ships, too, are plundered by the English.

The Queen is requested to compel her merchants to behave as other merchants do, to restore the stolen property, and to punish the offenders.

[*Italian.*]

June 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

76. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan de Taxis arrived on the seventh. *Several Scots have passed from Spain into England, especially one, Andernethy, who had an audience of the King on his way. These persons are acting for the King of Spain in making offers to win the King of England.*

The English Ambassador has had an audience in which he entirely withdrew the request for M. de Beaumont's recall. The King of England professes himself convinced that the charges against the Ambassador are false. The Ambassador has been visited by the Council.

Paris, 16th June, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

June 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

77. ANGELO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two Benedictines, one educated at San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, the other at Santa Giustina in Padua, have been sent by the Pope into England *ad propagandam fidem*, but nothing else. They will wear lay dress.

Lyons, 18th June, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
June 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

78. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As soon as I had received your Serenity's despatch of the 17th of last month I sought an audience, which was granted me yesterday at the usual hour. I presented your Serenity's letters of congratulation. The King took them smiling, and said, "Pray open them for me, for some years ago in Scotland I had one of these letters in reply to my recommendation of M. Crichton (Lord Sanquhar), and I could not open it without breaking the seal." I accordingly opened it and left the seal hanging, and the King read the letter through quite easily, and said, "Certainly I am pleased that, at the moment when I succeeded to my rights, there should be here an envoy of the Republic, without this I, too,* might have been neglected. But seeing that the Republic desires my amity she will find in me a loyal correspondence. I have always heard so much of the state of Venice that from the days of my boyhood, when my tutor, Buchanan (*Boccanano*), gave me instruction on the excellence of that Government, up to reaching man's estate I have ever loved her and highly honoured her, and have always been glad to read about and hear about so sage a Republic." I informed his Majesty about the appointment of Ambassadors Extraordinary, and he showed evident signs of satisfaction. I further informed him about the character, birth and fortune of the illustrious Molin, who is coming here as lieger of Venice. The King replied that he was especially pleased at this, all the more so as the Republic had never taken such a step during the reign of the late Queen, and added that he would see to it that in sending his Ambassador he chose a person of the same quality and importance as the Ambassador resident. With his hand laid on mine he prevented me from uncovering to reply, and added that as far as my business was concerned he had given orders at the ports that all vessels arriving from the Mediterranean should be sequestrated and their cargo, sailors, soldiers, and passengers detained, until examination had been made as to their voyage, and to see if they had, during the year, plundered any Venetian ships. As for the privateers who had seized the Venetian ships he had given orders to appoint a commission, and the goods of the guilty are to be escheated to cover the damage; he is going to send a ship through the Straits to put down buccaneering. I returned cordial thanks for so favourable a reply and so kindly a disposition, and also for the present of a stag, which his Majesty himself had slain in the chase and sent to me yesterday. I then took my leave. The Ambassadors of the Count Palatine were waiting for audience to take their leave. I only report this to show your Serenity what may be hoped for in the case of your Ambassadors, when a simple secretary is thus treated.

I came here, as I thought, for a few days only, and had but one trunk with me; I have been here months, and will have to stay on six or seven more at the least, even if the illustrious Signor Molin leaves in September: this at your Serenity's orders. But I have to maintain a decent state on my poor pay of eighteen per cent. on the exchange between London and Venice, and four per cent.

* As well as the late Queen.

1603.

on the bank rate, making twenty-two per cent.; I fear that the reason for leaving me in this poor plight is the small satisfaction I have been able to give to your Serenity and your Excellencies, and were that so I confess that what now afflicts me would kill me outright.

At Plymouth and Portsmouth some of William Piers's crew have landed. They came to England in a ship belonging to Thomas Sherley, and they say that Piers is at Milo. He intends to come to England and to anchor in a bay near Falmouth till he sees how his affairs stand. This I am told by Thomas Daumbel, whom I hold prisoner here in the city, as a partner in fitting out Piers as a privateer. And if the interested parties will show a little more activity in their affairs than heretofore some considerable benefit may still be looked for. Two other privateers were arrested, but were set at liberty again without my being able to oppose it.

Mountjoy, Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy in Ireland, arrived here three days ago, accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone, head of the Catholic party in Ireland. The populace on learning this burst out into furious cries against him as the cause of such squandering of gold and of so much bloodshed. The King ordered him to stop, and really hid him, a few miles outside London, and has issued a proclamation threatening severe penalties against anyone who ventures to injure him.* The King then held a conference with Mountjoy, who has been named of the Council, and the audience with Tyrone is deferred.

The pre-emption and privileges† in tin, granted by the late Queen, have been abolished, and trade in that commodity is now free except for the ordinary dues. The act is universally popular in the City. The same step will be taken as regards the Levant Company, which trades with Venice. It is generally thought that its charter will be revoked, and so the duty on currants, which was paid by the Company to the Crown, will fall through. I have done what I could to secure free trade in this commodity.

Yesterday Count d'Aremberg arrived; to-day M. de Rosny. He, however, will have precedence in audience; Sunday for him, and Monday for Count d'Aremberg. They bring very different instructions on the question of peace or war.

London, 19th June, 1603.

Dead of plague, 30.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. **79.** Despatch to SECRETARY SCARAMELLI in England.

Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives. Orders for him to stay on at the public cost, and at a salary of one hundred and twenty crowns a month. Instructions about Venetian goods stolen by English privateers. Enclosing the resolutions of the Senate about Anthony Sherley.

Ayes 131.
Noes 7.
Neutrals 16.

* Cal. S. P. Dom. 1603, p. 14. † Cal. S. P. Dom. 1603, pp. 13-14.

1603.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

80. Credentials for Scaramelli till the arrival of the Ambassadors Extraordinary and lieger.

June 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

81. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the Marquis de Rosny embarked at Calais on board an English man-of-war, which the King had sent for him, M. de Vic, Governor of Calais, to do him honour, accompanied him in two light French vessels as far as Dover, and the Marquis's suite of ninety gentlemen and three hundred servants was divided among the three vessels. All three set sail about ten o'clock from Calais. The English Vice-Admiral signalled to break ensign, the French took no notice, and, indeed, one of the Frenchmen, being a smaller and a lighter craft, took the lead of the English, whereupon without more ado the English Admiral fired three rounds of ball cartridge, one ball cut the shrouds and placed the ship in peril, and then the Frenchman ran up the ensign and fell into the wake of the Englishman. The French Ambassadors take no notice of the affair, and hardly mention it.

After the arrival of M. de Rosny Secretary Cecil went to visit him in the King's name. The interview was long. It has been settled that the mission is to have four audiences, two public, the first and the last, and two private. The first audience was on Sunday last, five days after the arrival, the audience of introduction. The Ambassador and the French nobles were all to be in mourning, on express orders, so they say, from his most Christian Majesty, who desired to show by outward sign the grief he felt for the death of the late Queen, and his grateful memory of reciprocal goodwill between her and him. On Saturday, at midnight, the King sent to say that neither he nor his Council nor the English nobility could take their mourning in good part, and that they had better change their dress, if not their feelings. They did so, and all got into their most fantastic costumes and went to Greenwich, where they found the Court in right sumptuous array and very crowded. The compliments were of the fullest description. The King omitted no phrases of regard towards so honourable an embassy, and the French were highly pleased with the whole ceremony and with the exchange of civilities, and thought that the King acquitted himself after the French fashion.

M. de Rosny rehearsed briefly all the preceding alliances between England and France, and dwelt upon the marriage of James V. with Madalene, daughter of Francis I. Upon her death without issue James married Mary of Lorraine, Duchesse de Longueville, daughter of Claude Duc de Guise, by which marriage he had his sons, who died, and Mary, mother of the present King. After many expressions of congratulation he said that he would reserve for another audience his further remarks. The King replied in general but gracious terms, and then they talked for long on the characteristics of England and France, and about the chase, and finally the Ambassadors took their leave well satisfied. To-day is fixed for the first private audience. They have not come back yet. On Sunday they say they are to be invited to a banquet.

The Ambassadors of the States, learning the proposals of the Council as regards their affairs, and having failed altogether to obtain an audience, have arranged with the help of some Scottish

1603.

gentlemen of the Chamber that Barneveld, their most weighty member, should be introduced into a certain gallery, through which the King often passed when moving about the chambers of Greenwich Palace. There, possibly with the King's knowledge, Barneveld met his Majesty, and had a long conversation, and was heard with attention. The Envoy showed that it was the King of Spain who was the first to invade the ancient privileges of the States, granted by the Dukes of Burgundy, and more than this, he was the first to break the agreement which had been made between the States and the Emperor Charles V. By every law, human and divine, the States had won their freedom, and since 1567 had been engaged in the just defence of their rights. Barneveld, as he himself told me, then went on to point out the dangers and inconveniences to which England would be exposed if she abandoned the States, and he thinks that some of his many arguments have made an impression on the King's mind, for his Majesty asked if he was prepared to repeat and to establish all that he had said in the presence of the Spanish Ambassadors and those of the Archduke, a challenge which Barneveld accepted, and pledged himself to adduce abundance both of arguments and documents.

The Ambassadors of the States lodge hard by M. de Rosny, and are in constant consultation with him, by night more than by day, and with M. de Beaumont as well. It is clear that their whole object just now is to give a satisfactory answer to a question, which the Council advised the King to address to his most Christian Majesty, namely, "How can you ask me to live at war in order that you may live in peace?" The Council is unanimous in desiring that this question should be put. Both parties wish to hear the answer. The peace party say that if the King of France showed himself ready to throw in his lot with England that would raise a new point to be discussed. The French Ambassadors, who are fully informed of all that goes on, keep couriers constantly on the road, so that their master may be possessed of the minutest details. It is said that the Spanish and Archiducal Envoys are bringing great offers, either to marry a daughter of the Duke of Savoy to the Prince of Wales, or Elizabeth, daughter of King James, who is bred a Catholic, to the Prince of Piedmont, although she is only eight years old next August, but all this is merely a ruse to facilitate the conclusion of peace.

Count d' Aremberg has an attack of his usual malady, the gout, which has prevented him from having an audience. M. de Rosny is impatient to be gone; he has all the affairs of France on his shoulders. It is generally thought that as the King's relations with Spain and the Archduke have always been both close and cordial, it is not likely that he will say to an embassy of congratulation, "I mean to foster your rebels, and, consequently to go to war with you." As to Barneveld's argument that the King of Spain violated the privileges of the States, they ask whether the original pacts contained any obligation upon the States to rebel against God, to pluck out the eyes of saints, to burn images, to destroy churches, to appropriate Church revenues, to annihilate that divine religion which gave its sanction to the very privileges which they now say have been violated.

1603.

The Danish envoys announce the birth of a son, and invite the King to the baptism. He has sent the Earl of Rutland with two men-of-war to represent him, and to convey the garter to the King. He has given the garter to the Prince of Wales, and with his own hand and with great pomp he has also invested the Earl of Southampton,—and added a post worth six thousand crowns a year,*—the Earl of Mar, and Ludovic, Duke of Lennox; his nomination as President of the Council is not certain yet, only as a Duke, in the absence of the Primate, he will take precedence, and this I mention so that Secretary Padavino may know what titles to employ should your Serenity think of sending letters of credence to him, too, along with your Ambassadors. Although it has been customary for your Serenity to send letters of credence to four or six of the principal ministers, it will be best on this occasion to address the Duke only, and to send a general letter to the Council, not as a credential but merely out of compliment. The King is absolute now, and declares that there are no ministers and no law of which he is not the master.

The Earl of Tyrone has been most favourably received by the King, and he is well treated, but will not be allowed to go back to Ireland.

The King declines to do anything for the relief of the Duke de Bouillon, and so the Ambassadors of the Count Palatine have been dismissed after receiving gold chains.

The Queen is approaching, and the King will go one of these days to Windsor, a royal residence, twenty miles out of London. The place is free of infection, and he will stay there till the date of the Coronation, which has been fixed ten days earlier, that is St. James' Day, new style.

Prince Henry is coming with the Queen, but the other was left on the Scottish border.

The King says he intends to send one of his gentlemen to inform your Serenity of his succession. The person is not named yet, but in Court they say he may be Anthony Standen, an Englishman, who was once with the Grand Duchess Capello, an old man of noble blood, and a Catholic as best he can. He will pass on from Venice to the Grand Duke.

London, 26th June, 1603.

In seventeen parishes, 43 dead of plague this week.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

82. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The hope of peace with England not only continues but increases, and with it the certainty of recovering Flanders, unless they by chance should secure the support of France, in case of being abandoned by England.

Since Taxis left for England no further discussion of that question has been held.

Valladolid, 26th June, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Keeper of the Isle of Wight. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1603, July 7.

1603.
June 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

83. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have time to add something to my despatch of yesterday. I have it on excellent authority that the peace and alliance between the Crowns of England and Spain are making great strides. His Catholic Majesty is sending a large sum to the King of England to meet the needs of the beginning of his reign. I am told that the four Scotsmen, newly added to the Council, have for long been in receipt of large sums from Spain, which gives the better hope of a favourable issue. This money is sent to England by means of drafts on Octavian Centurione, who has been in receipt of ten millions.

The offers of the Dutch to place themselves for ever under the King of England, on condition that he remains perpetually hostile to Spain, has caused serious anxiety to these ministers. It is said that the King of England has replied that he would accept the terms provided they admitted an English garrison into twenty of their towns. All this has hastened the despatch of the gold I have referred to above. The Spanish ministers hope that this will not only please the King but will also serve to indemnify him, should he accept a Spanish alliance, for the money which the Crown of England has advanced on the guarantee towns. Seventy thousand crowns have also been sent with the greatest secrecy into Ireland to the Catholic leaders to encourage them to continue their conquests over the Lutherans.

Valladolid, 27th June, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

84. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador complains that the fortresses of the Grand Signor give shelter to the English corsairs. The Grand Vizir showed a hostile spirit towards the English Ambassador. He wished to send to Modon to hang the Governor as an aider and abettor of pirates, but he met with opposition from other ministers. A rigid inquiry has been ordered, and if two witnesses establish the Governor's guilt he will be hanged.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th June, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

85. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Beglierbey of Tunis has made vast gains by keeping well with English privateers. He has been able to spend four thousand sequins on securing his removal. In Tunis the English are said to have twelve French prizes. An English berton arrived here with only one hundred and ten pieces of cloth. She drew off again in alarm at the great galleys. Everyone supposes her to be a privateer, and the Grand Vizir is urged to take vigorous steps against her.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th June, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1603.
July 1.
Original. Despatch, Venetian Archives.

86. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Rosny has reported to the King on his reception in London, and his audience. It is thought that negotiations will take some time, during which there will be a suspension of arms. Taxis will await to see how the land lies, and if the King of England shows a favourable disposition, the Spanish Ambassador here, a person of great experience, will be sent to conclude what Taxis has begun.

While de Rosny was crossing the straits a slight difference arose. The Vice-Admiral of England came to Calais to act as escort; he cast anchor and went to visit M. de Vic, Governor of Calais, and to explain his orders. De Vic thanked the Vice-Admiral, and said this was a great honour for the Ambassador, but that he, too, had prepared an escort, and as M. de Rosny had not yet arrived in Calais he could not say what dispositions he would make. M. de Rosny elected to go on board the English ship, and accepted the favour offered to him. The Vice-Admiral gave orders that his guns should be held ready to fire, in case any of the French ships, flying the French standard, went ahead of the English during the passage. M. de Vic, with the French standard flying, forged ahead, and the Vice-Admiral fired a shot, which passed close by the standard, which was flying at the main. M. de Rosny hearing the shot asked what it meant; they replied that it was against etiquette for any vessel to pass the one which was carrying him. Another version is that the English Vice-Admiral declared that he would not permit any other standard in those seas except his master's, and accordingly M. de Rosny caused the French standard to be lowered.

A similar question arose with the Dutch. The English claimed that, on meeting, the Dutch should strike their flag, to which the Dutch replied that this was an extraordinary claim to be made by one ally upon another. They, however, did dip their flag. When Count d'Aremberg embarked at Dunquerque another difficulty arose, for he at first declined to embark upon any of the three English vessels sent to escort him, because five Dutchmen were cruising about. The English begged the Dutch to retire; they replied that they were on ordinary guard duty, blockading the port, and they accompanied the English to show that the Count would not have been allowed to cross without English authorization. The Dutch and the English are both very strong at sea, and if united no one can resist them.

Paris, the first of July, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

July 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

87. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The report that Piers was coming back to England is true. He sailed into Plymouth by night, on board a ship of about six hundred tons burden, which I imagine to be the "Veniera;"* she has forty pieces of artillery on board. He was at once informed of the royal warrant, which at my instance, had been issued against

* *Alias* the "Fox." Cal. S. P. Ven. S. V. Piers.

1603.

him and other privateers, and hid himself, and stole away to London, where he is now, going alone at night, endeavouring to arrange his affairs. He declares that he is not without a golden key to open the doors of the great, especially of the High Admiral, who has charge of this business. The High Admiral made an appointment with me the day before yesterday in a certain garden near the Court; but after keeping me waiting for three hours on one excuse or another, he never came at all. The Court is scandalized, but I hope the incident may be turned to the benefit of my mission. Piers hailed last from Tunis; he made the journey very short of hands; for in Tunis his men deserted to other ships, partly because they were not satisfied with their share of the booty, partly, may be, from fear. On his voyage he fell in with another privateer, named William Cunliffe (?) (*Cunelò*), who boarded him as a friend, and then partially plundered him of his money. Cunliffe came much more openly to England than Piers. I have had him clapped in prison with irons at his heels and a chain round his waist. This plunder of plunder must of course be restored. I would serve Piers in the same way if I could once get him imprisoned through the help of the spies I keep to shadow him.

In the whole of this business, I, a stranger, ill equipped in every respect, but more especially unprovided by the interested parties with any money for their service, rack my brains as to what I should do. I have read and reread your Serenity's instructions of the 15th of February last. That is explicit, although no letters addressed to the new King have reached me in these three months, and I am almost tempted to believe that matters stand as the English say, and that your Serenity does not desire to approach the new King on the subject of any event which happened in the late Queen's reign. I have not had a word of instruction from the interested parties as a whole, only some private letters, from which I gather that they would have been pleased had I found all the money for these negotiations out of my own pocket. They have not even advanced a penny of the costs, as the illustrious Nicolò Tron and the parties interested in the "Speranza" will know, for they are the only people who have borne the charges of my mission. All the same I will not neglect to take all possible steps in the case of the "Veniera." She has already been sequestrated, and I have ordered an inventory to be made.

After the private audience granted to the French Ambassadors his Majesty appointed four Commissioners, the Admiral, the Secretary of State, Mountjoy, and Kinloss, who have held a long conference in M. de Rosny's lodgings with the French alone, and another at which the Ambassadors of the States were present. It seems that representations and offers will be made to his Majesty, who has declared that he considers that the question of war or peace depends upon his own supreme will and not upon the Parliament. He will, accordingly, hear the Ambassadors of their Highnesses and of Spain, who are now in Brussels, before announcing his decision. Cecil and Kinloss have been to sound Count d'Aremberg on the subject of his mission. He says it is purely complimentary, but if they wish to bring other topics on the *tapis* he will, when he is out of bed, give every satisfaction to his Majesty.

1603.

The French Ambassadors on Sunday last dined with the King in state. His Majesty made a vast display of plate, and on his person a wealth of jewels.

At the lower table, laid for the French, sat some four hundred persons. M. de Rosny has taken his leave to return to France. He is in high hopes about the success of his mission. Sir Anthony Standen will be accredited to your Serenity.

London, 3rd July, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

88. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I informed your Serenity that I had in my hands an English Captain and a sailor, who had been sent over here by the Sanjak of the Morea. The Sanjak is continually asking for their restitution. Up to the present I have put him off with civil answers. Lately he has written angrily, with a threat at the end of his letter. I have answered that as this pirate has plundered not only the Athenian ship but one belonging to your Serenity as well, I cannot let him go without express orders from home. I am afraid that the Sanjak may force me to surrender the Englishman by arresting some of our many subjects who may be in the Morea on business. To avoid this I have given orders that no frigates or boats are to go over there without my permission; but the loss to trade is very severe, and as almost all the necessaries of life come from that part it will be hard to maintain the position. I humbly beg for instructions. I am informed, through news sent to Francesco Heriedi, that the French Ambassador* in Constantinople has bought a *berton*, and placed two of his sons, all his suite, and one hundred French soldiers, who had revolted against the Emperor in Hungary, on board, and given them express orders to treat all English *bertons* as enemies. This ship fell in with an Englishman, named the "Salamander," in the Gulf of Milo, on the 13th of June. They engaged for four hours, and after killing many of the English, they took the ship, but spared the lives of the Captain and four others. They sailed away with the Englishman as prize. She is full of valuable merchandize, and of money as well.

On the second of this month Bellegno, Commander of the galley slaves, brought into this port an English *berton*, captured by him off Strivali; the ship would not salute, so he opened fire. The ship had a cargo from Alexandria, belonging to Turks, Moors, Jews, Greeks and English, and I am leaving it all unladed in the Lazaretto.†

Zante, 4th July, 1603. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

89. Letter from the SANJAK OF MOREA.

After compliments: I sent you an English pirate captured here; you were to examine him and send him back, but you have not.

* De. Breves. Cf. Cal. S. P. Ven. S. V.
† This ship was probably the "Angel;" Master, Thomas Gardiner.

1603.

Now on receipt of this, without more delay or raising any new point, you will send him over here. You have no authority to keep him so long a prisoner. And so without any further excuse, and with all speed, you are to send him to Gastuni, and consign him to our lieutenant. The end of this affair will be far from good, do you know. Blessing be on him who obeys God. The humble Mehmet, Sanjak of Morea.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

90. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Commissioners pointed out to the French Ambassadors that it was not convenient for the King of England to go to war merely in order that the King of France might live in peace. In answer to this the French Envoys declared that they would call the Envoys of the States to witness that his Majesty of France had never really abandoned them, nay, that even after the peace of Vervins he had continued to administer help to them in large sums of money, and that last year in particular France had furnished four hundred thousand pounds of powder and money to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns. The Envoys of the States declare that they will not listen to any proposals for peace, and they have already told his Majesty that when they want it they can get it without his aid. The French Envoys declare that their master will never abandon the States, and they propose a defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, which shall keep on foot eighteen thousand infantry, six thousand foot, and a number of ships.

To this explicit proposal the English Commissioners, after conferring with the whole Privy Council for two days, replied upon the third of this month, declining the alliance for the present; but they said that if France proposed an offensive as well as defensive alliance, the King would reconsider the question in spite of his present inclination to peace, and that in the meantime he pledged himself to help the States in case of imminent danger, and he abandoned his proposed conference with the Envoys of Spain and Flanders.

The French professed themselves quite satisfied, but could not reply definitely to the proposal. M. de Rosny is to lay it before the King on his return to France, but he is quite sure his master will not enter on an offensive alliance, which would expose him to attack from Spain, Savoy, and Flanders, and necessitate the armament of Languedoc, Provençe, Dauphiny, Burgundy, Picardy. His master, he said, must pay attention to his finances, and a war in Flanders means not less than fifty thousand men. He added that at the bottom of his heart the King of France really nourished such designs, but out of regard for the Pope he was obliged to conceal them till events took a decided turn. If he had not been assured of this he would never have undertaken a mission which compelled him to abandon his numerous pressing affairs merely to come here to trick a sovereign, for whom he felt so profound a respect, and to whom he was bound by ties of gratitude for favours done to his brother in Scotland. He said that the Ambassadors could not accept the offensive alliance on the spot,

1603.

and asked for two months to consult with their master in France. But, as the needs of the States were pressing, owing to Spinola's new levies, which would be in Flanders by the month of August, it was imperatively necessary to come to some resolution on that subject, and in his Majesty's name he offered three hundred thousand crowns for this year, on condition that the King of England contributed six thousand English and Scottish troops armed and paid for one year. After much discussion it was arranged that the King of England should allow the States to raise two or three hundred men in England and Scotland, on the plea that they are to complete the fifty companies of English and thirteen of Scottish, who are across the water, and that the King of France is to disburse one hundred thousand crowns on account of his debt to the Crown of England, to be lent to the States. Meantime the King of England is to hear what the Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors have to say, and then he will publish his final decision. This is considered a very important result, in view of the desperate condition in which the States found themselves, and with it M. de Rosny retires. He has received about four thousand crowns' worth of jewels from the King. The English ministers, however, are convinced that the King of France will not come to any decision, neither in two months nor yet in two years, and will do his best to delay any conclusion, so that in the end he may select that course which suits him best, unless he sees that the King of Spain is arming to threaten France. The King of England certainly desires peace.

The day before yesterday Count d'Aremberg went to Court to open his negotiations; he has asked for two audiences before the arrival of the Spanish Ambassador, who is waiting in Brussels for instructions from Spain. He says he trusts to find better faith in the heretic King of England than in the Catholic King of France, for he himself, as one of the signatories of the Peace of Vervins, saw with his own eyes the King of France laying one hand on the Crucifix, the other on the Gospels, in the Church of Nôtre Dame, and swearing to keep the peace and give no aid to the enemies of their Highnesses. The Treasurer, speaking to me of various subjects, declared that the French were very cunning, and that one must be cautious in giving them credence. He was glad to learn that M. de Rosny had declared himself satisfied, but d'Aremberg will be still more so.

London, 10th July, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

91. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Rosny, before leaving England, warmly recommended the English Catholics to the King's favour; he said that although a Huguenot himself he did so with all his heart in obedience to orders from his master, who was moved by the Pope in this matter. The King replied that he would never hurt a Catholic (*il Rè rispose che a Catholici egli non farà mai dispiacere*). All the same, the biannual payment of the recusancy fines falling due, the Catholics have been compelled to pay them, although they confidently hoped

1603.

to be exempt. These fines yield a considerable revenue. The Catholics are in despair, and look for no amelioration of their lot.

I must inform your Serenity that Robert Crichton, Baron Sanquhar, the same person as his Majesty once recommended to your Serenity, and who is very intimate with the King, and still more with the Queen as being a Catholic, told me in the strictest confidence that he himself had an interview with the Pope at Ferrara,* and had promised in the King's name that if he succeeded to the throne of England he would permit liberty of conscience, and would restore to their country and their possessions all who had been persecuted for being Catholics, but that he would not go a step further for two reasons, the second of which is, perhaps, the more weighty, first because he would never, in the interests of peace, permit two religions in his kingdoms, and second because he would never admit allegiance to the Pope in the free kingdoms to which he had succeeded.

M. de Rosny spoke very frankly to me; and endeavoured to make me believe that he has obtained all he can possibly desire, though he admits that he must consult his master. He urged that the true policy for your Serenity, in order to maintain the peace in Italy, was to stand in with France and England, and support them.

The Ambassadors of the States in conversation with me declared that although they never dreamed of expecting help from the Republic, as they were well aware of her difficult position, still they wished to point out that unless they had carried on their war with Spain during these last thirty years Europe would be in a very different position to-day. They begged me to assure your Serenity of the high esteem in which our Statesmen are held, and to declare that should the Republic ever wish to hire a squadron of their fleet to assist her against the Turks, they would take a decision quite unlooked for by your Serenity. I replied in general terms, and meantime asked them to give a favourable issue to the affair of the Venetian vessel, owned by Sig. Marco Venier and Agostin dal Ponte, which had been captured by a Dutch privateer. They told me that six hours after the news of the Queen's death reached Holland they despatched a ship to offer to King James, in case of need, eighty men-of-war paid for six months, and fifteen thousand men *contra quoscunque*. They think that the King desires peace with Spain chiefly to avoid involving Scotland in war; but that he will most certainly continue to support them.

The Queen arrives to-day at Windsor,† with two hundred and fifty carriages, and upwards of five thousand horses, her retinue having grown greatly on her journey. She has been received by the King and Court with every mark of honour. The Prince comes with her. They will all stay at Windsor till the 3rd of August (N.S.), and then will make their solemn entry into London, lodging in the Tower on the 4th. On the 5th the Coronation takes place. There have been frequent discussions as to anticipating or postponing the date on account of the plague; the dread of plague need not delay the arrival of the Ambassadors, for the Court always lies at an uninfected place.

* On the negotiations between Scotland the Pope, see Gardiner, I. 80, 81.
† Cal. S. P. Dom., July 4, 1603. Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain.

1603.

For the Coronation six superb arches have been erected. I am informed from a good source that the Envoys of their Highnesses will dispute precedence with your Serenity's Ambassadors, and I am assured that something of the same sort may happen shortly at Rome.

On leaving Edinburgh, the Queen generously distributed among the ladies who remained behind, all her jewels, dresses, hangings of her rooms, everything she had, without exception, and declared, with tears in her eyes, that if she had had more she would have given it; and, indeed, for a Queen it was not very much. She was the daughter of Frederick II. King of Denmark and of Sophia, daughter of Ulric Duke of Mecklenburgh, and she had no other dower than the word of her brother, King Christian, and some of the German Princes, her relations, among them Saxony, her brother-in-law, that they would lend their aid when the question of succession to the throne of England arose. In the late Queen's wardrobe she will find six thousand dresses, and though she declared that she would never wear cast clothes, still it was found that art could not devise anything more costly and gorgeous, and so the Court dressmakers are at work altering these old robes, for nothing new could surpass them. It is matter of comment that M. de Rosny did not delay his departure for two days, in which case he could have paid his respects in person to the Queen. He sent a gentleman of his suite to do so in his master's name. It is also remarked that during his sojourn here of seventeen days neither he nor the lieger visited Count d'Aremberg, notwithstanding the indubitable malady which was wasting him.

An Envoy is leaving for the Imperial Court and for Germany to announce the King's succession. Sir Anthony Standen will leave in three days for Venice, *viâ* Lorraine. He was a partisan of Mary Queen of Scots in his youth, and was forced to leave the kingdom during the troubles. He had only a letter from the Queen to the Grand Duke Francis, who received him kindly, and placed him in service of his second wife. When they died he no longer enjoyed the favour of the new Grand Duke, merely because he had been in that service. He left, and eventually ingratiated himself so thoroughly with the late Queen that he was allowed to follow Essex to Ireland, to purge himself of his errors.

The Levant Company is finally dissolved. As that company alone and at its sole charges maintained the English Ambassador in Constantinople, the Crown contributing nothing but credentials, it may very well happen that the Ambassador will retire, in view of the difficulty of collecting his salary from private purses, all the more so because the King has given out that he desires peace with Christian sovereigns, and, therefore, cannot remain in alliance with the Turk. I, therefore, once more humbly submit to your Serenity that not only may we consider trade in England open to Venetian subjects, but that this is a favourable occasion for attempting to draw all the English Levant trade to Venice; for your Serenity can always bar almost entirely the trade with Ragusa and Ancona whenever you care to enforce the laws of 1543 and 1602, which forbid ships to lade in Venice unless they have landed two-thirds of their cargo in the city, and if they have discharged at any port in your Gulf (*i.e.*, the

1603.

Adriatic). I need not say that I do my best to foster here so good and profitable an idea.

London, 10th July, 1603.

Dead of plague, seventy-two in thirty parishes.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

92. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador asks the Capudan Pasha to punish the English pirates and their abettors. The Capudan gives a dissertation on the difference between the Turkish and the Venetian galleys.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th July, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

93. MARIN CAVALLI and ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Rosny is back from England, and is with the King. He is expected daily in Paris. *On the subject of his mission I hear this for certain, that the King of England has not come to any decision, beyond showing a favourable attitude. He wishes to hear first what his Catholic Majesty has to say.*

In London a book with detestable doctrines adverse to the Church of Rome has been published; ten years ago it appeared in Scotland. Another book called "Basilicon," the work of the King himself, is to be seen. It is addressed to his eldest son, and is written in English. It has been translated into French by some who wished to publish it here. The English Ambassador vetoed this until he had his master's pleasure on the subject. The King replied that he was content that it should appear, but without any additions. It is sure to appear, for the heretics desire to have it.

Paris, 15th July, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 15. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

94. To the SECRETARY IN ENGLAND.

On the affair of the "Veniera" the Senate is well satisfied. Instructions to take all possible steps against the estate of William Piers; and to see that if he lands he is arrested.

Ayes 107.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 8.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

95. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Tyrone has returned to his Majesty the sixty thousand crowns sent to him to support the Catholic faith and foment his rebellion. He is now reconciled to the King of England, who has granted liberty of conscience.

Valladolid, 17th July, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
July 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

96. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

That scoundrel William Piers, who captured the "Veniera," has been arrested at last, while flying from London back to Plymouth. On his arrival here he was brought to my house like a murderer with a mob at his heels. He is under twenty-five years of age, squarely built, and bold-looking. He told me so many lies by way of excuse, that each one of them seems worse than his original misdeed. He makes a show of having no fear of death, but I don't believe him. I have had him put in a prison that he merits, loaded with all the irons and chains that he can carry, for so runs the warrant which was granted to me. Time and torture will make him speak and declare something which will allow the interested parties to recover some damages for loss, which must here be clearly established. Meantime the Signori Venier will get back their ship in sound condition, as I am assured, and your Serenity will receive satisfaction, thanks to the honour in which your name is held in these distant parts, as is demonstrated by the issue of this affair, which rouses universal wonder. I am leaving for Court, so that the King himself may confirm what has been done, and put a stop to all the subterfuges which have hitherto been adopted in similar cases. I will take the opportunity to kiss the Queen's hand and the Prince's, and to present in suitable terms your Serenity's compliments.

The King has issued an order by which all prizes of Spanish ships made after a month from the Queen's death are declared illegal.* This is considered a striking proof that the King wishes for peace with Spain. On the principle that who desires peace should arm for war, the King will commission ten ships and two pinnaces in addition to those already commissioned.

An English nobleman, named Anthony Copley, has been charged with treason. He has lived for long in Spain, and along with other Catholics, is accused of plotting a tumult with intent to kill the King. Many arrests have been made upon this charge. As the information was laid by a Frenchman, who put in intercepted letters, but subsequently died of poison as was suspected, it is thought possible that the whole affair may have been got up by the French.

Count d'Aremberg, in an audience, has warmly urged the conclusion of peace with Spain, and the Spanish Ambassador is awaited, in order to draw out a declaration on his Majesty's part. The Ambassadors of the States have left. Standen has left, and must now be in France. The Ambassadors of Brunswick and Lorraine have arrived, and, on account of the plague, they passed straight on to Court at Windsor, where the crowd is so great and the dearth so excessive that the King will be forced to move.

London, 17th July, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

* Cal. S.P. Dom. June 23, 1603.

1603.
July 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.*

97. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hardly had I reached this village, which is two short miles from Windsor, where the Court lay, than I was informed that the King intended to move to Oatlands (*Otlan*), and that I must have patience about the audience I had demanded, until he had reached Hampton Court (*Antoncurt*) at the end of this week. I informed the Council that the object of my audience was the affairs of the pirate Piers, who is in prison. They sent me the judge, who was with me almost all yesterday. After giving him the necessary information he made various orders for the trial of the criminal and the inclusion of certain English, who had bought goods from him in the Levant, knowing them to be stolen. The judge promised to push on the trial, and I will inform the interested parties of the issue, so as not to weary your Serenity. I must, however, tell you that Piers has become a prey to despair and the dread of death, and has taken to a most dissolute life in prison, where he lies in chains. He spends four ducats a day on his food and on the sweetened wine which he always drinks.

The Coronation will take place at the appointed time, but in very private form. The King will cross the Thames from Lambeth to Westminster, and will return the same way without touching London. The arches and trophies will be used on the occasion of his solemn opening of Parliament in October, if the plague stops.

The King has arranged that the Government of Scotland shall be entrusted to a Council of twenty in all respects on a level with the English Council. Several Scots are leaving very well satisfied with the posts, the salaries, the precedence, guards, honours. This is a device of the English Council, which does not want the Scottish as colleagues. The delay in the arrival of the Spanish Ambassador gives rise to conjectures that he will bring with him extravagant demands on the subject of peace, as the Spanish are growing bold in face of the King's pacific inclination. He made his entry into the Tower of London without a sword at his side, on purpose, and now declares that as he came to his kingdom in peace he will preserve it in peace for himself and his subjects. Count d'Aremberg himself told me that in audience of the King his Majesty asked if the Spanish Ambassador was coming, and upon d'Aremberg replying "Yes, for certain," the King said with disdain, "Then his delay must be due to his weight."

Some officers have left for Scotland to raise troops for the States. The commander of the whole force, which will number three thousand men, is to be Baron Buccleugh (*Blach*). Twelve Dutch ships are out to harry the Spaniards. They are fine ships, well manned and found. The King has ordered a levy of two thousand seamen in Kent to complete the armament of the ten ships and two pinnaces, about which I have already written.

The Ambassador of Wirtemberg has reached Dover. The Ambassador of Brunswick, as the Envoy of a relative, is lodged at the King's charges, a favour shown to no other Ambassador; indeed, after having given M. de Rosny board and lodging, the Council resolved for the future to supply lodging only.

* Cal. S.P. Dom. June 25, 1603.

1603.

Father Creichton, a Jesuit, a man over seventy years of age, well known as a literary celebrity in Rome and elsewhere, who left Scotland as a lad, and has lived since in various Jesuit Colleges, was at Calais* a few days ago, and intended to come over in guise of a Scottish gentleman to confer with the King. He is thought to be acting upon the Pope's orders. The Ambassador of Lorraine is to put in a recommendation of the Catholics, similar to that presented by M. de Rosny. The Pope, it seems, will make use of all the Catholic Princes, to obtain at least the fulfilment of the promise made by his Majesty four years ago, that he would permit freedom of conscience. The King himself, though continuing a Protestant, would certainly be indifferent as to the question of religion did he not fear that this would breed discord among his people. The Queen is most obedient to her husband, and goes with him to the heretical services, but all the same she endeavours to place in office as many Catholic nobles as possible, and as the King is extremely attached to her she succeeds in all she attempts.

Egham, 23rd July, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

July 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

98. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Rosny declares everywhere that he was not only highly honoured in England but that he has secured the fullest satisfaction in his mission, having obtained more than he hoped for. These actual statements he repeated to me when I went to visit him. He enters, however, on no particulars, and at Court they think that these declarations are made more for his glory than for any solid foundation they may have. The extraordinary secrecy, which surrounds all this business, made me the more anxious to penetrate it. The decision of the King of England is considered of great importance, as your Serenity will understand. I managed to obtain from a person of the highest rank an account of what the King of France himself had told him; but the communication was made in the very strictest confidence, and if it leaked out your Serenity would lose the services which I am endeavouring to secure among persons of high position.

The matter stands thus: The King of France sent to offer his friendship to the King of England; he invited him to make war on Spain, and promised every assistance in men and money, either secretly or openly, and in his own person; or by means of an offensive and defensive league, or in any way the King of England might prefer. He pointed out how threatening Spain was, especially if she conquered Holland; on this ground both sovereigns must support the States. M. de Rosny was received with extraordinary honour. It was greatly remarked that the Ambassador of the Archduke, who was already in England, was not received till the King had granted an audience to de Rosny. The King made answer that he desired the amity of France, and recognised fully the French King as true and legitimate sovereign, abandoning the English claim to the Crown of France; that he would be his ally in everything, as he knew well how important it was to check the

* Cal. S. P. Dom., June 25, 1603.

1603.

progress of Spanish power; that as he had only just come to the throne he could not embark on war at once, more especially as he found no money in the treasury, though rumour said otherwise; that he would give all possible aid to the States. As M. de Rosny had full powers to conclude any treaty which might seem good to him, after various negotiations they came to these terms:—

The King of France to contribute four, and the King of England two hundred thousand crowns a year secretly to the States, paying at the rate of fifty thousand a month.

The King of England will allow the younger brother of Count Maurice to raise three thousand troops in his kingdoms.

Thus both Crowns will continue secret war on Spain till it suits one side or the other to declare it openly. This state of things cannot last long.

The King of England handed to the King of France in a present the title of King of France. He resented the Archduke addressing him as "Our good friend."

When de Rosny arrived in London, the Council asked for the repayment of the money due to the late Queen, but the King, to show his authority, forbade them to mention the subject. It was agreed, however, that within three months Commissioners of either party should be appointed to liquidate these accounts. With this M. de Rosny took his leave, taking with him five thousand crowns worth of presents in plate and jewels.

The King of France is quite satisfied.

Paris, 25th July, 1603.

July 25. [*Italian; deciphered.*]

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

99. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sir Anthony Standen has arrived at Court. He is on his way to Lorraine, Florence, and Venice. He dined with me.

The Archduke has gone to Ostend to see a machine that a Roman engineer has made to bombard the town. All his hopes are reposed therein.*

Paris, 25th July, 1603.

July 25. [*Italian.*]

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. *Expulsis Papalibus.*

100. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From the source to which I have already referred I learn that in conversation with M. de Rosny the King of England remarked that he knew that neither Spain nor France could endure the Papal claims to jurisdiction, and that he would never submit to have any master in his kingdoms but himself. He chid de Rosny for using the title of Holiness when speaking of the Pope. The King's learning renders his conversion hopeless, for he will not easily admit that anyone can teach him.

Paris, 25th July, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* Cf. Motley, "United Netherlands." IV. 171. Pompey Targone, inventor of the floating battery, and the movable battery on wheels. Neither would work.

1603.
July 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

101. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Immediately after Anthony Copley's proclamation as a rebel he was arrested, and soon after his arrest, in the hope of saving himself, he betrayed a plot of twelve gentlemen to kill the King and some of the Council. Of these twelve eight, besides Copley, are taken, and three proclaimed under the severest penalties. Two of these conspirators are priests, of a kind; for being sent by the late Queen to Rome as spies they there took orders so that they might serve her better. These eight are for the present imprisoned in different houses. They propose to try them by a Parliamentary Commission. Some have already confessed. The causes of the conspiracy are two, one that these persons, having always been of the King's party, expected large rewards, instead of which the King has never regarded them with a favourable eye, indeed, some of them have been deprived of offices which they held; the other is that both nobles and people thought that the advent of the new King would mean the downfall of certain hated members of the Council, instead of which those persons have managed so cleverly that they are in greater authority than ever. For they soon perceived that the Scottish members of the Council were in need of money, and intended, as their main object, to get it, and so they gave them free scope for this purpose, on condition that they closed their eyes and left the weightier affairs to the English.*

It is impossible to deny that these English statesmen have, so to speak, bewitched the King; he is lost in bliss and so entirely in their hands that, whereas the late Queen knew them and put up with them as a necessity but always kept her eye on their actions, the new King, on the contrary, seems to have almost forgotten that he is a King except in his kingly pursuit of stags, to which he is quite foolishly devoted, and leaves them with such absolute authority that beyond a doubt they are far more powerful than ever they were before (nè si può negare che questi Signori Inglesi non habbiano si può dire incantato il Rè perchè egli perdutosi nella felicità si è posto tanto nell'arbitrio di essi che dove la morta Regina conoscendoli et sopportandoli per necessità soleva almeno havere loro l'occhio alle mani, questo Rè quasi scordatosi d'esser Rè per altro che per esercitar regalmente la caccia di Cervi in che è perditissimo in eccesso, li lascia con tanto assoluto dominio che senza dubio sono hora maggiori che siano stati mai).

And yet they belong to that party which only a short time ago was living in terror like threatened men because their hands were stained with the blood of his Majesty's mother.

This conspiracy had for its scope to secure freedom of conscience, and it has some reference to Lady Arabella, reputed a Catholic. Most of the conspirators belong to her faction. All the same her name has not been mentioned yet, and she is living retired in the country in her old dwelling.

The King is very anxious, and there is an universal belief that this is not the end of the danger, and that other evil humours are abroad. There are reports of collisions between Scottish and English

* William Watson and William Clerke. Cal. S.P. Dom., July 16. 1603. Gardiner. Op cit. 1. 109, where the name is spelled *Clarke*.

1603.

on the border, for it seems that these two nations, filled with a native hostility to one another, will never be able to pull together. The Catholics have petitioned for the repeal of the recusancy fines; his Majesty replied, "Let them see to it, that they be loyal, and I will not fail to satisfy them." The King is convinced so far that neither Spain nor the Archduke have had any hand in this conspiracy. D'Aremberg offered to give the King hostages for the innocence of his master.

The King told the Ambassador that the Scottish troops, raised for the service of the States, would not be allowed to cross the water, and that Baron Buccleugh (Bluch) will not carry out his expedition.

The names of the imprisoned conspirators are Thomas Grey (Grai) and Henry Cobham, barons; Walter Raleigh (Vaten Ralie), Arthur (Artur Gorgeartur Selvago), (Artur Scoghmorton), knights; George Brooke, brother of Lord Cobham; and the proclaimed are Griffin Markham, knight, and two priests called Watson and Clarke (Clarch).

Sunbury, 30th July, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

102. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Court moved from Windsor, and their Majesties accompanied the Prince and Princess to Oatlands (*Otlans*), where the Princes are to live. The Court and Council then passed on to Hampton Court, which is far larger than the other seven palaces belonging to the Crown; all eight of them lie on the banks of the Thames. They say that Hampton Court has one thousand eight hundred inhabitable rooms, or at least all of them with doors that lock. The furnishings of the Royal apartments are the richest that the Crown possesses. Each of the eight palaces has its own furniture, which is never taken to furnish another.

At Hampton Court his Majesty appointed my audience for yesterday afternoon, but in the morning he sent over to this village, where I am lying, in sight of the Court, to say that he could not receive me till to-day. I was introduced into the presence in the midst of a babel of voices, discussing the plot. I presented your Serenity's letters, which serve as credentials, and told his Majesty that I was to stay here till the Ambassadors arrived. I congratulated him on the protection which God bestows upon his person, hinting at but not expatiating on details.

The King replied in such terms as the French language sanctions, calling me "honest man," and saying that he knew he could trust what I said, for all other Princes were seeking his friendship for their own purposes except the Republic. He desired that you should not at present be informed about this conspiracy. I then proceeded to touch upon the affair of William Piers. I explained that he had taken and pillaged a Venetian ship, worth upwards of one hundred thousand crowns; and added that Piers was now a prisoner. I asked that his Majesty should be pleased to confirm that operation, and to give me assurances that Piers would not on

1603.

any pretext be set free, and that he would give orders to proceed summarily against the culprit and others who were partners in his crime.

The King listened to me graciously, as he always does, although his temper is impatient, and took a memorandum I had prepared upon the subject. He replied that he would gladly gratify a sovereign whom he so highly esteemed. He then asked if the Ambassadors were coming, and what road they were taking. On my replying that they had not started yet, because the heat in Italy was so great, that it was impossible to travel till it grew cooler, the King said, "Neither heat nor plague matter to men of worth." He asked if they would be here by August, as, after his Coronation, he intended to appoint his liegers everywhere. The Duke of Lennox was present all the time; I had already told him the contents of my memorandum; seeing that the King was talking with a loud voice and about no secret, he approached and said, "Sire, I will take the memorial and attend to it in Council. Your Majesty will remember how often in Scotland we spoke about the assurances of regard towards your Majesty, which the Ambassador Cavalli conveyed from the Republic. Signor Cavalli has a merit and also a demerit in your Majesty's regard, the merit is the great affection he always showed to all your Majesty's servants; the demerit, that he was the first Ambassador to visit the Bishop (of Glasgow), your Majesty's Ambassador in France, to congratulate him on your succession; the Nuncio and the rest of the Court followed his example, and the joy of the event killed the Bishop." . The King smiled, and the Duke went on, "Sire, I pledged myself to send to this good gentleman the portraits of yourself, the Queen, and the Princes, but I could not keep my promise for lack of artists in Scotland; now, however, I will not fail to send them by your Majesty's resident." The King then went on talking cheerfully, till the Grand Chamberlain came to say the Queen was waiting me. The King asked me about the Sherleys, and what had become of Thomas, who was in Turkey. I replied that I did not know, but that as far as Anthony was concerned I knew that he was free to come home if he chose, for your Serenity had dismissed him from your states, with orders never to return. The King said, "If they have done anything amiss I do not wish to say a word for them, but if Anthony has not conspired against the State of Venice I wish him to be able to come home as a gentleman." I had no further information nor instructions, and so the matter dropped.

I then passed into the Queen's apartments. It would be tedious to describe her splendour. She was surrounded by a court of ladies, and rose with a bow. I mounted the steps and kissed her hand. She remained standing, all grace and fairness, of a fine height, and moderately fine presence. I was told to speak in French, as she did not know a word of Italian. After compliments I said that no other Prince had a higher esteem for her Majesty than the Republic, for many reasons too long to relate. At that she laughed, fancying that I alluded to her being a Catholic, and returned thanks. After a brief reply I again kissed her hand and took my leave.

Sunbury, 30th July, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
August 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

103. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some English merchants, suspected of complicity with the pirates, have been arrested at Salonica. The English Ambassador made representations for their liberty, but fruitlessly. I pointed out the damage that your Serenity had suffered this year, and urged the execution of the orders against the Governor of Modon. The Pasha said, "Are you ready to take the execution on your conscience? for if so I will send at once and have him hanged." I replied that I should have been satisfied if it had been carried out at once, but now I would not press the matter, but should leave it to his pleasure. "Well, then, don't you talk about it any more," said the Pasha, "leave it all to me." He enquired whether the guns of the castle could prevent ships lying in the harbour. I think the English Ambassador has adopted the usual methods for quieting matters, for I find the ministers far from eager.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd August, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

August 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

104. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The States have sent three agents, men of middle rank, to hasten the levy of troops. They, the Court and the Council, hold it for certain that the troops will cross the water, but Count d'Aremberg whom I often see, as our villages are hard by each other, and as he is a gentleman of easy access, a German, and of an excellent disposition, told me that the King had used these actual words to him: "Count, I should be a bad King if I allowed help to be sent to the States after the assurances their Highnesses have given me that they truly desire a sound peace with me. And although I have no cause to fear anyone, and reason urges me to support the States until we have concluded our agreement, in order that I may obtain the better terms, nevertheless I assure you that these troops will not cross the Scottish border." This fills the Count with hopes that things will go well this year in Flanders. The delay in the arrival of Taxis is due to positive orders from his Catholic Majesty, that he is to wait in Brussels till his Majesty can come to a decision upon information to be rendered by Count d'Aremberg, so as to miss none of those advantages which spring from the deliberation and attention employed by the Spaniards in all their affairs. They certainly owe much to the discovery of this conspiracy, without which the succours would most surely have been despatched. It is still possible that the King may come to this after all, in spite of the peaceful resolves which he brought from Scotland, more especially as France, undoubtedly, is furnishing pecuniary assistance. The King of England will ally himself, if he must, with France rather than with Spain.

M. de Bourbon, Ambassador of Lorraine, has a merely complimentary mission. His Majesty's affairs with the Grand Duke are all conducted through Lorraine and the Grand Duchess, so, too, his negotiations with the Pope.

1603.

The conspirators are all lodged in the Tower. The reason why his Majesty has never looked favourably on any of them is because they had a hand in the death of Essex, who was in secret understanding with the King and working for his cause.

Another conspiracy has come to light, it was managed for long by Father Persons (Presonio), an English Jesuit, and they say, though it is hardly possible, that Creichton, another Jesuit, but an enemy of Persons, laid the information, but I at present find no confirmation of this.

I have discovered that there is a Roman here, a soldier, called Giovanni degli Effetti. He speaks excellent French, plays brilliantly, and has very good manners. He handed to the King a letter from Monsig. Inocentio dal Buffalo, the Apostolic Nuncio in France, conveying simple compliments to the King on his accession. Degli Effetti is cautiously collecting all the news he can to forward it to the Nuncio or to Rome; on the other hand he is in excessively perilous relations with a certain Catholic gentleman, and is spreading the report the Pope most certainly does not desire a rising, nor has nor ever will have art nor part in conspiracy, or in any action prejudicial to the King, whom he loves, and by whom he is loved in return, and that his Holiness prefers just now to rely on the Divine Grace for the support of the true faith.

Secretary Cecil has informed me that I ought to tell the King what are the charges against Anthony (Sherley). He urges me to speak out freely, for Sherley has been writing home to the King and to his father to say that I had made a garbled report about him.

I have visited the Princes at Oatlands to the great satisfaction of themselves, the King and Queen. The Prince is ten years old, little of body, and quick of spirit. He is ceremonious beyond his years, and with great gravity he covered and bade me be covered. Through an interpreter he gave me a long discourse on his exercises, dancing, tennis, the chase. He then himself conducted me down one flight of stairs and up another to visit the Princess. I found her surrounded by her Court, under a canopy. They both said they meant to learn Italian.

Sunbury, 6th August, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

August 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

105. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The late events have made the King always more and more anxious to receive and to take the oaths of Coronation, in order to settle his affairs. Various orders were issued so as to prevent the presence at the ceremony of any of the dwellers in London, where people are dying by the thousand every week. Tickets of admission have been issued to those attached to the Court, and to a certain extent the very private character of the ceremony has been modified. On the last day of last month eight earls and four barons were created,* and on the first of this month the Court left Hampton in

* Cal. S.P., Dom., July 21. 1603. Barons Danvers, Grey, Russel, Gerard, Petre, Ellesmere, Harrington, Mountjoy, and Spenser. Earls Suffolk and Southampton.

1603.

two divisions, with a guard of five hundred men each. They lay that night a mile out of London, and on the following day they came to Whitehall (*Oital*), hard by Westminster Abbey.

On Monday morning, St. James' Day, old style, the King embarked on the Thames, accompanied by the Council and by both Courts, and landed at the ancient church of Westminster, where land access was forbidden by a strong body of guards placed at the gates of London, while on the water it was the penalty of death to bring people in boats from the City. Their Majesties landed and entered the church, and the Coronation proceeded in the following order:—

First came twelve heralds in open tabbards, displaying the arms of the four kingdoms, then certain merchant companies and the City officers, the Mayor coming last. All wore long gowns of red cloth with sleeves. The officers numbered about twenty. Then two drums and ten trumpets, officers of Justice, dressed like the City officers, with the Lord Chief Justice last, who over his shoulders wore a broad gold chain as wide as the collar of the order. The judges were twenty-five in all, and marched two and two, as did all the others. Sixty Knights of the Bath, an ancient Order of Chivalry; the knights can only be created at the time of a coronation, and, so, of those created by the late Queen only two survive. Their habit consists of a long robe, reaching half to the knee, with large sleeves, made of purple satin, a hood, fastened to the girdle and passing over the shoulder, and hanging down behind like a baldrich, white plumes, plain sword gilded, leather belt and tassels; no other device. About thirty Barons in long robes of scarlet cloth and mantles also scarlet, in many folds, lined with ermine, or at least the lappets, hood over left shoulder, the mantle has two bands of ermine, sword and plumes. Fifteen Earls, dressed in tabbards of crimson velvet, mantle of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, an ermine tippet (*mozzetta*) full of folds, a crimson velvet hood, hanging over the tippet like a stocking, cap of crimson velvet, with filet of ermine, and a small crown of plain gold, with a small thin sceptre in their hands: all, both Earls and Barons, walked uncovered.

Then the King, under a canopy, supported by four rods, and from the top of each rod hung a silver gilt bell. The King was robed like the Earls, only his tippet was of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, and the crown on his bonnet was a little larger. Before the King various Earls carried various objects. The Treasurer bore the crown on a cushion, then came the sceptre, the sword in its sheath, a chalice with wine, the patten, the ducal bonnet. The king-at-arms preceded his Majesty, acting as master of ceremonies, he wore a plain coronet, without a bonnet, a mantle of crimson satin down to the knees, and over it the tabbard, displaying the arms of the kingdoms. The King was followed by the gentlemen of his Court, with vests of crimson velvet, reaching to the knees. Then one hundred and fifty halbardiers of the guard, in the ordinary crimson livery, but with extra gold embroidery, which covered the breast and the back. Then came about thirty pensioners, in scarlet, carrying weapons erect, with velvet handles. The Queen followed under a canopy like the King's. She was dressed in a long robe of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, without other ornament, simply girt, hair down, and a crown of plain gold on her head,

1603.

Before her walked the Countesses, in robes of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, no ornaments, hair done up, and small crowns on their heads. Behind the Queen came her Court in crimson velvet.

When the King had entered the church, the clergy, robed as the Roman clergy, with stoles (*cotte*) and copes, met him at the door, and accompanied him to the choir. There the King mounted a platform, placed between the choir and the High Altar. This dais was all covered with crimson cloth, and the King took his seat on one chair and the Queen on another; these chairs were exactly alike, but about seven feet apart. Both faced the altar, if altar it can be called, being nothing but a common movable table. When the King was seated, the Archbishop of Canterbury, supported by the Admiral and the Chancellor, with the king-at-arms in front of him, presented the King to the people, and the herald cried three times in English, "Hear, Hear, Hear." Then the Archbishop read out a formula, calling on any who denied James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England to be legitimate King of England to say so now, otherwise he would be held a traitor; the Archbishop announced that he was about to crown his Majesty in the confidence that he would govern his people well, and with prayers to God to grant him long life. The people shouted for joy. This done the King and Queen approached the altar and kneeled in prayer. Reseating themselves they listened to the sermon preached by the Bishop. The Archbishop read the Gospel from the altar, and gave it to the King to kiss. The Earls then unrobed the King, leaving him in vest and hose of white satin, unlaced; he then knelt before the altar, and the Archbishop anointed him on various parts of his person, touching the skin. The ointment was taken from a vase, enclosed in a goblet, and covered with a white cloth, standing on the altar along with other regalia. They say the oil was consecrated long ago, and is kept in the Tower of London. It served to anoint both Edward the Sixth and Elizabeth, both of them Protestants. The King's head having been rubbed with a white handkerchief, he was robed again, but in other vestments, a long vest of crimson velvet, lined with white, a Royal tunic over that, the Garter, the sword and collar of the order, over all a mantle of purple brocade. Thus robed he was conducted to a crimson brocaded throne, facing the people, and sitting there the Archbishop placed the crown upon his head. Thus crowned the King was led by the Archbishop to the altar, where he read from a book, and then held it towards the King; he laid his hand upon it, and took the oath. An Earl then took the sword from the altar, drew it, and bore it to the King as he went back to take his seat on the throne.

The Archbishop then took the sceptre and staff, and placed one in the right, the other in the left hand of his Majesty. The sceptre is two spans long, with the globe on the top of the cross, the staff touches the ground, and has the globe and crown on the top.

The Archbishop, the Admiral, the Chancellor, and two Bishops, carrying the crown, led the King to an octagonal dais, and placed him on a throne. The Earls then covered and took the oath, then the Barons, but uncovered. Then the Earls, Council, and Barons, one by one, kissed the King's hand, kneeling before him on a red brocaded cushion, and touched the crown, some even kissing it.

1603.

The Earl of Pembroke, a handsome youth, who is always with the King and always joking with him, actually kissed his Majesty's face, whereupon the King laughed and gave him a little cuff. *(Et fra questi il Conte di Pembruch, giovane gratioso et che sta sempre col Rè et su i scherzi, basciò anco la faccia a Sua Maestà, che si pose a rider el gli diede un schiaffetto.)*

While this was in progress, the Herald having thrice called "Hear," the Chancellor proclaimed his Majesty as true King and sovereign Lord, anointed and crowned.

The Archbishop then proceeded to crown the Queen, and placed the sceptre and staff in her hands, and then without further functions they conducted her to the throne. Up to this time she had been seated near the altar, without taking any part in the ceremony. Then the King approached the altar, and from the hands of the Archbishop he received the Lord's supper in bread and wine out of the chalice, which had been borne before him. The Queen did not receive the Sacrament, nor did she move from her throne.

They then retired to some chambers behind the altar, and the King exchanged his crown for a lighter one, and the Queen doffed her red crimson mantle, and remained in black. They took some refreshments, and then they went back in same order as that in which they arrived; and having gone on board a barge, royally furnished, they made show of themselves for a space on the river, and then retired to the palace, where they have lain till this evening, when their Majesties and the Council went back to Hampton Court.

The Ambassadors of France, Denmark, Wirtemberg, Brunswick, Lorraine, were present. The Ambassador of the Archduke excused himself on the ground that he still used a crutch, but the real reason was that he had resolved never to attend a heretic ceremony. I, too, received an invitation, and the terms were that at the church there would be a convenient and honourable place reserved for me, but as I did not quite understand the exact meaning, and as I could not look for a whole box to myself, and knowing that I was not commissioned for public ceremonies, I returned a suitable answer, and if his Majesty receives visits of congratulation I will not fail to make my excuses.

While the King was taking the Sacrament the French Ambassador and I believe the Ambassador of Lorraine left the church, but returned immediately.

Sunbury, 6th August, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

106. Translation of the oath of allegiance for Earls, Privy Councillors, Barons, Knights.

Since his accession to the throne the King has created seven hundred knights, and intends to make one thousand, in imitation of King Arthur, who created that number, but among those who had followed him to battle.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
August 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

107. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After obtaining from my informant the account I have forwarded of the phrases employed by the King himself in discussing de Rosny's mission to England, I thought it as well to confront them with what the English themselves say. I, accordingly, made friends with the English Ambassador here (Sir Thomas Parry), and succeeded in reading the despatches he received from the Secretary of State by the King's orders. De Rosny made great offers to induce the King to declare war on Spain. The King said he knew it was necessary to check Spain, but asked for definite proposals. De Rosny said if England would share the cost his master would declare war at once. James replied that Henry ought to bear all the cost of the land war, while he and the Dutch would bear the cost of the naval campaign, but that to show his goodwill he would bear a third of the cost, if the King of France would repay him in one or two years the million he owed to the English Crown. De Rosny replied that it was an inopportune moment for demanding payment of a debt when his master was about to embark on war. They agreed, however, that the King of France should pay to the States four hundred and fifty thousand crowns and the King of England one hundred and fifty, but this hundred and fifty is really to be paid by France on account of this debt.

The same despatch shows that the King believes he will have eventually to carry on the war with Spain, for on a full consideration of the demands to be addressed to Spain, it is clear that they cannot be other than those formulated by the late Queen, namely, the disbanding of all foreign troops in the Low Countries, the dismantling of all forts, the abolishment of the Inquisition, Civil Governments to be in the hands of citizens under the Archduke as Duke of Burgundy; and to these the King of Spain will never accede.

I remarked that his most Christian Majesty would do all he could secretly to injure Spain, but that it would be difficult to induce him to declare open war. The Ambassador answered that they knew it, and that in his last interview his Majesty had proposed an alliance between his daughter, one year old, and the Prince of Wales, eight years old. The Ambassador said that they were too young yet to think of this business, but the King replied that now was the moment to draw the two Crowns together. The Ambassador told me that this proposal of the King was intended to cover him from giving a direct answer to the subject in hand.

Paris, 7th August, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

August 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

108. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King, in his zeal for the Catholic religion, has imprisoned certain booksellers here, who had reprinted a book, published long ago in Scotland, attacking the Pope and the Mass. This is an unusual rigour in these parts.

The King of Spain, as a recompense for the death of Federico Spinola, has given the Marquis, his brother, the title of Duke of

1603.

Santa Severina, the naval command in those waters, and the command on shore of twenty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse.* The fire of red-hot cannon balls from Ostend has burned a whole platform, and so they don't see how the Roman engineer's movable battery is to escape a like fate.

Paris, 7th August, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

109. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

As the illustrious Nicolo Molin will shortly receive instructions as to his mission in England I think it my duty to furnish such information about the Levant Company, as may prove of service to him.

Beginning with the year 1580; they say that the Queen, being struck by the enormous quantity of currants and Cretan wine that was being brought into England, and holding that such abundance was superfluous, granted to Acerbo Velutelli, an Italian resident in London, a concession that no one except himself might import currants and Cretan wine. Her object was to moderate the influx. Upon this concession, which was graciously granted without any reserve in favour of the Crown, Velutelli made a small profit, that is to say, about two shillings and twopence (*soldi due et denari due in circa di starlini*), on every hundredweight of currants, and a similar profit on wine; whereupon your Serenity laid double that duty, not only upon currants and wines exported from your dominions, but upon all English staple goods imported from England to those places which produced currants and wines; you levied these heavy duties in violation, they say, of all precedent stipulation between England and the Republic. These duties were ten ducats on every ton of currants, six ducats on every hogshead of muscatel, seven ducats on every web of cloth; on kerseys two ducats; two ducats on every hundredweight of tin; three ducats on every hundredweight of wool. All these goods were specified in the order, one by one, and the words, *etcetera*, were added, which covered all English goods and left them exposed to such duties as it might seem good to you to impose. Thereupon her Majesty addressed several letters to your Serenity upon the subject of these taxes, which had been imposed because of a licence granted to one of the Italian nation; she begged for the revocation of the order, and promised to cancel the patent. To this answer was returned in 1582, that as soon as the patent was actually revoked and the duties imposed upon Venetians abolished the order would be withdrawn. Upon this Acerbo Velutello's patent was revoked, but in spite of your Serenity's undertaking the duties in Venice have not been abolished, on the plea that the revocation of Acerbo Velutello's patent ought to be taken as a revocation of all duties and customs upon foreign goods imported into England (*sotto color di pretensione interpretando la lettera di Sua Maestà che promettava di liberarli da pagamenti che facevano per conto della patente di Acerbo Velu-*

* The Marquis was appointed to end the siege of Ostend.

1603.

tello che si dovese estendere fino a discaricarli di tutte le costaune ciò è Datii, susidii et dovuti, che erano stati imposti gia fa lungo tempo sopra forastieri et altri in questo Regno). The English declare that this would have made foreigners freer than the English themselves.

In 1593 an English ship, the "Grace," master, Abraham Nottingham, was riding at anchor in the waters of Zante, near a Spanish ship. The master or pilot of the Spaniard spoke ill of the Queen and of England in such a fashion that no Englishman could have stood it if opportunity for vengeance had presented itself. Nottingham endured it until the Spaniard sailed away, then he set sail, caught her up, and captured her, after killing some of her crew. Thereupon the Governor of Zante clapped all the English merchants, who had had dealings with Nottingham, into prison, and threatened to hang them if the Spanish ship was not restored. The English merchants were, therefore, obliged not only to procure the restitution of the ship, but to pay four thousand ducats of damage besides.

Then came the case of the "Thomas," Captain, Hugh Whitbrook, whose corn was confiscated by the Governor of Zante. In 1596 the case of the "George Buonaventura" took place; she was captured by the Spanish galleys with seventy thousand ducats on board, as she was leaving a Venetian port. The owners petitioned your Serenity for a letter of recommendation to Prince Andrea Doria, but could obtain nothing.

In 1600 the agent of Alderman Anderson despatched to Zante four thousand Spanish reals of eight, under the same conditions as those allowed to the Fuggers, but on their arrival they were confiscated; and though eventually restored Anderson suffered great loss. In 1600 a war vessel, sent out by Sir George Gilborne, captured a vessel bound from Lisbon to Venice. Certain Venetians declared that they had goods on board, and immediately all English goods in Venice were sequestrated, and damage done to the extent of ten thousand ducats, they allege.

In 1602 your Serenity issued an order that no foreigners might lade currants in Zante, but that they must come to Venice for them; and further that no foreign ship might lade currants in Venice unless it had brought two-thirds of its capacity laden with merchandize, and had discharged at least a part inside the Adriatic. Further you have forbidden any foreign ships to bring into Venice from Alexandria, Cyprus, Syria, or any place in Turkey linen, cotton, wool, thread, under pain of confiscation. The object of these orders is to ruin English trade in the Levant, and to secure for Venetians the whole Levant trade with England.

In carrying out these decrees the English complain that you have adopted a line of action never before employed by any power; for the decree against lading currants in the Ionian islands was issued when the port of Zante was full of English ships, which had already bought their cargoes, causing a loss of upwards of fifty thousand ducats. The goods were perforce put on board Venetian vessels for Venice, and those ships being badly handled and leaky, the goods were ruined. The Venetians have received very different treatment in England, where those ships which had sailed before learning about the new duties were excused, and given eighteen months' grace.

1603.

If free trade is to be established reciprocal and friendly steps must be taken.

Sunbury, 13th August, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives,

111. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Danish Ambassador, who has upwards of one hundred and forty persons in his train, is lodged at the palace of Richmond. The Ambassador of Brunswick, with upwards of twenty, is lodged and entertained at Kingston. The two cost the Crown upwards of four hundred crowns a day. The Ambassadors of Brandenburg and Wirtemberg are merely lodged, not fed.

The King earnestly besought the Queen to take the Sacrament along with him, after the Protestant rite, on his Coronation Day, and that same morning the Archbishops also endeavoured to persuade her. They urged that if she did not, she would be living without any religion at all, for no other would be permitted in this kingdom. Her Majesty, after very quietly saying "No" once or twice, declined to make any further answer. After this the old members of the English Council, who are heretics, have set themselves more vigorously and openly than ever to keep the Queen down, and they immediately reject anyone who is recommended by her. The Queen, however, has not only a very sound judgment of her own, but she has some hard-headed Scots about her, who assist her secretly. Moreover, as the King is devotedly attached to her, and as she never leaves his side during all the fatigues of travel and of the chase, which is the King's real and one might say only joy, it is likely that she will win in the long run, especially on questions of policy and of promotion, for on the subject of religion the King stands very firm, so much so that when Degli Effetti, who is here on behalf of his Catholic Majesty, said, apropos of the plot, that the Pope loved him his Majesty and prayed for him, and that he neither desired nor would countenance any rising or conspiracy, the King replied that he, too, loved the Pope, and was obliged to him, but he could not deny God for the Pope's sake, nor change his faith. This weighty answer goes to-night to the Pope, as Degli Effetti himself confessed; and on the strength of it he intends to leave as soon as possible to return to France to the Nuncio, who sent him. The King of France is showing himself the most Catholic of Princes, he takes the part of the English Catholics, and his lieger comforts and supports them as far as he is able. The recusancy fines† have been entirely abolished upon the discovery of the plot, of which the Catholics have taken advantage, and the French Ambassador claims all the merit of this as something which he himself had obtained through the sole intercession of his most Christian Majesty. The heretic members of the Council, however, declare that he has added nothing to the representation made by M. de Rosny.‡ I must inform you that the French are doing all they can to foster the belief that they hold the mind of his Majesty, they say that if*

* Del Buffalo. † The contemporary decipher reads *parlamento*, but the word should be deciphered *pagamento*. ‡ James announced to de Rosny his intention to remit the recusancy fines as early as June 17; and they were remitted in Council on July 17. Gardiner. 1. 115.

1603.

England has peace with Spain she will also have an alliance with France. The fact remains that the King has said with his own lips and announced it to the Ambassadors from Flanders, that he desires a perpetual peace with the Spanish, and the same with the Archduke, if a means can be found whereby the States can remain separate from Spain. All sorts of incredible proposals are flying about; that the States shall become a part of the Empire, or that the patrimony of the Archduke shall pass, after his death, to his brothers, if he has no children.

The iniquity of the conspiracy becomes daily more apparent. The conspirators are in a very bad way; their posts have already been filled up. Walter Raleigh, a man of the highest eminence during the late Queen's reign, tried to plunge a knife into his heart, it glanced off one of his ribs, and so saved his life, for his jailors prevented him from repeating the blow. Sir Griffin Markham, who was proclaimed, has been captured, and only the two priests now remain at large.

The King has appointed me audience to-morrow at Nonsuch. He will send the royal carriage for me.

Sunbury, 13th August, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives,

112. Simon Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Great attention is being paid to English affairs. The King is not pleased about the three thousand infantry which are to go over to Flanders. The frequent sittings of Council have had nothing of greater importance before them than the question of winning over three of the principal English ministers. They think nothing more important can be done in his Majesty's service than to secure the members of the Council by large offers of money, an old method adopted in France, and easily introduced, they think, into England.

Valladolid, 15th August, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives,

113. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Lady Arabella has been summoned to Court, and placed near the King and Queen as a Princess of the Blood; in her appointments, table, and rank she takes precedence of all other ladies at Court. She has already begun to bear her Majesty's train when she goes to chapel. For the rest she is living very retired, nor is there wanting a certain mystery in the situation.

The Earl of Rutland has come back from his embassy to Denmark Their Majesties on the 15th inst. gave a solemn banquet to the Ambassadors of Denmark and Brunswick. The same ceremony was observed as in the case of M. de Rosny, only at this banquet the drinking was German rather than French. The Ambassadors drank twenty toasts each, and the King replied with twelve; among them I will not omit this one, which has already attracted attention; he said, rising to his feet and uncovered, "*Ego defensor fidei christianæ per totum orbem præbibo pro salute Principis Daniæ,*"

1603.

Two days later these Ambassadors and he of Wirtemberg—who was not at the banquet—took their leave. All of them received handsome presents. Four days ago two Irish knights and two Irish lawyers presented themselves to the King to ask for a change in the officers of justice, the restoration of the currency to its value before the war, and liberty to use the Catholic rite. To the first and second his Majesty showed some inclination, to the third great repugnance. *He declared that had he to wade in blood up to his knees, had he but ten followers, and were such conditions his sole means for recovering his kingdom, he would lose what was left to him and his life as well, rather than accede to their request, and he ordered them into the Tower.*

This step, the toast referred to, many other public remarks of his Majesty and those which are uttered in the pulpits,—of such a horrible nature that the pen refuses to record them,—have caused all those who had understanding with the Roman Degli Effetti to withdraw from any promises. He has given up all hope of succeeding in establishing relations here, and is returning to the Nuncio in France. Seeing that heresy waxes and wanes in proportion as it receives more or less support from foreign powers, and as this unhappy question is the real foundation and mainstay of the King's authority, one may say that the Catholic faith is for the present in a desperate plight; all the more so as Watson, the head of the conspiracy, has been taken, and has named more than two hundred noble houses, which were if not accomplices, at least cognisant of this or similar machinations.

The King has written to the States to say that he desires to be the means of procuring peace between them and the King of Spain and their Highnesses, he, therefore, begs them to summons their States General, and to commit to paper the demands which their Ambassadors have expressed verbally. This answer will be delayed, as the armies are in the field and the States cannot meet. The English Commissioners appointed to treat with Count d'Aremberg, meantime, have told him that they will not negotiate further with him until he presents adequate powers to treat for peace. D'Aremberg has accepted the communication, and declares he will satisfy them, only reserving to himself the right to introduce into the negotiation the President Richardot at the moment he may think opportune. in order to draw up the documents. The Commissioners also remarked that the Ambassador Taxis must bring similar powers, whereupon d'Aremberg replied that he imagined Taxis would only prepare the way for peace—after making suitable congratulations,—and that his Catholic Majesty would vest, if he had not already done so, full powers to conclude it in the person of the Archduke Albert. In this interval the English succours will not go over to Flanders, and English trade will remain free with Flanders and Spain. Upon this conclusion their Majesties have left for a brief forty days' hunting, although they call it a progress, which means a visit. The Princes, two-thirds of the Council, and more than half the Court are left behind. The King has reduced his suite as far as possible, because some deaths from plague have taken place among the servants. He has given lodging to the Ambassadors of France and Flanders and to the Agent for the States at Basing, a town about the middle of the district, where he is going a-hunting, so that they may be handy for negotiations.

1603.

I had an audience of congratulation, and his Majesty promised to send me a paper showing his route, so that if I required to speak with him I could choose the most suitable occasion. This he has done. He let me see that he supposed the Ambassadors of your Serenity are not far off, and told me I was to keep him informed of their moves, in order that he might give orders for a proper naval escort.

Sunbury, 20th August, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

114. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of France urges the King of England to declare war on Spain. He has recently received through his lieger in London certain conditions signed by King James. The substance is that the King of England shall do his best to effect a peace between the States and the Archduke, if he fails, then it is understood that an alliance between him and the King of France shall be concluded, with a view to helping the States. If Spain threatens France, England shall attack Spain by sea, but in that case the King of France is to pay back the million due. If Spain attacks England, France shall attack Spain, but in that case the million of debt shall not be exacted. This will induce the Council to urge the King to go to Provence, but his natural vivacity will induce him to move nearer to England to see what is the upshot of the treaty with the States.

It is now hoped that no accord with Spain can take place, for it is said that the King, in addition to other conditions, will propose that the successor to be named to the Archduke shall possess no other territory than Flanders. This proves that the King of England is aware that the re-union of the States to the Crown of Spain on the Archduke's death would be a serious counterpoise to his power. The English Ambassador showed me letters in which it is said that although public opinion there holds for certain that peace will be concluded, those who understand affairs are of another view, for such terms will be offered to Spain as would mean a most advantageous peace for England.

The King professes to desire peace, but he is massing troops and manning ships. Such secrecy is observed here upon this whole business that full information can only be obtained by putting together what is collected from various sources. Signor Scaramelli will supplement my reports. The King of England, while still King of Scotland, had in his service a son of M. de Vitry, Captain of the Royal guard. The young man is now here, and King James has sent to recall him. The King will take this opportunity to send M. de Vitry, the father, under pretext of convoying his son, but really to observe closely what is going on.

Paris, 21st August, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1603.
Aug. 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

115. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ship belonging to the French Ambassador with his daughters on board, and those French soldiers, who decline to remain in the Grand Signor's service, left some weeks ago for Marseilles. At the island of Milo it fell in with an English ship, and attacked and captured it, killing eight Englishmen and losing three of its own crew. A question has arisen, for the English Ambassador declares that the ship was a merchantman, not a privateer. This week an Englishman named Jonah (Jona) has received a present from the Pasha. He bears the title of English Consul in the Morea. He brought here various pleas from the Turkish officers about the attack on Patras. This is a proof that the Pasha has taken the English under his protection at a time when he certainly ought not to have done so. I am sure bribes are employed.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd August, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 23.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

116. Letter from the Grand Vizir to James King of England, "Moderator of Matters Ecclesiastical, Master of the Mantle of Fame."

Recalls the capitulations granted by Murad. Complains of acts of piracy. Asks for punishment of offenders.

The end of August, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23.
Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

117. To the SECRETARY in England.

Orders to Scaramelli to accompany the new Ambassadors to their first audience, then to take his leave and to return with Pietro Duodo.

Ayes 123.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 3.

Aug. 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

118. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the King's departure from Hampton Court I had an opportunity to speak to several Lords of Council, and found that they were all convinced that your Serenity did not wish to send your Ambassadors here till the King had been crowned, and apropos to this question of Ambassadors, Cecil said, that as the illustrious Signor Molin would be allowed to exercise the Roman rite in his house for the benefit of his suite and of those Venetians and Italians who are in London, it was only reasonable that his Majesty's Ambassador also who should be sent to reside in Venice, should enjoy a similar privilege. I replied that although I believed that the English Ambassador would be at perfect liberty to do as he liked in his own house, yet I must point out to his Lordship that the cases were not parallel; for at the present moment there were no Venetians in London, except the two brothers Federici, people of very moderate pretensions, and only six or seven other Italians, and if they could not hear the Mass in the house of the Venetian Ambassador the French Embassy would always be open to them as heretofore

1603.

whereas in Venice there were thousands of English with whom the Flemish associate themselves, and in this way the English Ambassador might draw such a number of people as would certainly cause a scandal and might invite reprisals. I suggested that as there were about the Court many able men, openly declared Catholics, and still more living in retirement, his Majesty might choose one of these for the post of Ambassador. Many objections were raised, but I think I left him impressed.

Next day, while I was talking familiarly with Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, he complained of being refused by the Council a certain pension of about two thousand crowns, for which the Queen had named him. I then suggested to him that he should apply for the Venetian embassy, because both as a Catholic and as a personage already known to your Serenity, he would find himself doubly welcome, and by keeping out of sight of the English Council for a while he would by his services win a larger pension than that which has just been denied him.

The Baron, who is an impressionable person, not only at once embraced the idea but began to long for the post, and the next day being, as usual, with the King in the evening, in his privy chamber, he preferred his request. The King answered that I had made representations to him that it would be advisable to send a noble, though the Council wished to send a Doctor or someone of the long robe; that the King of France always kept a resident there, who was not a noble, and that he would think it over. The following day Lord Sanquhar renewed his request with the assistance of the Queen, who supports him all the more vigorously because the Council had refused his previous petition. The King replied, "I am satisfied; you shall have the post, be sure of that; but I will keep silence for the present." Crichton kissed the King's hand. I had told Crichton of what Cecil had said to me, and as it is not advisable to overreach the Secretary, the Queen called him into the Cabinet and told him that the King had given his word to Lord Sanquhar for the Venetian embassy, and begged him to see that the promise was not revoked, and that if it were she would hold him alone to blame. Cecil, who is pleased at being specially consulted, replied that he hoped her Majesty's wishes would be satisfied. Lord Sanquhar himself came on purpose to tell me this. Four years ago he was sent to the Pope and the Grand Duke, with whom he still keeps up a correspondence. He has left for his house in Scotland by the post, as it were to pass the time while the King is on his hunting party. He will be back in twenty days, and if it turns out that the first English Ambassador to Venice is a Catholic it will free your Serenity from certain anxieties, and will have the effect that subsequent Ambassadors may also be Catholics. But I am of opinion that secrecy about this negotiation must be maintained. The King has at last dismissed Father Creichton, by saying that as neither can convert the other there is no need for them to meet. He has sent a similar message to the Bishop of Vaison, in the territory of Avignon, who had likewise demanded leave to come to Court. The Queen had accepted certain devotional objects, sent her by the Pope through the Bishop, and had caused a servant of one of her Scottish gentlemen to go to Paris to receive*

* William Chisholm, cf. Gardiner 1, 80.

1603.

them, but leaving him ignorant of their nature. On his return to Rome James Lindsay* (Giacomo Lingi), *another Scot, is to inform the Pope verbally, in the King's name as from Prince to Prince, that his Majesty cannot concede liberty of conscience in his kingdoms, for fear of tumults, nor can he educate the Prince as a Catholic, for fear of endangering the succession, two points which his Majesty told the Pope, some time ago, he must concede if he came to this Crown. The Queen has written a letter of compliments to the Pope, and declared that she cannot refuse his gifts, and will serve him as far as she can. She has given Lindsay four hundred crowns.*

The Earl of Tyrone, finding himself out of favour at Court, has asked leave to return to Ireland. The King made him a present of two thousand angels, equal to four thousand ducats, and granted his request, but he has taken fright at the imprisonment of the Irish deputation, and is afraid that if he sets out now the King will have him killed on the road (eon gran timore se si mete in camino di esser per strada fatto ammazzar dal Rè), and he wishes he had never left Ireland.

The Queen has received a large number of valuable jewels from the King, the palace of Nonsuch, and an income of forty thousand crowns a year, they say, so that should she be left a widow, she will be independent of her son.

Many English have come back from the camp of Count Maurice on account of a quarrel between them and the French. And had not the Scottish interfered with arms more than the two hundred who fell would have been slain. The Dutch are extremely anxious for any assistance from England, not so much for the actual troops as for an encouragement to the spirits of their people; for the rumour that this Crown withdraws its support has shaken their confidence. Numbers of English are going over to the Archduke's camp, where they are very well received.

The plague, yesterday, attacked a groom of the Wardrobe in the Princes' service. They were hastily removed from Oatlands to Nonsuch.

In London, they say, there is an improvement to the extent of two hundred fewer deaths a week. The rate now is a little over three hundred a day. The terror is all the greater, for they still bury the dead to the sound of the parish bells, and no steps are taken about the sick, except to close the infected houses and commend them to the mercy of God. But, as upwards of two hundred thousand persons have fled, it is to be supposed that this monster of a scourge makes fewer victims because there are fewer victims to feed its fires. We may hope, however, that as the cold season approaches the plague will diminish as is its wont, and there is a good sign that many infirm now recover.

The "Little Phœnix" master, Robert Hot.....has left London for Venice, with the usual cargo of tin, lead, broad-cloth. She goes to Plymouth to complete her cargo with salt fish. She cannot be at Venice before November in the ordinary course, but I send this information for the Sanitary officers.

Sunbury, 27th August, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Cf. Gardiner, 1, 142, 143.

1603.
Sept. 2. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

119. To the KING OF ENGLAND.

Acknowledging the mission of Sir Anthony Standen and announcing the despatch of Ambassadors to congratulate the King.

Ayes 158.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 10.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

120. The official answer to Sir Anthony Standen.

Ayes 158.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 2.

Sept. 2. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

121. Motion made that, in accordance with our ordinary usage, a chain of gold, worth five hundred ducats, be bought and presented to Sir Anthony Standen, as a mark of esteem and gratitude.

Sept. 2. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

122. Votes for one hundred ducats to entertain Sir Anthony Standen; then for another entertainment, twenty-five ducats; and then for a breakfast in the arsenal, another twenty-five ducats.

Sept. 2. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

123. In order to please the King of England the decree of expulsion against Sir Anthony Sherley is revoked. He may come to Venice and stay there at his pleasure.

Ayes 146.
Noes 8.
Neutrals 10.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

124. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At last I have obtained sight of the actual agreement signed by the King of England, and signed here by the King of France (ho finalmente otteunto di veder li proprii capitoli che venero con la ferma del Re d'Inghilterra li quali sono stati fermati anco da Sua Maestà Christianissima). I should have had a copy hau I promised not to forward it for the present to your Serenity, so that they should not be published before the conclusion of the negotiations between Spain and England, which are to take place in England; and for this reason both English and French use extraordinary secrecy. I, as entirely devoted to your Serenity's service, elected to be free to write the contents of the document rather than to be bound not to send you the papers which might come into my hands, and I rely on the prudence of the Senate to allow nothing to become public, which might be prejudicial to your service by damaging the reputation of your minister.

The contents of the document are very much what I have already transmitted to your Serenity, but I will recapitulate, so as to put you in possession of all details.

1603.

The agreement stands thus:—

The King of England re-affirms all previous treaties with France. He promises never to allow the States to fall into the power of Spain, nor yet under the government of the Empire. For that purpose he will contribute to their aid, in conjunction with the King of France, and his quota shall be one-third of the cost. He does not intend to declare war on Spain just at present. But if Spain attacks either of the contracting parties then an offensive and defensive alliance between them is thereby created, entailing reciprocal obligations. If France is attacked England shall furnish six thousand infantry, and in conjunction with the States, shall send a squadron to the coast of Spain, and another to the Indies. In this case France shall, in the course of three years, pay back the million owing to the Crown of England. On the other hand, if England is attacked by Spain, the King of France will send six thousand infantry in aid, and will attack Spain by land, but he shall not be called on to pay the million as long as the war lasts.

If war is declared with Spain both the contracting parties will enter the Low Countries, expel the Spanish, and divide the spoil. England to take the maritime towns, France the land. I am certain I have made no error as to the meaning of the clauses, though the wording may not be exact; and I am certain that I am sending you sound information, which I have verified with both parties.

(L'accordato sta dunque di questo modo:—

Che il Rè d'Inghilterra raferma tutte le coleganze che erano prima fra l'Inghilterra e la Francia. Promette poi di mai non acconsentire che li Stati caschino sotto la potenza di Spagna, ne che manco habbino à restar sotto la protetione dell'Imperio, però egli si offerisse di auitarli unitamente con questo Rè, contribuendo per la parte sua al terzo della spesa, non intendendo per hora far altra guerra à Spagna. Ma quando il Rè di Spagna assalisse una di queste corone che s'intendi fermata lega difensiva et offensiva fra essi con altri oblighi reciprochi che essendo assalito il Rè di Francia, il Rè d'Inghilterra li mandi in aiuto sei mille fanti et con una banda della sua armata unita con quella dei Stati, vada alla costa di Spagna, et con l'altra verso le Indie. Restando in tal caso obligato il Rè di Francia a restituire in tre anni à quello d'Inghilterra il milione che deve a quella corona.

All'incontro quando il Rè d'Inghilterra fosse assalito da Spagna che il Rè di Francia li mandi sei mille fanti in aiuto et che con esercito terrestre si muova contro li Stati del Rè di Spagna, restando libero dalla restitutione del milione mentre durerà quella guerra. Che rotta la guerra con Spagna, entrino ambe due questi Rè nelli Paesi Bassi per scaciarne assolutamente Spagnoli, dividendoseli fra essi, la parte marittima all'Inghilterra, et la parte terrestre alla Francia.

Io non credo errar certo nella sostanza delli capitoli, sebene non mi obligo alle parole; ben assicuro la Serenità Vostra di mandarle cosa che ho voluto comprobare con l'una et l'altra delle parti.)

I ought to add that, while endeavouring to extract a confirmation of these terms from one of his Majesty's principal ministers, he refused to admit them, but said if this is so then every pains must be taken to keep the matter secret.

1603.

The result of this treaty must be that Spain either accepts the nomination of an heir to the Archduke, who owns no other dominions, or she must arm to resist this alliance.

The King of England discovered that the Ambassador of the Archduke (d'Aremberg), was in relations with Lord Cobham (Cuban), the chief conspirator. By means of Cobham d'Aremberg was informed of the disposition of the Council, and a letter from Cobham to d'Aremberg was intercepted, in which Cobham said that in place of toiling to negotiate a peace he had better find four or five thousand crowns, with which he could render the Archduke a service; and all this will have facilitated the accord with France.

Paris 4th September, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

125. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, **Venetian Secretary in England, to the** DOGE and SENATE.

In God's good time the man who captured the "Balbiana" off Cyprus in April last has been discovered. The two English ships, the "Rabuca" and "Alsecho," after leaving Venice put into Tunis for water, and they report that the offender is a certain Captain Tomkins (*Tanchinss*), of Southampton (*Antona*), who passed the Straits with them, and then disappeared. I would have gone myself in person to the King, but for the next twenty days he will be without his council, away upon a hunting party, and everything is at a standstill. Moreover a few hot days have reinforced the plague in London, and it has killed three thousand and fifty-six persons in one week. I hope to wind up the affair of the "Veniera." At Tunis, Biserta, and two other ports of the Barbary coast are twelve Englishmen, all pirates. In those ports they sell the goods they steal for less than half their value. *They are growing all the bolder because the King, in spite of all the heroic virtues ascribed to him when he left Scotland and inculcated by him in his books, seems to have sunk into a lethargy of pleasures, and will not take any heed of matters of state. He remits everything to the Council, and spends his time in the house alone, or in the country at the chase, where he finds himself in company with a few persons only, and those always the same, people of low degree, as is usual in that exercise (si compiace di star in casa solitario et in campagna alla caccia di trovarsi con alcuni pochi signori che sono sempre i medesimi fra quelle genti basse che porta l'uso di quell' essercitio), and had the King or the Council sent a single ship inside the Straits to arrest and proclaim these pirates, as his Majesty, out of his own mouth, promised me, we would not have to fear any serious damage for the ensuing winter.*

Sunbury, 4th September, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

126. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, **Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the** DOGE and SENATE.

The master of the English ship, captured by the French in Milo, has arrived here; he brings proof that the ship was not a privateer but a merchantman, trading in corn for Zante. He has approached

1603.

the English Ambassador. From the Turks he will get little satisfaction, but he will report the matter to the King of England, for the recovery of his ship, on board which were five thousand sequins. The French Ambassador says, that, as he himself has lost thousands, owing to English pirates, this is a just retribution. The Grand Vizir has addressed a letter to the new King of England on the subject of these piracies. The English Ambassador wished the Grand Signor to send congratulations to England on the King's accession; but the Turks say they cannot be the first.

The English Ambassador promises to send to England, in irons, that Englishman who gave succour to the English ship which had escaped from Cyprus. *An Ambassador from the King of Fez has arrived here on board an English ship,* which is hired at the rate of five hundred dollars a month.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th September, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

127. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King having heard that M. de Rosny left large presents behind him in England, has sent bills of exchange to his Ambassador Taxis, to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, to buy jewels and presents.

Here they say openly that the last conspiracy *was bred in France;* but some suspect its roots here.

Valladolid, 6th September, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

128. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Captain Tomkins (*Tanchiss*), who plundered the "Balbiana," has retired to the Isle of Wight, seven miles away from Southampton, his place of residence, but not of birth. The example of William Piers is a warning to him, and he will not land, but has sent ashore to learn how matters stand. It is said that he has sent four chests of money to the High Admiral, and that he sunk a Venetian ship, but whether the "Balbiana" or another is not known. He is of noble birth, and was page to the Earl of Essex; he is about twenty-three years old. The most I can do now is to secure the arrest or proclamation of his guarantors; and in all things, as far as I can, I will pursue the same course as that I adopted in the case of Piers. This piracy has grown because there is a firm opinion here that all Venetians are secured fully, and sometimes for more than the value of the capital embarked, and the underwriters, either because they are isolated, or else occupied in more important affairs, neglect to press their just claims. Moreover they declare that they have grown bold on account of the general opinion that the Venetian fleet is feeble both in fight and in navigation. For this reason the English think that Venetian shipping would find little employment here; partly, too, because

* The "Angel," see No. 129.

1603.

the ships are considered too big for these ports. The English ships run to about three hundred tons burden, although they carry a crew of seventy or eighty men.

The Ambassador Taxis has arrived with a suite of one hundred and forty, chiefly Spanish from the Netherlands. He has three carriages of six horses each. He goes to Oxford, where the King will grant him audience at Woodstock.

Strict orders that no one is to leave London, where the plague is raging. The plague follows the Court. Two of the Queen's household are dead. People are well and merry, and dead and buried the same day.

Enclosed is a memorial from English merchants interested in the ship captured last month by your Serenity's galleys.

Sunbury, 11th September, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

129. The "Angel," of about two hundred tons, master, Thomas Gardiner, was chartered last September for Robert Offly, Thomas Garway, Robert Coxe, Mauritio Abbate, and Thomas Ivatt, merchants of London, from her owners, Andrew Brome, Nicholas Salter, and Isbrand Morris, for a voyage to the Levant, at the rate of one hundred and thirty pounds sterling a month, as appears from a public notarial Act.

The said merchants embarked a cargo of broad cloth, kerseys, tin, lead, and other goods, to the amount of £6,480 sterling, and consigned them to their agents, Walter Glover and Company, who were on board the said ship, with orders to sell the goods in Algiers, Tunis, and Alexandria. They had liberty to take on board any passengers they could find in Algiers and Tunis for Alexandria. They were to touch at Zante, and to consign to Mr. Jasper Rowles, an Englishman, four thousand piasters, or Spanish reals of eight, to be forwarded to our agents in Aleppo by the first English ship. When arrived in Alexandria, while selling our goods, they were to endeavour to secure a cargo of leather for Leghorn, and passengers. This would consume the summer months, and in August or September they were to lade the vessel out of the money gained in Tunis and Algiers, with currants from Zante, or with cotton and gall nuts in Tripoli.

In October the ship sailed from England, and we received letters from Walter Glover and Co., dated Algiers, 17th November, 19th December, 13th January, informing us that they had arrived on the 13th November, and sold a certain amount of goods, and had had good hopes of passengers for Alexandria, but they had been carried off by a Flemish ship, which offered very low fares. The Pasha of Algiers, however, had earnestly requested that they should take a Turkish Ambassador on board, who was going from Algiers to the Grand Signor in Constantinople, and in return for this courtesy he promised, on their return, to allow them to lade corn without let or hindrance, and so they sailed about the middle of January.

They wrote again on the 22nd January and 4th February from Tunis, that they had arrived there safely, and had found many passengers for Alexandria, whose fares would amount to three

1603.

hundred pounds sterling. On the 14th and 22nd February they wrote from Zante of their safe arrival there. They discharged the Ambassador, and consigned the four thousand reals as ordered. But while there a great uproar against the English sprang up on account of a pirate, and they were threatened with arrest and seizure of goods. They then took the money on board again for greater security, and intended to carry it all to Alexandria, and to invest it there.

On April 6th they wrote from Alexandria of their safe arrival, and on the 10th of May they say that they have disposed of most of their goods, and hope to sail in a few days with a large quantity of Turkish goods for Algiers and Tunis, as much as the ship could hold, and that they were only waiting passengers to set sail.

All this proves that the ship was really a merchantman and not a privateer, both from the route she took and the passengers on board who, being Turks, would have confiscated both the ship and her cargo had she plundred.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

130. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King, besides despatching M. de Vitry to England, is going to send two gentlemen in the services of the Duke of Guise and M. de Rohan to act as spies at the French Embassy.

Paris, 18th September, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

131. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio points out that, as the King of England permits Catholic Ambassadors to hear mass in their own houses, he may demand that his Ambassadors shall enjoy a similar privilege, and in that case what will the Pope say in Italy? Cavalli replies that the rights of nations cover the case and cannot be cancelled.

Paris, 18th September, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

132. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I despatched the sequestration order against the ship of Captain Tomkins, which I had obtained from the supreme judge of the Admiralty Court, addressed to William Cotton, Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral in Southampton and the Isle of Wight. The order was executed, and I would have secured the arrest of the Captain had he not, on learning that his crime was to be punished, or that I would attempt to secure his punishment, come on shore in the night with all that he chose to take out of his ship, and gone into hiding. This he succeeded in doing through bribes, which open every door in this country. He disbanded his crew, each of whom carried off what

1603.

they chose. My agent tells me that two cartloads of money have gone, one to the Lord High Admiral at Court, the other elsewhere, under the protection of the late Lord Chamberlain, who is now Governor of the Isle of Wight; but Cotton is seriously afraid that he may get into trouble. Yesterday I despatched orders that the whole ship is to be inventoried and sequestrated in my name; when the inventory is ready I will forward it.

A certain quantity of muscatel has arrived from Amsterdam. It was originally intend for England direct, but was landed on the other side of the water to avoid duty.

The law officers have met to draw up the charge against the conspirators. The King, it is said, will order the trial before a Parliamentary Commission to meet in some town, for London is out of the question, the mortality touches four thousand a week. Besides the question of fact as to conspiring against the King's life, the Priest Watson will be interrogated, (1) as to whether he holds that subjects are bound to listen to his persuasions to rebellion, founded on Papal Bulls, (2) whether he holds the King to be legitimate King of England, (3) whether the Pope can free the subjects of any Christian Prince from their oath of allegiance, (4) whether he thinks that the works published in favour of the claims of other Princes to the throne contain truth or falsehood, (5) if the kingdom were attacked what course ought faithful subjects to follow? The Lord High Treasurer (Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst), who is a man of singular gentleness, told me in a conversation I had with him at Sunbury that the Council intends, if Watson withdraws his objections to the King's Majesty, to represent this to all Catholics as an abjuration.

Watson, in his first depositions, named a number of families which, if not actually implicated in the plot, were at least consentient parties to some other future covenant. But the Council does not think it wise to press deeply into this, and has caused it to be known both by voice and by writing in a private way, that if possible rebels will only give up their intentions, and seminary priests will confine themselves to their studies and their prayers, they may rest assured that all intention of shedding blood will from now onward vanish from the King's mind, for he is benignant, compassionate, and entirely inclined to peace.

Parliament is to deal with the question of the union of these two crowns, and to propose that both kingdoms should be united under the one name of Britain. The Scottish already let it be known that they will never consent to abandon their name, under which they have had down to the present one hundred and eight Kings, in the space of one thousand nine hundred and thirty-three years. They reckon from A.M. 3641, that is three hundred and thirty years B.C. They claim to preserve their ancient laws, and point to France as an instance of a kingdom possessing various codes. They have petitioned his Majesty that, if the question is to come up in the next sitting of Parliament, he will allow the Scottish Estates to take a part in the debates; those Estates consist of two Archbishops, eleven Bishops, twenty-four Earls, thirty-three Barons, forty-four Abbots. As the question becomes burning the hatred between the two races grows more intense, and French, Spanish, and Flemish all begin to see that the power of the two kingdoms is not what they thought it.

1603.

The King's chief object in summoning Parliament is to come to some conclusion on the religious question, and by adopting the decisions of the majority to free himself from all responsibility; also he desires money and the settlement of some important questions relating to the kingdom and the King.

The Queen's jointure has been fixed at thirty thousand crowns a year, the same as that enjoyed by Queen Katherine, first wife of Henry VIII. This sum is free of board, which is supplied by the King's table.

M. de Vitry, Captain of the French Royal guard, has been sent here with, perhaps, thirty hounds, as master of the chase, to amuse the King, and is in the highest favour. His presence inspires the Spanish and Flemish with suspicion, and the English, too, perhaps, who are jealous because he has suggested to the King that he should conduct his hunts all through the night, for in the present juncture, when plots against his life are in the air, this proposal may cover grave consequences.

Taxis is to have audience on the 21st, and will be well received. He has only twenty-five thousand crowns in all, and most of this will be used on the mission, for one must calculate one crown a day for each man in his suite, even if they be moderate drinkers, and this does not take into account extraordinary expenses.

Montecucoli, Ambassador from the Grand Duke, has arrived. I am going to Court on the affair of the "Balbiana."

Staines, 18th September, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

133. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has put in irons that Consul Jonah, who came here some days ago from the Morea, with letters proving that he had defended Patras, and who received a present for it. He is accused of writing secretly to England to solicit the post of Ambassador here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th September, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

134. Orders from the GRAND SIGNOR to the BEGLIERBEY OF CYPRUS.

Foreign pirates are in the habit of taking their prizes under the shelter of Turkish forts. They make terms with the governors, and sell their booty at a low price. They make many presents, and are favoured and protected. The customs suffer accordingly. The Venetians have armed three ships to clear the seas. They fell in with the English privateer that captured the "Balbiana," but she fled. They fell in with another, and took her into the salt pans in Cyprus. The Turkish officers praised and honoured the Commander of the ship, but Pervis, the farmer of the salt pans, who is in constant communication with the pirates, secured the restitution of all the good on board the Englishman. You are to open an enquiry and to imprison Pervis and report to me.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
Sept. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

135. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No sooner had I arrived here than I had two conferences with the Lord High Admiral. I confined myself to the affair of the "Balbiana," and let him see that I was quite aware of the money that had been sent here to him, and established by the testimony of two persons arrested at Southampton at my instance, and forwarded to me by the Mayor. At the very outset he admitted that he had received six sacks of silver money, which he did not believe to be worth four thousand ducats, might he be held for a rebel to his King if it were a penny more, and that he had always believed what he had been told, namely, that it was all loot from a Spanish ship; if, however, it was proved to be Venetian he would consign it all to me. The crime of Captain Tomkins is that he went privateering without a licence, on the allegation that he was sailing for the Indies, where he had already been twice before; the ship was, therefore, forfeited to the Admiral, but if it were a Venetian ship exchanged for Tomkins' own, the Admiral declared that he would give it up; and as a matter of fact Cotton, the Vice-Admiral at Southampton, has refused to make any inventory, and has sent the ship into Portsmouth. When I represented to him the enormously big sum at stake, he warmed and promised that he would do all he could to secure Tomkins' arrest, and that as this was an affair belonging entirely to him I need not disturb his Majesty on the subject. We, accordingly, made an appointment to meet again at Winchester, a town forty miles away from Oxford, and only ten from Southampton, where an enquiry may lead to the discovery of the whole truth. But I have little faith in his promises, and far less in my own, by which I hold out hopes of reward at so much per cent. on the value of the goods at stake. I renewed my application for an audience, and that has been almost promised me, for the Council have told me that as soon as they are settled at Winchester they will take up this affair, and the affair of some English ships arrested by your Serenity. I only wish they were more in number.

Oxford, 28th September, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28.
Original Venetian Despatch, Archives.

136. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Just as the Ambassador of Spain was on the point of having his audience of the King in the Royal Palace of Woodstock, six miles out in the country, a servant of his household died after a few hours' illness. Rumour spread that he had died of plague, and the audience was not only postponed, but the Ambassador was told that he must go to Winchester, where he would be received. They have finally settled to establish the Court there for the winter, as the plague is raging in London and the suburbs. The Ambassador left, and all the other Ambassadors were told to take the same road; but the Flemish Ambassador made an earnest appeal to be admitted to audience, on the ground that he had been waiting for forty days. The King, in spite of the fact that the Ambassador had been dining

1603.

with the Spanish Ambassador on the day his servant died, as was pointed out by the French party—though, as a fact, the servant died in a house far away from Jesus College, where both Ambassadors were lodging,—resolved to grant an audience in the presence of the Council. The Ambassador went through all the professions of peace and amity already expressed by the Archduke, and came to these positive terms: The English are to enjoy all the privileges of traffic in Spain now enjoyed by the Flemish; the English shall be free to carry to Flanders and to Spain all cargoes, not only of their own but of the Dutch enemies as well; and the Dutch, if trading in English bottoms, shall be exempt from the thirty per cent. lately imposed; his Highness, out of desire to please his Majesty, consents to restore a rich English prize, captured by his galleys in the waters between England and Flanders, although the claim to the dominion of the sea between England and Flanders is invalid. The Archduke returns thanks to the King for preventing the passage of troops to the assistance of the Dutch, and assures him that, although he had heard that the King of France had paid to the Dutch a sum of money due from him to the King of England, he would not believe it, but would reckon it a ruse of the French to destroy the good understanding between them. The King showed his satisfaction at the statement, and said that on his side a loyal return would never be wanting; that he had issued a proclamation, forbidding the passage of the Scottish levies into Flanders, and that the English levies were already disbanded; that if some few, enticed by the desire to fight, should disobey and follow the Baron of Buccleugh (*Buclù*) they would not be many in number, and another year more effective measures would be taken, absolutely prohibiting the levies; that in past times the Scottish were French in sympathy, the English Burgundian, but now both were united under him in a general desire for peace with Spain, and that he did not wish to endanger the trade of both. The Ambassador, seizing the opportunity, remarked that an alliance, defensive and offensive, had existed between the Crown of England and the Dukes of Burgundy for two hundred and forty years consecutively, and that he trusted that the accord, which was now in course of establishment, would last another century. He then asked what answer the States had returned to his Majesty's proposals, to include them in the present negotiations for peace. The King replied, "The answer I expected, namely, that all the gentlemen and the larger part of the Government of the States were in camp with Count Maurice, and the Government at the Hague was unable to summon the States General until the armies had abandoned the field; the earliest date for which will be November."

The Ambassador then went on to touch upon certain topics; the case of a Dutch Captain who, while pursuing a French pinnace, whose Captain and crew had taken refuge on English soil, had followed them two miles inland into a public-house, captured two of them, and taken them and their ship to Holland, where both were hung: then that the Dutch generally spoke ill of the King and his peaceful intentions, saying, that if those were his real intentions they would know what to do. After that the Ambassador presented the portraits of their Highnesses and, the Queen being called, there was some conversation about them, in the course of which the Queen

1603.

expressed her pity that so great a lady should endure the sorrow of not enjoying the sweet name of mother.

The English think that the Spanish Ambassador is not so sorry about the delay in his reception, chiefly because he is aware that he has not the full powers to conclude a peace, for which he knows that he will immediately be asked, and he is glad to leave time for the couriers, sent by the Archduke into Spain, to return.

As England shows inclination to the Spanish peace the States of Holland draw closer to the King of France.

M. de Vitry, attached to the suite of the French Ambassador-in-ordinary, loses no opportunity when he is alone with the King in the country at the chase to urge upon him the conclusion of the defensive alliance, which they say was promised to M. de Rosny; most people assert that the King replied that he would wait the arrival of the Spanish Ambassadors: the French have been endeavouring to make everyone believe that this league was not merely promised, but concluded from the very outset of de Rosny's mission, in order that the receipt of this news in Spain might rouse suspicion in the mind of his Catholic Majesty as to the sincerity of the English in negotiating for a peace with Spain; but whatever the French Ambassadors may have done here they have certainly upset the negotiations for a Savoy and Tuscan alliance by marriage, by declaring that their master has resolved to bestow the hand of the Dauphin on the Princess Elizabeth (*Isabella*) of England. The Spanish and Archducal party, however, answer that the King of Spain will marry his daughter to the Prince of Wales, but the difficulty about religion makes this incredible.

The King and Court begin to feel deeply this scourge of the plague, which is now almost universal. Fear drives men to religion, and every Wednesday there are fasts and prayers at every church in the kingdom. All those who have not urgent business are sent away from Court, nor may anyone enter the palace without a ticket, signed after an examination proving that the person has not come from an infected district.

This city is really remarkable, for besides the University (*il studio universale*) sixteen ancient colleges, richly endowed, maintain a large number of students in all the sciences, especially in theology. Cambridge possesses as many, and both bear ample witness to the piety, religion, and zeal of Kings, Queens, Cardinals, and Bishops, the founders of such marvellous and excellent institutions; though now the chapels are desecrated, and the scholars give their whole mind to debasing the authority of Pontiffs, in order to extoll the name of their own absolute monarch.

The King has summoned the Theologians to a conference in November. The conference is to be held in his presence. He shows a growing desire for the assembly of a free Council to discuss the basis of religion and the question of Papal authority.

The other priest implicated in the plot, Clerk by name, has been caught at last, and taken before the King, and so there is not a single conspirator who is not in his Majesty's hands. The King is going to send the Garter to the Duke of Wirtemberg.

Oxford, 28th September, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
Oct. 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

137. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I asked the King whether the States would be included in the peace between England and Spain; he said "No." "Then," said I, "what use will peace be, for the King of England will still be forced to support the States." "That is just the mischief," replied his Majesty, "and if the Spanish do make peace on those terms their sole object will be to assassinate the King, either by conspiracies or by revolutions; and if civil war breaks out he is a gone man, for he has not the courage necessary to face such a crisis. He cares for nothing but the chase, and leaves everything to his Council; he favours those Councillors whom Spain will win over by bribes." The King added with profound emotion, "If the King of England makes peace he will find himself in great embarrassments." His Majesty does not believe that the Spanish Ambassador in England is authorized to conclude peace; his mission is merely to open negotiations, and above all to win over the principal ministers with gold and gifts.

In replying to your Serenity's last sentence* I would I could stain this paper with the blushes that suffuse my countenance at your boundless kindness which converts my imperfect efforts into laudable deeds.

Paris, 2nd October, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

138. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Huguenots thought of placing themselves under the protection of the King of England, on account of the demand that they should restore to the King of France the thirty strong places now in their hands. The King of England declined to entertain the proposal.

Paris, 2nd October, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

139. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The terms of the treaty with France were signed by the King of England's own hand, and sent back to England when signed by the King of France. But all the same the French ministers are very suspicious of the Spanish, for it has been found out that they are corrupting English ministers with great sums of money. There are complaints against M. de Rosny that he left the English ministers in the dark, and dealt with the King only; the result will be that, partly owing to Spanish gold, partly in anger at de Rosny's neglect of them, they will prove hostile to this Crown. They do not doubt that the King of England will observe the terms of his accord, because it is more important for him than even for France to support Holland, but the French would like to prevent him from coming to

* Conveying the approval and thanks of the Senate. Senato Secreta Delib. Reg. 95, c. 160.

1603.

any terms with Spain. The Spanish Ambassador here is already aware of the secret treaty, and he and the Envoy of the Archduke are furious.

Paris, 2nd October, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

140. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Scottish gentleman has arrived to convey the Queen of England's thanks for certain articles of devotion, sent her by his Holiness. She is as well disposed to the Pope, as the King is the reverse. He is daily further and further removed from his promises to educate his son as a Catholic, and to grant freedom of conscience.

Rome, 4th October, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

141. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity's despatches of the 2nd and 5th September reached me on the evening of the 29th. My audience was fixed for the following day at Woodstock (*Utstoc*). I took the occasion to express your Serenity's satisfaction at the mission of Sir Anthony Standen. The King said, "What a time Standen has been without letting me hear from him! A pretty messenger insooth! At all events, if he has executed my orders properly, he will have nothing to report on his return but what I have already imagined." I then told his Majesty that to please him your Serenity had restored Sir Anthony Sherley to your favour, with permission to remain in Venice as long as he liked. The King replied, "I am very well pleased. Sir Anthony's father is a very honest gentleman."

I then told his Majesty that Christopher Olororeh, of Southampton, and Nicholas Alvel, of (?) (*Dempten*), had, in the waters of Zante, seized and plundered the ship, "Geopandita," master, Giovanni de Paris, sailing from Smyrna to Venice, with a cargo worth upwards of a hundred thousand ducats; and that Captain Tomkins, in the same waters, had seized the "Balbiana," and plundered her of about three hundred thousand ducats in cash, cloth of gold, silk, and wool, and that it is supposed he sunk her and a number of persons on board, so as to conceal his crime. I said that your Serenity besought of the King's justice restitution of the booty, part of which was in the hands of the Lord Admiral, and two others, partners, and that the culprits should be punished.

The King listened to me with extreme impatience, twisting his body, striking his hands together, and tapping with his feet. He took the memorandum I handed to him, and said in a loud voice, "By God I'll hang the pirates with my own hands, and my Lord Admiral as well." In a passion he called to the Treasurer, the Chamberlain, and the Secretary, and three other Privy Councillors, who were in the chamber during the interview, the King standing all the time leaning on a chair, and gave them strict orders to take all steps for the execution of justice against the pirates. The Secretary said to me, "Don't you know that these are pirates, who took

1603.

to buccaneering under the late Queen, and that since God gave us his Majesty for our sovereign not one privateer has set sail. What do you want of the King? Justice in England, as in Venice, has her ordinary course to run. This is an affair that belongs to the Admiralty, you must go to the Admiral." I replied, in a quiet voice, that it was the Admiral himself who had a part of the plunder in his hands, and what is more he admitted it; that I did not consider him the judge, competent to assign the ownership of those goods, but only to order their restitution. Further, I remarked that I was the minister of the Republic, accredited to the Crown and not to the Admiral, and while I could drink at the pure fountain of justice I need not go seeking turbid water in brooks. The King, who formed a third in the group, said, "If the Admiral has Venetian goods in his possession he must give them back." After some further conversation it was settled that as soon as the Court reached this city everything that was possible would be done; and they told me that, as a result of my first representation, the Judge Advocate of the Fleet, who is in the country at Richmond, had been summoned to draw up the case.

I then said I thought the Venetian Ambassadors might be at Calais about the 25th of this month; and the King said that four days before that date a man-of-war should be ready at Dover. I was told to move to Winchester, there to attend to the affairs of the "Balbiana" and the "Geopandita."

M. de Vitry left for France when the Court left Woodstock. He gave the King dogs and horses, and was graciously rewarded. The treaty between France and England, which was the real object of M. de Vitry's visit, stands thus:—

The King and Council declare that upon the mere word of M. de Rosny and the lieger it is impossible to come to a conclusion, and the King of France has drawn up a memorandum of the contents of the proposals made by de Rosny, and has signed and sealed it with the Privy Seal. This memorandum he has caused his Ambassador to present to the King of England for his signature and seal, and these two Frenchmen (de Beaumont and de Vitry) are authorised to make such alterations as may be demanded. The members of the Council, however, swear that not even they know whether this has been done or not, though they doubt it; for they say that if a treaty between the two Crowns is to be really made it will be necessary to go through the ancient treaties, both of Scotland and of England with France, in order to draw up the new treaty.

Meantime his most Christian Majesty continues to court the King of England; and learning that the King had asked the Archduke for four mares and a stallion from Naples, he has informed the King that he intends to make him a present of four Barbary horses, trained to tilt at the ring. And, although the Archduke's offer of free trade for the English in Flanders and Spain would ruin the city of Calais, and cause a loss to the King of France amounting to about sixty thousand crowns a year, nevertheless up to the present moment the French Ambassador has said not a word, and takes it with extraordinary calmness. He has told the King of England, however, that his master would never allow the Pope to proceed to excommunication against him.

1603.

The Spanish Ambassador has not had an audience yet. He goes about magnifying the power of his master, and affirms that in all his kingdoms his Catholic Majesty has six hundred thousand soldiers in his pay. The French Ambassador thinks that these boasts are made to terrify the English, and to facilitate negotiations. The Spanish Ambassador, in order to assist communication with Spain, has brought four *galizabre* to Southampton, whence they can carry despatches in three days to Biscay, and thence in three days more to Court.

Count d'Aremberg is going to have a personal conference with the Archduke, in order to clear up all points. He will return with the President Richardot.

The Queen arrived yesterday; the King arrives to-morrow.

Winchester, 5th October, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

142. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After being thirty-eight days in England the Spanish Ambassador has had his audience. He was brought from Southampton by the Earl of Pembroke. His suite consists of fifteen gentlemen of quality, and one hundred and forty others. He entered the presence, but to the surprise of all he did not remove his hat till he was half way down the chamber. His mission was entirely complimentary, containing offers of peace and amity. The King replied in the same tone. The Ambassador presented himself to the King, and then to the members of the Council. He took his leave, and returned to Southampton by torchlight. The conversation was carried on by an interpreter, the Ambassador using Spanish, and the King English, though both know French and Italian. After the Ambassador had left, his credentials were examined, and it was found that the King is styled of England, France, and Scotland, but Ireland is omitted, either because of some Spanish claim, or to avoid hurting the Pope, who claims that Ireland, like Naples, is a Papal fief. This was taken in very bad part, and after some consultation, Sir Lewis Lewkenor (*il Cav. Luchner*), who is the official receiver of Ambassadors, was sent next day to Southampton to say, as though from Secretary Cecil, that this was a very bad beginning, that he would have the Ambassador know that the King of England was aware of the condition of his Spanish Majesty, that English and Spanish had already measured swords, and the world knows which has the longest reach; that his Majesty was inclined to peace, but the first steps were hardly such as he had looked for. The Ambassador replied that there was no cause to take offence with him, for the Geneva Ambassadors had quite recently omitted the title of King of France, and no notice had been taken of it. Three days later the Ambassador had a second private audience. He praised the strength of England, against which Philip II., deceived by his ministers, had set himself to war as the giants against heaven; and declared that his present sovereign was an angel, and wished to live at peace with everyone. The King asked what authority he had to treat for peace. The Ambassador said he had sufficient, and would

1603.

show it whenever called upon to do so. The King asked what guarantees he would have for the maintenance of peace; the Ambassador assured him there would be ample. The audience did not last more than half an hour, and it was agreed that five commissioners should be sent to Southampton to examine his powers and to discuss. Spain advances two points, that England shall not assist the States, and shall not trade to the Indies; and England advances other two, that no Englishman shall be amenable to the Inquisition in any Spanish dominions,—for before the war the presence of a forbidden book on board a ship entailed the confiscation of the ship and goods,—and that if any Englishman should insult the Sacrament he alone in his person, but not in his goods, shall be punished. The clauses of the treaty with the Archduke will be numerous. On this point Count d'Aremberg will shortly leave for Flanders. Twelve points are advanced by the party opposed to peace; the King of Spain is sworn to vengeance on heretics, mere negotiations will give him time to form a fleet; the demand for peace shows Spain's weakness, and indicates war, not peace; that the King of Spain will never include the States; the pacification of the States would mean the ruin of England, for all the Dutch forces would be at the disposition of Spain; that the States must be included as a separate power; that the restoration of the guarantee towns would give the key of England into the hands of Spain; that English merchantmen would flock at once to Spain, and might at any moment be confiscated on the plea that with heretics no oath is binding; that Spain will easily find a plea for declaring war again whenever it suits her; they can always make use of the Pope as an excuse, and declare that they are acting in obedience to him; that there is proof that the King of England is more powerful than the King of Spain, for he keeps the war going on only two hundred thousand a year against Spain, which has nine hundred thousand; that the English East Indian trade has become an accomplished fact, for the English have trading houses and factories established there, and cannot give them up; that if peace is declared Spanish Ambassadors will come to England, and will be perpetually plotting with the Catholics and malcontents; finally, that if peace is concluded both the soldiers and sailors will deteriorate.

The plague has begun here. There is talk of the Court moving to Salisbury.

Winchester, 13th October, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

143. Francesco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

An English Catholic, a gentleman of position, has arrived here to treat with the Pope, not without the knowledge of the King, they say.

Rome, 18th October, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
Oct. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

144. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hopes of peace with England are increasing, not only because of the favourable attitude of the King, *but also on account of the friendship of certain Councillors won and bought, to whom revenues in Flanders have been promised if peace is concluded, with a view to interesting them in the Spanish possession of that province.*

Valladolid, 18th October, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

145. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The accident which has befallen the goods belonging to the illustrious Ambassador Molin, has been deeply regretted by the King and Court. The names of the pirates are unknown here, and are thought to be fictitious. Neither ship has appeared yet, but orders have been sent to every port to use all diligence to arrive at the truth, and it has been resolved that whatever the Ambassador Molin may demand, or I for him, till he arrives, shall be granted; for the King holds that he has been no less insulted than your Serenity. A proclamation against Tomkins and the rest, who plundered the "Balbiana," has been issued. Such a thing has never been heard of before on the instance of foreigners. I have received from the Lord High Admiral, on my acknowledgment, one thousand three hundred ducats in Venetian silver coinage, and a hundred and fifty braccia of tabinet (*tabini con oro*) in strips of various colours. I hope when I get back to Court to recover both more money and more stuffs, but not the Spanish reals, which the Admiral declares cannot be restored to Venetians.

The Judge of the Admiralty (*Aldemari*) has been for two days in Southampton, drawing up the indictment against the pirates at my charges. Five of Tomkins' crew have been arrested, and on their information more stolen goods are being discovered. The prisoners insist that the ship they sacked was not Venetian, though the money and the nature of the goods prove it to have been so; but the judge says, not so conclusively, that without a confession from one of them, or further proof, would it be possible to condemn them to death. The rest of Tomkins' crew is dispersed, each one with his bundle of booty; and if Tomkins himself flies to Flanders I hope that, with the help of a word from the King, I can induce Count d'Aremberg, who is Grand Admiral, to secure his arrest and surrender to the King. I have taken a similar step with the agent of the States.

What comes to light is this, that the men who went ashore from the ship in a boat took with them two barrels full of money; the forty-five passengers bear witness to this; and that the ship was not sent to the bottom, but left riding at anchor in sight of Cyprus.

In France there is a general agreement not to receive broad cloth from England, on account of the plague. This is much disliked here, and they are endeavouring to secure a distinction between affected and unaffected districts, because this cloth, and especially

1603.

kerseys, are made all over the kingdom in the small hamlets and villages, and not in the big towns only.

An Ambassador has arrived from the Duke of Cleves, and one is expected from Poland.

Kingston, 22nd October, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

BY THE KING.

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

146. A Proclamation to repress all Piracies and Depredations upon the Sea.

The King is informed, through the manifold and daily complaints made by his own subjects and by others, of continual piracies and depredations, "committed on the seas by certaine lewd and ill-disposed persons." The ordinary proceedings have proved ineffectual to stop the mischief.

He now makes the following order:—

Pain of death, not only for Captain and mariners, but for owners and victuallers of any "man-of-warre," which shall commit piracy, depredation, or "murther at the sea upon any of his Majesties friends."

Pain of death for anyone who seizes any goods belonging to subjects of allies.

All fresh "Admirall causes" to be summarily tried by Admiralty Judge.

No appeal from his sentence.

"No prohibition in such cases of spoile and their accessaries or dependances be granted hereafter."

A record of the restitutions to strangers to be kept.

All Vice-Admirals to certify the Court of Admiralty every quarter of all "men-of-warre" put to sea, or returned home with goods taken at sea, or the produce thereof; the fine of forty pounds for each breach of this order.

The King's subjects shall forbear from aiding or receiving any "Pirat or sea rover," and likewise from all traffic with them.

The Vice-Admirals, "Customers," and other officers shall not allow any ship to go to sea without first searching her; to see whether she is furnished for the wars and not for fishing or trade. In any case of suspicion, good surety shall be exacted before they let the ship sail. The officers shall answer for such piracies as may be committed by those who have sailed with their licence.

"Divers great and enormous spoyles and piracies have been of late tyme committed within the Straits of Gyblaltar by Captain Thomas Tomkins, gentleman, Edmond Bonham, Walter Janverin, mariners," and goods and moneys brought by them to England have been scattered, sold, and disposed of "most lewdly and prodigally, to the exceeding prejudice of his Majesties good friends, the Venetians." All officers are to arrest these malefactors.

"Given at his Majesties City of Winchester." 30th September, 1603.*

[*English.*]

* See Cal. S.P. Dom. 1603, 30th September.

1603.
Oct. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

147. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the Scottish courtiers returned to Scotland, very ill-pleased with the English, a meeting of Scottish nobles was summoned for the end of this month. It was to draw up a petition, and send it to the King by the hands of four leading nobles; they are to inform his Majesty that unless he grants the demands contained therein it will be impossible to effect the union of the two kingdoms, and will endanger the peace. The chief points are that, as England fell by inheritance to the King of Scotland, England is to be considered accessory to Scotland; if that be impossible, then in case only one Council is to govern both kingdoms, the Scottish and English are to be equally represented in that Council, while each kingdom shall keep its own name and its own laws. The King is rendered anxious about this business, because his cousin, the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Errol, hereditary Constable, and the Earl of Angus, three of the greatest nobles, and openly Catholics, are at the head of this business. His Majesty had an idea of sending the Duke of Lennox to Scotland to break up the combination. Lennox is the person deepest in the King's confidence, and has some time ago been named the nearest to the Crown; but the Duke is suspected of being at heart a Catholic, though he attends the King to the heretic service, and so his Majesty is in doubt. He has written, however, to the President Alexander Seaton* (*Cetonio*), the governor of his Majesty's second son, who is very deep in the King's confidence, telling him to put off this meeting as long as he can; though Seaton, too, is thought to be a Catholic at heart, for he was maintained at the University of Rome by Pope Gregory XIII. at a cost of ten ducats a month, and took his doctor's degree in Bologna.

The meeting of Parliament is not thought of just now, perhaps on account of the attitude of Scotland, perhaps because of the plague. In the City of London alone, in seven months, it has carried off forty thousand persons, and they are still dying at the rate of one thousand five hundred a week. All public and private affairs also are in absolute confusion. No one will pay his debts, as he thinks his creditor must die one day or another. All orders on merchants have been recalled, all trade is at a standstill. Taxes, duties, customs, bring in not a ducat in the whole City, the heart of this kingdom; the Treasury is in confusion, and without a penny in it; the silver coinage of this reign has been not debased, but diminished in weight two pennies' worth per ducat, and so exchange from London to Venice is at 28 per cent., and falling still, as the Ambassadors will feel when they reach England. The Florentine Ambassador has brought five letters to the Queen. The Grand Duke's letter to the King styles him simply Rex Angliæ et Scotiæ, but there is an *etcetera* visible, whereas in the Spanish letters it was invisible. The Grand Duke omits "France," so as not to offend the King of France, and he omits "Ireland," so as not to offend the King of Spain; here they make no account of the Papal claims, but they resent the fact that Don Juan d'Aquila, when he landed in Ireland, proclaimed his master King. The King of Spain addresses the King as "relative," not as "brother," as sovereigns

* Lord Fyvie, Earl of Dunfermline.

1603.

are wont to do among themselves, and so the King of England says that Spain honours him too little and the Archduke too much, for, though not a King himself, he addressed his Majesty as "brother."

In Southampton the Spanish Ambassador is distributing crosses, medallions, etc., to the Catholics. His chaplain has baptized a boy by the Roman rite, not without some risk of a rising among the people against the Ambassador's house. As he cannot find anyone who will openly accept his money, he is betting a hundred to a thousand that the peace will not be concluded. He cannot refrain from the usual Spanish boasting; he says his master has five hundred ships ready, and six hundred thousand men in his pay; that a combination of all the powers against him is a trifle for him; that the King of France is only strong in his own house; that the Grand Duke of Tuscany is not reckoned a Prince at all by Spain, and has no business with an Ambassador. All this the King resents; and Sig. Alfonso Montecuccoli, the Tuscan Ambassador, has sent a courier, through France, to report.

The memorandum of the defensive treaty, which the King of France sent over signed and sealed, has been signed by the King of England after a clause providing that if one of the parties died leaving his son a minor, the other should be bound to help him with all his forces, had been struck out. The French do all they can to keep this important fact a secret, for the King of England, by this act, has declared that the alliance is for life only. His motive was that he has three children, and even if the first two died his daughter could still succeed to the throne, and the Council have virtually established that, on the death of the King, no change shall take place. The King has sent to explain to the King of France, through M. de Vitry, that should his most Christian Majesty die, and should he be able to send fifty thousand men into France, he would make no claim there; also that he will inform his Majesty of any terms he may come to with Spain and with the Archduke. This defensive treaty includes such conditions as regards the States, that it is obvious that they will never be completely abandoned. Secretary Cecil, in strict confidence, told me that at the present time the Christian powers in Europe are three, England, France, and Spain; that these powers balanced one another, and remained in equilibrium, but if the weight of the States were added to any one of them, especially to Spain, the other two would be tottery and off balance. On the resources of Holland he enlarged greatly, swearing to me that in such and such a year they had spent as much as five millions of gold on their wars. He added, that not merely would neither France nor England permit the States to become obedient vassals of Spain, but they would even assist in conferring on them a species of independence if they showed that they were capable of using it.

Cecil told me that, being one of the five members appointed to meet the Spanish Ambassador at Southampton, he found that he had only general powers, not sufficient to conclude a peace. The Ambassador has complained that the troops raised in Scotland, under the Baron Buccleugh, have crossed over to the aid of the States, and represents this as a breach of faith with the Ambassador of the Archduke. To this answer was made that the Scottish are poor and warlike, and have always kept the English border in unrest by rapine and violence, and although his Majesty will certainly

1603.

punish the disobedient, he is not altogether displeased that this rabble should be taken out of the kingdom, even against his orders; and if the King of Spain wants levies he is most welcome to them in Scotland. In this reply the King followed the lead of the King of France, who outlaws those who take service with the States, but as soon as they come back he frees them, and pets them as being excellent soldiers; and he tells the Archduke he may have as many troops as he likes, though he secretly forbids the officers to take pay in that service.

Secretary Cecil told me that, if peace was concluded, it would still always mean peace between Spain and Scotland, but between Spain and England merely enemies reconciled.

Further news your Serenity will receive from other hands; for I believe the illustrious Ambassadors must be by now at Calais; I am now two days on my way to Dover.

Kingston, 22nd October, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

148. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Vitry is back from England; his mission was to discover the King's intentions. His Majesty will send him back shortly on the same service. He reports the continued goodwill of the King towards the Crown of France, but I have heard that when alone he said, "You will see that the King of England will deceive everyone, for his Councillors, in whom he trusts, will place him in a position from which he will not be able to extricate himself."

The Constable of Castille is on his way to Flanders, where, I hear, they wish to remove the Archduke; they have offered him the Government of Valencia and Aragon. If he persists in his refusal to withdraw, and the Spaniards in their insistance, he may appeal to the Empire for support, and the States themselves, finding him thus opposed to Spain, may even choose him as their Lord; but at present all this is mere conjecture.*

Money failing for payment of the troops besieging Ostend, the operations have been entrusted to the Marchese Spinola.†

Paris, 30th October, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

149. Piero Duodo, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary to England, to the Doge and Senate.

I had an interview with the English Ambassador, who told me that he had orders from his master to enquire what road we two Ambassadors meant to take, in order that suitable preparations might be made. The Ambassador remarked that the passage from Calais to Dover was the shortest sea route, but the Court was one hundred and fifty miles away from Dover, all through an infected district, and that Havre to Southampton would be the best route, from which I gathered that this was the King's wish that we should

* Ferdinando de Velasco, Duke of Frias. † See Motley, United Netherlands. Cap. XLII.

1603.

take it.* For many reasons I resolved to agree to the Havre-Southampton route. I have written to the illustrious Molin to join me at Havre, and to-day I leave for that place, and hope to reach it in five days.

Paris, 30th October, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

150. Francesco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Englishman, who came to Rome, is on business for the private Catholics; he has no connection with either the King or the Queen.

Rome, the first of November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

151. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Before parting from the illustrious Duodo in Brescia, we agreed upon the place where we were to meet, to cross the sea. The place chosen was Calais, the ordinary point of departure, whence the passage to England does not last more than six or seven hours. At Antwerp I found letters from his Lordship, requesting me to come at once to Calais. I did so with all speed, and reached it on the 26th. Both Signor Duodo and I informed Scaramelli that we were to be in Calais, and he, with his usual activity, made all necessary preparations in Dover, and his Majesty sent his gentlemen and ministers to receive and honour us. Scaramelli kept us informed of all this. Two Captains of men-of-war also arrived at Calais, on his Majesty's orders to escort us to Dover. Then suddenly, when everything was ready, I got a letter from the illustrious Duodo, telling me to join him at Havre de Grace (*Vedigratz*), two hundred miles off. In obedience to your Serenity's orders, and to oblige the illustrious Duodo, I resolved to set off for Havre, after informing Scaramelli of the change of plans. I wanted to go by land, but could not find sufficient horses for my suite, Calais not furnishing more than ten or twelve for the post. I, therefore, embarked on a small coaster, and set sail. During the day all went well; but at night the wind changed, and the weather became stormy; we found in the morning that it grew more threatening, and the sailors put the ship about, and driving before the gale we were carried into Dover. I wanted to start again, but the sailors declared I could not make Havre de Grace in this weather. So I have resolved to go by land to Southampton (*Soptampton*), there to await my colleague.

Dover, 4th November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

152. Maffio Michiel, Governor in Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

The English pirates are beginning to appear again, now that the season favourable to them is coming on. They are accustomed to

* Nicolo Molin, Duodo's colleague, reached Calais on Oct. 26th.

1603.

keep the sea even in midwinter and in the roughest weather, thanks to the handiness of their ships and the skill of their mariners. On the 26th of last month one of these ships, with the crew of thirty-two English and eighteen Levantines, captured, off Cape Gallo, a *berton* of Chios, Captain Steffano Vuro, bound for Messina. They took all its cargo, artillery, anchors, cables, shrouds, everything down to the mariners' clothes and the water; they also carried off five people, three men, and two boys, leaving the ship derelict, with a few rotten sails, one anchor, and one cheap cable. With great difficulty and, one might say, by a miracle, she reached this port yesterday. After being captured the said Captain reports that he and his captor sailed for a while together, during which they fell in with two other great ships, which made a fine defence, and beat off the *berton*. She suffered a good deal from gun shots. After that they put into Coron and lay there for seven days, and sold the booty. They then both went back to Cape Gallo. There they sighted another vessel, and letting this one go they bore down on the other. The upshot is unknown. A Greek on board reports other acts of piracy. The name of the Captain is unknown. The Greek also declares that the Bey of Damietta arrested Signor Georgio Sumachi and sent him to Rhodes, where the Capudan Cigala took him and half his crew on board his own ship. I must humbly add that, as long as these pirates can take shelter in Turkish ports, and until a squadron of your Serenity's galleys is established here, it will be impossible to put down piracy between Cerigo and this island.

I have hired an English *berton*, lying in this port, to act as escort to a *caramusale* I am sending for corn. I have had to pay twenty ducats a day for it. The total will amount to upwards of five hundred ducats.

On the 27th of last month I received your instructions about the English prisoners here. As in all this business I am in correspondence with Turks, I am in need of a secretary who is up to such work, as there used to be in Zante. I have frequently made use of Antonio Vale, and on the last day of last month he was elected to fill the post. I beg your Excellencies to confirm the appointment.

Zante, 6th November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

153. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday morning the *berton*, Marubin, cast anchor in this port. She is the same vessel as was plundered last year by the English Captain, at present a prisoner here. The supercargo reports that, on this voyage also, they were plundered of all their cargo by an English ship. I enclose his deposition.* I must again humbly point out that, as not a single man-of-war, belonging to the Republic, is cruising in these waters navigation is becoming not so much difficult as impossible.

* The Deposition is missing; but another taken before the Governor of Corfu will be found enclosed in Despatch 23rd November from Corfu.

1603.

Owing to the capture of Georgio Sumachi, now confirmed, I have notified all the sureties that the insurance money is due at the ordinary term.

Zante, 11th November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

154. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England has asked his most Christian Majesty to pay the States the remainder of the sum agreed upon between them. The answer sent back was, that the money was ready whenever the receipt was sent. The King of England sent the receipt for one hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

The King of England assures the King of France that he will always observe the agreement upon which he has entered. He claims free navigation in the Indies and in all Spanish dominions; and the Spanish, in their desire for peace, will agree. The English Ambassador here, on orders from his master, has intercepted letters to certain Englishmen, from which it appears that they are being solicited to accept pensions from Spain. That goes to confirm the remarks made by the King of France, that Spain will never accept so disadvantageous a peace, except with the intention of raising civil war in England. Sir Anthony Standen, who is on a mission from England, writes to the English Ambassador to say that, when he was in Florence, he received proposals from the Pope to send an Envoy, either ecclesiastic or lay, to congratulate the King of England, if his Holiness were once assured that such a step would not disgust Spain and France, and Don Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, was mentioned. The Ambassador has forwarded Standen's letter to England.

The English Ambassador informs me that a French pirate is in the Levant flying the English flag.

Paris, 12th November, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

155. Francesco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope has granted safe conduct to English merchants trading in Civita Vecchia, even though heretics. He is in hopes of considerable profits.

Rome, 15th November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Enclosed in Despatch from Corfu, November 23rd.

156. Gianbattista Badoer, supercargo of the "Marubbin," deposed: "We left Canea eighteen days ago. On the first of this month, old style, when off Venetico, sailing with a north-west wind, being afraid of being carried too far out to sea we put about for land, in the hope that towards evening the wind would serve us better. About two o'clock of the night, with bright moonlight, a *berton*, that we had not noticed, bore suddenly down on us. She came out from behind Venetico, where she had been lying in wait. When

1603.

we saw her we tried to escape to sea, but she was so close upon us that she opened fire from her harquebusses and artillery, and her crew cried, "down with your sails." We had to obey, for we were not strong enough to fight. They came on board us, and thrashed us all for not taking in sail fast enough. About thirty of them swarmed on board, using great violence and foul language to us. They took all our artillery; sent us all below and fastened down the hatches. They then proceeded to help themselves to everything, including thirty casks of wine. With great cruelty they kept us under hatches for four days and four nights, and sailed our vessel along with theirs up and down, looking for more prey; but finding none they let us go. The first thing they did when they boarded us was to ask if any Venetian nobles were on board, as they intended to hang them straight off, in revenge for the hanging of the Englishmen at Zante, and they said they meant to cruise there till they had caught a Venetian. They robbed a French passenger of five hundred sequins. We could not find out the name of the ship nor of the Captain, but she is a vessel of about three hundred tons, well armed with twenty-six guns. The Captain is a fair-bearded, red-faced little man, thin, dressed in purple satin and English breeches; about thirty years old. We were all in terror of death, for they bullied us, and went so far as to put the noose round our necks every day.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch.

157. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I came on here by post at great cost and inconvenience, and reached it on the 8th; so that I have been here nine days without a word from the illustrious Duodo. It is true the sailors declare that the weather has been very bad for crossing. Signor Scaramelli came to see me the day after my arrival, and the same evening Sir Lewis Lewkenor (*Lugner*). Both tell me that the King and Court are much put out by the change of route, and they are extremely angry with the lieger in Paris, for giving such advice and for saying he had it by courier from the King. Nothing was further from his Majesty's intentions; indeed our journey from Dover to Court had been planned, so as to bring us through the most lovely parts of this kingdom, with a retinue of gentlemen, who were waiting us in Dover, with an escort of three to four hundred horse, and hunting parties on the way in many royal demesnes, and lodging at the country houses of the nobility. Scaramelli had spared neither pains nor money to arrange everything. The King has sent a man-of-war to escort my colleague, but not very willingly.

Southampton, 17th November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

158. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King on his accession did not find any large store of money, and the plague has caused the greatest difficulty in collecting the taxes; accordingly, a few days ago, the King resolved to ask the

1603.

City for a loan of 40,000 pounds sterling (that is, one hundred and sixty thousand ducats). He met with a refusal; asked for thirty, then for twenty, finally for ten thousand, but always had "No" for answer. The City declares that the plague has brought traffic to a standstill; *but ill-will is also suspected as the cause.*

The conspirators are being brought to Winchester, where lodgings for the Lords who are to try them, are being got ready. It is generally thought that all will be found guilty of high-treason and executed, unless the King exercise his clemency, which is unlikely.

The Ambassador of the Grand Duke still refuses to visit the Spanish Ambassador, and he now says, in excuse, *that the Spaniard had been heard to declare that the house of Austria had put the crown on the Grand Duke's head, and was able to take it off again.*

The conference upon the subject of religion, summoned for the first of this month, has been put off till February.

The Levant merchants are informed from Constantinople that the agent of this Crown is out of favour and badly treated by the Grand Signor and his ministers; the reason is that the Sultan has been informed that the King of England is thinking of making peace with Spain. They intend to recall all their capital in view of possible dangers there. This would be of great help to the Venetian merchants.

Southampton, 17th November, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

159. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I left Havre on Sunday, the 16th, and after twenty hours at sea, landed at Portsmouth; there not being water enough for the great galleon to get into Southampton.

On Saturday, the 22nd, we are to move towards the Court.

Southampton, 20th November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

160. PIERO DUODO and NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, was appointed to receive us in Southampton. He came with two royal carriages and four mules (*chinee*), and took us to Salisbury to rooms prepared for us by Sir Lewis Lewkenor. Our train consisted of one hundred horse, and we reached Salisbury at night, for the roads were bad, owing to the incessant rain. We found such wretched lodgings, that nothing we have experienced on the journey could surpass them. We complained gently to the officials, who laid the blame on their subordinates, and subsequently came to us to say that his Majesty was extremely annoyed, and had arrested and imprisoned and deprived of his office the marshal who had been charged to take the rooms, and that we should be properly attended to at once; but so much delay occurred that for the public honour we gave orders to pay without demur all that the Court marshals ask for decent lodgings.

1603.

The King sent to inform us that he had appointed Sunday for our audience, St. Andrew's Day, and that, if we wished for an earlier date, he would grant it; but that, as some of the Council were absent, he desired to wait their return, in order to do full honour to so important an Embassy.

The Ambassadors of France, Spain, and Tuscany have been to visit us.

The greater part of the Council is gone to Winchester for the trial. The common opinion is that all of the accused will be beheaded.

The Earl of Devonshire, (*Devenzer*) Lord Mountjoy, has been appointed Ambassador to Spain; Lord Pembroke to France; to Flanders Robert Sidney; and Lord Sanquhar (*Saccar*), whom the King had promised to send to Venice, fears, it seems, that the jealousy of the English will upset this mission.

Salisbury, 25th November, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

161. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After informing your Serenity of the substance of the accord between England and France I have always felt that I should not fulfill my entire duty unless I sent you a copy of the document. Hitherto I have not been able to do so and at the same time to maintain my good faith, for they never would give me a copy, with leave to forward it. The English Ambassador has finally consented, and even helped my Secretary to translate it, as he is a first-rate Italian scholar. I rely on the Senate to preserve profound secresy.

A cavass, on his way from Turkey to England, has arrived. His mission is to complain of English piracy.

The King of Spain keeps near his own person an Earl of Bothwell (Boduel), a rebel Scot, represented to me as a second Marshal de Biron, that is, of vast personal bravery, with a large following, but most imprudent. With him is Colonel Sempill (Semple), a sagacious Scot. He has lately passed into Flanders, with money to bring Bothwell's adherents into the Archduke's service.

Paris, 26th November, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

162. *Terms of treaty agreed upon by the King of England and Scotland through M. de Rosny, Grand Master of the Ordinance and Gran Viador of France, his most Christian Majesty's Ambassador.*

All the ancient alliances between France and Scotland shall be renewed, confirmed, and observed; also all alliances made between France and the late Queen Elizabeth, and these shall be strengthened by a new defensive alliance.

All allies of either party, named by either party, are included in this new alliance.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands are named, and efforts shall be made to induce the King of Spain and the Archduke to leave them in peace; or at least to recognise them as subjects, either of Spain or of the Empire, with such reasonable conditions as will con-

1603.

stitute partial freedom, and shall not awaken suspicion in France or England, which must be aroused by the absolute sovereignty of Spain.

As the Spanish may endeavour to drag out the negotiations, while massing troops, both contracting parties shall at once assist the States with a good sum of money and a sufficient number of men, all to be raised in the dominions of the King of England, while the cost of them shall be entirely borne by France. For this purpose his most Christian Majesty shall place the necessary funds in the hands of the States. Two-thirds are to be a free contribution by his Majesty, one-third is to go towards payment of his debt to the English Crown. All this in the greatest secresy.

This action may eventually induce Spain to declare war on England and France; in that case their Majesties agree that—if England is attacked, the King of France shall give his vigorous support, with an army of not less than six thousand men, and shall pay the King of England within three years and by three equal rates the entire amount of his debt:—

If France is attacked openly at any point by Spain or her allies, the King of England shall come to her aid with a powerful fleet or army, as the King of France may select; the army shall not number less than six thousand men, and the King of England, during this period, shall not demand payment of his credit:—

If both France and England are simultaneously attacked by Spain, or compelled to declare war on her, each shall conduct his own war, but in a vigorous manner, worthy of the dignity of their Crowns and sufficiently seriously to secure the entire freedom of the United Provinces, that is to say, the King of France shall enter the United Provinces with an army of fifteen or twenty thousand men, while he holds Guienne, Languedoc, Provençe, Dauphine, la Bresse, and Burgundy with a sufficient force, and with a sufficient fleet inside the Mediterranean with a view, not merely of protecting his dominions, but of threatening Spain as well, and consequently diverting some of her troops. On the English side the war shall be conducted with two great fleets, capable of brilliant operations in the Indies and on the shores of Spain, and with a land force of not less than six thousand men, all at his own charges. During the period of war the King of England shall not press the King of France for payment of his credits

Neither sovereign may make peace, diminish his forces, cease hostilities, except with the consent of the other.

The defensive part of this alliance shall be embodied in a public act, the offensive shall remain secret.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

163. Simon Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Complaints by the King of England that, in the Spanish credentials, his Majesty is styled of England and France, but not of Ireland. I am told this title was omitted out of regard for the Pope.

Valladolid, 27th November, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1603. Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

164. PIERO DUODO and NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the despatch of our former letters the King, learning that we were still uncomfortably lodged, gave orders that some of his officers were to be imprisoned, also twenty citizens of Salisbury, who had denied us lodging in their houses; he gave Sir Lewis Lewkenor full authority to take any steps against anyone soever, in order to secure for us without delay the best accommodation the city affords; nor content with this, his Majesty sent us Baron Danvers * (*Danars*), a gentleman of great importance, to carry out his orders, and to say that his Majesty could never rest while such things were going on, and until we had sent him our pardon, so he said. We have at last found beds and lodging, but scattered about in different houses, which is most inconvenient.

Yesterday we were granted audience. Lord Henry Howard, brother of the late Duke of Norfolk, came to accompany us; he is a member of the Council and a great personage. With him was Sir Lewis Lewkenor, with five and twenty state carriages. We were conveyed from Salisbury to Wilton (*Wilthon*), a village two miles out of Salisbury, where the King is lying in a palace belonging to the Earls of Pembroke. We reached Wilton at three in the afternoon, and after resting a little in a chamber which had been prepared for us, we went to meet his Majesty. The King, Queen, and Prince stood at a window to see us cross the courtyard on the way to his apartments; all the other windows were full of ladies and gentlemen. We believe that our suites must have made a fine show, both for numbers, for variety of livery, for the robes of silk and gold, the crowd of gentlemen, not merely from Venice, but from other cities, all sumptuously dressed. The Presence Chamber was crowded. At the threshold we made our first bow, and repeated it again in the middle of the room. The King was dressed in a cloak, lined with zibellini, and, for the rest, was habited as in the picture your Serenity has of him. Surrounded by the Prince and his Council he came down the steps of the dais, hat in hand, and came to meet us two yards away from the canopy, gave us welcome, took our letters, and listened to the discourse I, Duodo, made, as brief as possible, for it was nearly night. The King listened with attention, then covered and bade us be covered. He replied to us in French. He concluded by saying that he heard that your Serenity had taken a copy of his portrait from the one Sir Anthony Standen brought with him to Venice, and had added it to your precious collections (*ne aggiunse di haver inteso, che la Serenità Vostra havea fatto pigliar copia del suo ritratto da quello che il Cavalier Standen inglese havea portato in Venetia et che lo havea riposto fra le cose da lei più stimate*). After that the King again apologised for our bad lodging. He placed the citizens of Salisbury, who had been arrested, at our mercy; we begged him to set them at liberty, as we had no desire that our coming should be a burden to any.

We then presented your Serenity's letters to the Prince, and added a couple of words. The King turned round laughing to his

* Lord Danvers and Sir Lewis Lewkenor had made the arrangements for the reception of the Spanish Ambassador in August. Cal. S. P. Dom. August 29, 1603.

1603.

suite and said, "Why, the letter is bigger than the Prince." After that we presented our suites, and then took our leave.

Of the eleven conspirators six have been condemned to death and one acquitted. The rest will be finished off this week. The members of Council, who came over from Winchester for our reception, have gone back there. The course of the trial has shown that their object was to kill the King and to make Arabella Queen; they asked the Ambassador of the Archduke for six hundred thousand ducats to divide between them, and he promised three, and said that on his return to Flanders he would procure the other three. Lord Cobham, the principal conspirator, as long ago as August last, wrote to Arabella, urging her to write to the King of Spain, promising freedom of conscience, peace with Spain, abandonment of the States, and pledging herself not to marry without the King's consent. That letter of Lord Cobham's Arabella handed to the King, without even having broken the seal, and this act of loyalty has saved her life now, though she had to go to Winchester to be ready to answer if called upon; but Walter Raleigh, one of the conspirators convicted and condemned to death, has borne full testimony in her justification. (*Nella trattatione delle colpe delli predetti, si è fatto palese che la loro propositione fosse di levar la vita al Rè et di far Arbella Regina; et che havendo ricercato all'Ambasciatore dell'Arciduca Alberto ducati seicentomille da divider fra loro ne haveva egli promessi trecentomille, con promessa di ottener anco gli altri trecento mille col suo ultimo ritorno in Fiandra. Et il baron Coban, principal auttore della congiura scrisse una lettera ad Essa dama Arbella fin quest'Agosto prossimo passato, ricercandola di scriver una lettera al Rè di Spagna, et con obligarsi di dar al Regno la libertà della conscientia, la pace a Spagna et a Fiandra, abbandonar i stati, et di non maritarsi senza il consenso di Sua Maestà Catholica; la qual lettera essa Arbella appresentò al Rè sigillata senza haverla ne anco aperta, dal qual atto di sincerità dipende hora la salvezza della sua vita; havendole non dimeno convenuto andar alla riduttione de' Giudici in Vincester, per giustificarsi se fosse stato bisogno; ma da Valter Rali, uno de' principali congiurati doppo esser rimasto lui convinto et giudicato a morte, ella è stata molto giustificatamente discolpata.*)

They say there is some talk of marrying her to the Duke of Savoy. All this disturbs the King, who cannot make up his mind whether he should lean to the side of rigour or of clemency. Lady Arabella, too, though innocent and highly honoured by the Queen, is in great perturbation.

An Ambassador from the King of Poland has arrived.

Salisbury, the first of December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

165. Francesco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope complains of the Venetian dealings with the English, and says he fears it will end in a second German exchange house.

1603.

you are about; league with Grisons, dealings with English; all heretics; and all for reasons of state; without consideration of aught else. This is a bad road. I promise you that, if you let the English open a change house in Venice, I will never submit to it, even though I ended by being flayed alive in that city."

Rome, 6th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

166. PIERO DUODO and NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last Tuesday we had audience of the King, and although it was private, his Majesty, to do us honour, sent Lord Sanquhar (*Baron di Saccar*) to accompany us. The King came half the length of the room to meet us, and then preceded us into another room. He seated himself on a chair covered with velvet, and placed us on two crimson covered stools close to him; we were all three on the same level. I, Duodo, said that Secretary Scaramelli had informed us of his Majesty's orders for the imprisonment of certain English pirates and the restoration of the stolen goods. For this I returned him thanks, and begged for the thorough execution of these orders; and more especially, that William Piers and Thomas Tomkins should be compelled to a complete restoration of the booty, and punished as law breakers; and I remarked that such an execution would serve as a visible demonstration of the friendly relations which existed between his Majesty and your Serenity, would prevent the recurrence of similar scandals, and would open the road to reciprocal commerce. I said that it would be quite easy for your Serenity to sink these vessels when they came into your seas and harbours, but they fly the royal ensign and come under the guise of friendship, though their actions are quite other than friendly, and out of the great respect your Serenity bears to his Majesty you prefer to apply to him first before employing the means in your power.

The King replied in substance that none detested such actions more than he did; that while he was King of Scotland his subjects had never committed deeds like this; that he was of the same mind now, but he was still new to the Government of England, and compelled to employ the old ministers, and, therefore, was unable to attend to everything at once, the more so that he feared his naval officers were somewhat interested in the matter; he added, in great confidence, that he had been obliged to give the Lord Admiral something out of his own purse, as the Admiral complained that he was unable to keep up his office, owing to the failure of revenues of this very nature. The King further said that hitherto these pirates had put to sea as naval officers to fight the Spanish, and this excuse served to cover all their deeds. Now that peace with Spain was probable the pirates might take to worse courses still, but that he would do all that in him lay to check, suppress, and punish. As to the two pirates who had plundered the "Veniera" and the "Balbiana" he would issue fresh orders for the satisfaction of your Serenity; in the case of Tomkins he had already issued such an order as had never been seen in this kingdom. We said we hoped his Majesty would order the punishment of the offenders

1603.

as well as the restitution of the booty, for if they suffered no personal punishment they would not be deterred by the mere confiscation of the goods, as they would always hope to retain a portion. More especially we prayed that Piers should be punished, for he was going about boasting that he had obtained a pardon, and showed no intention of restoring the plunder.

The King said he would mention it in Council, and asked for a memorandum; as to Piers he had not pardoned him. We said that Piers considered himself included in the general amnesty; the King said "No," that he had pardoned two only, whose names he quite well remembered. We thanked his Majesty, and begged to recall to his attention two points, one was his promise to Scaramelli that he would send a ship especially for the purpose of recalling the twelve pirates, now inside the straits; the other, that he would insist upon adequate caution-money being deposited by all ships sailing from England, as guarantee that they would not injure allies, and that if they did they should suffer confiscation of goods, and, if without property, that they should forfeit their lives. The King said this sum was exacted now; we replied that it was too small to act efficaciously. This the King admitted; said he would consult his Council, and asked us for a memorandum. We had brought one with us, and handed it in. The King gave it to Scaramelli to give to Cecil. The King said he intended soon to send an Ambassador to Venice, and this brought our audience to a close. It had lasted a little less than an hour. We lay stress on the King's declaration that peace with Spain is considered as concluded here.

After this we had audience of the Queen; she was under a canopy, covered with jewels and strings of pearls. Our remarks were purely complimentary, and after that we asked leave to salute the ladies of her Court. That done we retired.

Salisbury, 8th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

167. PIERO DUODO and NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We must report a singular honour which the Prince of Wales has done us, to the great surprise of all at Court. Yesterday, I, Duodo, invited the Ambassadors of France and Tuscany and some other gentlemen about Court to dine with me, as a return for a similar invitation. In the morning I was informed that the Prince of Wales wished to join the party. I enquired of my host, who is a Doctor and in attendance on the Prince,* and I found that it was true. I immediately gave orders for increasing the banquet, and that a small table should be laid for his Royal Highness. Soon after one of his gentlemen arrived, and noticing the table apart he insisted that there should be one table only, for so he informed me the Prince desired. I assented, and as dinner hour came on I sent Secretary Scaramelli and our gentlemen to accompany the Prince. He arrived with his suite, and attended by the Lord Admiral and

* Perhaps Dr. John Hammond, who was confirmed in that appointment for life. Cal. S. P. Dom. 24 Feb., 1604.

1603.

the chief officers of state. He was received by us Ambassadors outside the door in the street, and conducted upstairs, there his governor * said that the King, aware of the great injury done by his officers in giving us so poor a lodging, had wished to make amends by sending us his son as a prisoner, though he was confident that he would easily get him back again. We protested that no harm had been done, or if harm there was we were glad of it, for it had procured us so gracious an amend. We stood for half an hour exchanging compliments, and then went to table. The Prince was placed at the head of the table, and two feet away from him sat the French Ambassador, then I, Molin, then the Tuscan Ambassador, and about thirty other gentlemen, English and Scottish, among these I, Duodo, took my seat as host, etiquette requiring this while it was sufficient that Signor Molin retained his rank as representative of your Serenity. God be thanked it all passed off in perfect order, to the great honour of our State and with references to your Serenity, to whose health the Prince drank, rising to his feet with hat in hand. After the first table had been served many other places were laid for the rest of the suite. Everyone says the Prince has never taken a meal in the house of strangers before, and that when the Spanish Ambassador sent him an invitation he refused. The esteem shown for your Serenity is, therefore, very great; all the more so at this time of conspiracies, when the life of the Royal family is menaced. I am informed that twice the King himself was on the point of getting into his carriage to come to us, but the fear that he might incommode me detained him.

This morning I, Duodo, had audience to take leave, and I, Molin, to present credentials as lieger. We were invited to stay to dine with his Majesty, along with our suite. As the Lord Admiral accompanied the Prince to dinner at our house we did not fail to make suitable presentations to him on the subject of the disorders committed by English pirates. He made all sorts of apologies, and laid the blame upon the war between England and Spain, and promised for the future that the mischief should cease; as to the past we are aware that the whole question is full of difficulty, precisely on account of the Lord Admiral's interests.

The trial of the conspirators is finished. Ten of them are condemned to a felon's death, that is, to be dragged to the gallows, hung and quartered. But it is supposed that the two Barons † will, by the King's clemency, be beheaded only. The execution of the two priests and the less noble conspirators is thought to be near at hand.

The plague is decreasing in London, on account of the great cold. The Court will shortly move to one of the Royal palaces on the Thames, not far from London. It cannot stay on here much longer, because of the dearth of all things. An Ambassador from Savoy is expected shortly.

Salisbury, 9th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir Thomas Chaloner. Cal. S. P. Dom., 9 Aug., 1603. † Lords Cobham and Grey. Clarke and Watson were executed on Nov. 29-Dec. 9, Brooke on Dec. 6-16. Gardiner, 1, 139.

1603.
Dec. 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

168. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is opposition to the Cavass's journey to England. The English Ambassador has not visited him. I have visited him and invited him to dinner.

The agent of the United Provinces has arrived. The English Ambassador is to accompany him to audience, in order to insist upon the complete payment of the amount agreed upon. M. de Rosny wished the English Ambassador to hand him the receipt, declaring the States to have been paid in full. The Ambassador declined, as he surmised what was really the case, namely that, as the agent of the States affirms, two hundred thousand are still wanting.

The King has been informed that a certain Raleigh, one of the chief conspirators, has been convicted of having received a promise of 12,000 crowns from Count d'Aremberg. The English Ambassador confirmed the news; *and added that he knew that Raleigh was in relations with the King of France, whose Ambassador in England was pleading for his life, and the conclusion was that either France and Spain are working together or that Raleigh was taking money from all quarters.*

Paris, 10th December, 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

169. PIERO DUODO and NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 9th we had audience. Lord Henry Howard came to conduct us to Court. His Majesty was waiting us, and led us into an inner room. The Prince was there, and the King said, "There is your prisoner. I wanted to come myself, but business detained me. I would not have sent the Prince to any other house, but to yours I sent him quite securely." We thanked him. He then told us that he had just been talking to the Admiral about the pirates, and the subject is to be brought before the Council. The King then went on to recommend to your Serenity the person of Signor Antonio Dotto, a Paduan, who is living outlawed here; he said that if Dotto's crime was either political or scandalous he begged his request to be considered as not made, but if were merely a private affair he would be obliged if your Serenity would grant him this grace. We replied that his Majesty's recommendation would always receive attention.

The Lord Chamberlain then announced dinner. A table about sixteen feet long had been laid across the room on a dais; it stood away from the wall sufficiently to allow a free passage to the servants all round. His Majesty's seat was on the inner side, under the canopy about the middle of the table; no other cover was laid on this table but his Majesty's. Before sitting down, he laid aside his cloak and sword, and the Lord Admiral brought him water for his hands, making three deep obeisances before approaching his Majesty; he then drew near, kneeled down, and kissing the bowl he first tested the water, and then gave it to the King, with like reverences the Duke of Lennox handed him the towel. That done they retired, and two other nobles of less degree did a like service

1603.

for the Prince, and two others for us Ambassadors, with the same ceremony save the kneeling. Then the King's Almoner* stepped forward and said grace, while the King remained on foot. Then the King moved towards his seat, but did not sit down until covers had been laid for the Prince and for us, for the Prince at one end of the table, for us at the other end, not at the head, however, but outside; the Prince was to the King's right, we to his left. When our places were laid, we all sat down. The banquet was sumptuous and abundant in the variety and quality of the food; with such a crowd of nobles waiting upon us that they could hardly dó their duty. His Majesty, with great affability, spoke at length about the Government and the laws of the Republic, and about the splendour of Venice. He praised the wisdom of the Senate, which had preserved the State through so many centuries, and showed profound knowledge of our history. He frequently invited us to drink, but in moderation as each one chose. Twice he drank to us in honour of your Serenity, on foot and uncovered, and once in honour of ourselves. He excused the absence of the Queen on the score of health, and in short from the beginning to the end of the banquet, which lasted upwards of two hours, he did all that lay in his power to show his gracious desire to honour us. Among those present were secretaries of the French, Spanish, and Tuscan Ambassadors, who carefully noted all that took place. While we were at table Lord Crichton (*Sanquhar*), by the King's orders, took Scaramelli and our suite to dine in another chamber. That dinner was soon over, for everyone wanted to get back to watch ours. When the banquet was over, water was again brought and grace said as at the beginning; and the King, assuming his cloak and sword, led us into a private chamber. There I, Duodo, took my leave, and I, Molin, presented my credentials as Ambassador-in-Ordinary. The King replied that if I, Duodo, could have prolonged my stay it would have been a pleasure to him, and that I, Molin, would always be most welcome. We then presented Secretary Scaramelli, who, in few words, took his leave. In confidence his Majesty said to me, Duodo, that he wished me to inform your Serenity direct from him of a certain point, which rumour represents in various lights, namely, that the King of France was his oldest and dearest friend; that when his Majesty came to the throne of England he found many difficulties with Spain; that his desire was to live at peace with everyone. He was expecting a cavass from Turkey, *viâ* France, and was not at all pleased, as he did not approve a Turkish alliance, though the present position of affairs would compel him to receive the Turk. We then took our leave.

Salisbury, 11th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

170. PIERO DUODO and NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After we left the King, the Council met. Secretary Scaramelli was present; he handed in our memorandum, and explained its scope. The Council replied, head by head, as follows:—If Piers

*Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester; appointed May 17th, 1603. Cal. S. P. Dom.

1603.

came under the general pardon granted at the Coronation, whatever promises the King might have made to the contrary it was not the King who had pardoned, but the ancient laws of this country, under which he had come to the throne, and which he had sworn to respect. That being so the King had in no way failed of his royal word, as that could only apply to special graces, not to general pardons. The Council, however, reserved the right to examine the law and the terms of the pardon, and to take legal opinion before pronouncing on the validity of the act. They promised that under no circumstances shall Piers quit his prison till he has paid or made terms with the injured parties. They instructed the judge of the Admiralty, who was present, to proceed against the parties who had fitted out Piers, and against all who had bought the plunder. The judge pleaded the great difficulties caused by the plague, which had suspended all executions for so many months, and thrown everything into confusion. As regards the case of Tomkins, they allege that the booty was far less than had been represented, for it was proved that some of the ship's own crew fled on shore at Cyprus with two barrels of gold; and that the royal proclamation was a proof of the King's earnestness in the matter. About the contents of this proclamation we need say nothing, as Scaramelli has forwarded it. The Council promise that the culprits shall be severely punished, and Tomkins, too, if he falls into the hands of justice, and that all goods that may be recovered shall be restored to their rightful owners, on their representatives producing power of attorney, which has not yet been done. As regards the despatch of a ship inside the straits to recall or coerce the pirates, the Council insist that the King will send it, though they add that among these pirates must be some desperate characters, who have little intention of ever seeing England again; that the true remedy is that your Serenity should induce the Turks to refuse the pirates shelter in Tunis, Biserta, and other harbours of Barbary, and thus to cut them off from their source of money, and compel them to change their practice and profession. As to the request that the caution money should not be fixed at one or two thousand ducats, but should run to the sum total of the damage done, the Council answered that, as peace was now virtually concluded with Spain, all privateering is forbidden under pain of death, and so all caution money ceases to be due; but should privateering ever be renewed they promise that as far as Venice is concerned the caution shall be commensurate with the damage, and the offence shall be capital in case of failure to pay.

On the other hand Secretary Cecil complained that certain matters had been commended to your Serenity's attention before the late Queen's death, but they have never been wound up, nor has any of the debt of only five hundred ducats due to Paul Pinder, been liquidated by order of the Senate.

The Council then rose, and the above reply was reported to the King, but he was not satisfied, and the following day he attended Council himself, and the whole matter was debated for two hours, his Majesty insisting upon entire satisfaction being given to your Serenity. It was finally decided that Piers' pardon was of no value, and the Judge of the Admiralty was instructed to condemn him to death, and the accomplices and guarantors to their just deserts; as Piers is not head of the family no mention was made

1603.

of his property. This decision the King caused to be imparted to us before I, Duodo, left Salisbury. Thanks be to God that we have obtained all that your Serenity desired.

A deputation from Southampton waited on us at the beginning of this week to point out that there used to be a lively trade between that port and Venice, but that it has been broken off for many years to their great loss. They said they intended to petition the King to exempt Southampton from the operation of the new imposts, but would not take any step until they were assured that your Serenity would make a similar concession in their sole favour, so that free trade with Venice should be confined to the inhabitants of Southampton only. We replied that anything which facilitated good relations between Venice and England was sure of your Serenity's support; but as to the particular point we had no instructions, though we promised to lay the subject before your Serenity.

The King has just sent to say that the pirate who plundered the "Ima" (?) has arrived at Plymouth, and a warrant for his arrest is out; also for the arrest of Tomkins, who is said to be in Wales.

Salisbury, 11th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

171. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen sent to inform me that she is too indisposed to grant me audience, and that, as it might continue for some time, she took my visit as made, and wished me a pleasant journey. To-morrow I leave for Southampton.

The Queen's indisposition is, they say, pregnancy. The doctors dissuade her from dressing in her usual way, and so she declines to receive any strangers.

Salisbury, 12th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

172. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ambassador Duodo left here on the 13th inst. Lord Cecil has informed me that the Ambassador destined to represent England in Venice has been appointed; he is Sir Henry Wotton, brother of Lord Wotton. He has been for long in Italy, and some years ago the Grand Duke of Tuscany made use of him on a mission to Scotland. At the present moment he is in Paris on private business, and he is to come over here at once.

Of the eleven conspirators one only has been acquitted, all the rest condemned to death. The two priests have already been executed, and on Friday the rest will suffer except Raleigh. He was Captain of the Guard under the late Queen. He will be taken back to the Tower, but after a few days he, too, will be executed. They hope in the interval to extract something from him, for he is considered the best informed of all the conspirators.* I leave to-morrow for

* But see Gardiner, 1. 139.

1603.

London, so do the other Ambassadors. The King, in four or six days, moves to Hampton Court. The plague has almost disappeared.

Salisbury, 15th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

173. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night the Sultan died suddenly without any preceding illness. It was kept secret. A solemn divan was ordered for this morning; and suddenly the new Sultan, Achmet, was seen seated on the Imperial throne, and by his side his father's coffin.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st December, 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

174. PIERO DUODO, retiring Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While I was at Southampton a judge came down from the Admiralty to try the sailors who had a share in plundering the "Balbiana." They were all sentenced to be hung, and should be to-day, unless the King pardons them. I was asked to intercede for them, but thought well not to interfere.

Havre de Grace, 22nd December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

175. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador in Constantinople has sent his Secretary home to say that, after the death of Queen Elizabeth, he is badly treated by the Sultan and his ministers, who decline to recognise him as Ambassador, and refuse to observe the capitulations made under Elizabeth. The Sultan had inquired if it was true that the King intended to make peace with Spain. This rumour was brought to the Sultan's ears by the French Ambassador. The English Ambassador has sent his Secretary for instructions. The King openly shows that he has no affection for the Turkish alliance, and that he thinks all Christian Princes ought to unite for the destruction of their common foe. In Council, however, where everything is weighed in the scales of material interests, the opinions are very various. Some hold that it is necessary to maintain a good understanding with the Turks, on account of English trade in the Levant; others affirm that this Levant trade is of little moment—an opinion held by some of the Turkey merchants, who maintain that both general and private gains were greater when the whole cloth trade passed through Venice, and they confess that they are unable to conduct their business properly in the Levant, for they are selling kerseys at fourteen and even at thirteen dollars the piece, whereas they used to get eighteen, nineteen, and even twenty in Venice. The whole question is at present undecided.

1603.

Last Saturday,* in obedience to the King's orders, the conspirators were taken, one by one, to the place of execution. The first was Lord Cobham; he mounted the scaffold, and, after briefly commending his soul to God and asking pardon of the King and of many others, he kneeled down and laid his head on the block to await the fatal stroke. The headsman had lifted the axe to strike off his head, when there sprang upon the scaffold two emissaries of the King, and raising the body of Lord Cobham, an inert mass, more dead than alive, they carried him into a neighbouring house. Then came the second Lord, Baron Grey; he ascended the scaffold under the firm conviction that Lord Cobham was dead, but received pardon in the same fashion. A like scene was enacted with the others. His Majesty resolved to grant them grace, but in such a way that they may be said to have looked death in the face, and will retain for ever a memory of the danger they were in. Thus of the eleven prisoners only the two priests and another † have been executed, one has been acquitted, the others granted their lives.

The quarrel between the Ambassadors of Spain and Tuscany goes on increasing. Last Wednesday Spain had audience of the Queen, Florence of the King; neither knew of the other's visit. Spain arrived first, and as he was descending the stairs into the court-yard, where carriages pass, he saw Florence entering. He immediately stopped, and turning his back upon Florence pretended to make some remarks to his suite; Florence passed on without saluting or being saluted, and so the suites. Florence is anxiously expecting the return of the courier he has sent to the Grand Duke.

I got to London on Friday evening. No one ever mentions the plague, no more than if it had never been. The City is so full of people that it is hard to believe that about sixty thousand deaths have taken place.

To-morrow Secretary Scaramelli leaves for Holland.

London, 25th December, 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1604.

1604. Jan 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

176. ZACCHARIA GABRIEL and AGUSTIN CANAL, Governors in Corfu, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Report English piracies, and state that, being without galleys, they cannot check them.

Corfu, 1st January, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

* December 10th-20th. † George Brooke, Lord Cobham's brother.

1604.

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

177. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Halil Pasha arrives from Cairo, and is made Grand Vizir.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd January, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

178. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The doctors disagree as to the cause of the Sultan's death. Some say it was plague, but most that it was apoplexy.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd January, 1603 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

179. ANGELO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ten days ago the King had an attack of the gout. He kept his bed in the morning; but rose and went out in a carriage in the evening, this brought on the gout with such violence that he had to go to bed again, and stay there for many days in acute pain and to the great mortification of his natural vivacity.

His Majesty and his ministers are putting it about that the Catholic King and the Archduke were parties to the conspiracy in England. The King of England has ordered his Ambassador to deny this.

Paris, 7th January, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

180. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On my way to Antwerp I stopped nearly a whole day at Ostend, where from the top of the platform I could look into the town and see the great defences thrown up by the besieged; defences that make it almost hopeless to expect to capture the place, especially as succours can come in by sea. Spinola's only hope is in a mound they are building at low tide.

Brussels, 7th January, 1603 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

181. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiralty Judge has informed me that his Majesty sent for him a few days ago and told him that he was to use all diligence for the summary despatch of the piracy cases before him, exhorting him to administer justice, so that none should have cause for complaint, otherwise he would have him hung; he is ordered not merely to restore the stolen property, but to punish the culprits. The judge now informs me that he has two other prisoners besides the six who have been hung; one of these two is William Piers, who plun-

1604.

dered the "Veniera." These men, in the desire to save their lives, have offered a small sum of money, and, says the judge, it now rests with me to say what should be done; as he holds his Majesty's orders to do all that I request in this affair, either to condemn to death or to pardon. He added that, if I pardoned them, I would draw a certain amount of money, which would go to the benefit of the interested parties, but if I insisted on the death penalty I must give up all expectation of compensation, for these people are very poor. I discussed this question with the agent for the interested parties; and we considered the judge's advice sound, and that it was better to consult the pecuniary advantages of the owners, especially as the execution of six culprits seemed sufficient as a warning. The example given by this execution in Southampton has so terrified everybody that a great number of culprits are in hiding, and will not be easily caught, whereas if they hear that, by paying out some money they can square themselves with the law, they are sure to do so. My answer to the judge was that I would wait to see what sum was offered in composition, for I did not intend to let them off for mere bagatelle. I will take no steps except in concert with the agent of the interested parties.

The Constable of Castile (Ferdinando de Velasco, Duke of Frias) is in Antwerp; they say he brings very ample powers to conclude a treaty of peace. The place of meeting for the congress on the subject is now to be chosen. The Spanish claim that the King should send his Commissioners out of England to meet the Spanish. Taxis is entrusted with this negotiation. He has orders to reside here for two years, and is, therefore, looking for a house in London,—a sign that the Spanish consider the peace concluded.

Antonio Perez has left Paris for Dieppe, intending to cross over to England. This gives rise to various conjectures.

London, 7th January, 1603 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

182. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English keep their Christmas according to the old style, on the 4th of January, a Sunday. The King took the opportunity to invite to a banquet those Ambassadors who had not as yet banquetted with him; to avoid the question of precedence between Savoy and Florence he invited Spain and Savoy on Monday, and Tuscany and Poland on Tuesday. Sir Lewis Lewkenor conveyed the invitations. But when Florence heard that Savoy was invited for Monday he complained of the injury done to his master, vowed that the Grand Duke would never yield a position he had acquired at the Imperial Court, and declared that, if Savoy had precedence, he would refuse the invitation. Sir Lewis did not deny a single assertion of Montecuccoli, but, in great confusion, he said he would report all to the King. His Majesty admitted the arguments of Florence, and in spite of some of his Council, who wished to stand firm, he sent Sir Lewis to recall the invitation to Savoy, and to tell him that he would receive an invitation later on. The Ambassador, who knew what had taken place, expressed profound astonishment that his Majesty should have taken such a step, though of course

1604.

there was nothing he might not do in his own house, and he talked of withdrawing from Court, but finally determined to consult Spain. After some conversation they agreed that each should write a letter to the King. The Spanish letter was presented by Juan Battista Taxis, relation of the Ambassador, Savoy's letter by the Ambassador's son. When the King had read them he said, "Tell the Ambassador, your father, to keep calm, and to submit to what we can do for him, as we have no desire to offend a single Italian Prince, least of all the Grand Duke, who is a great friend of ours," and with that he turned his back and went into another chamber without giving them time to reply. Sir Lewis Lewkenor was told to warn the Ambassador of Savoy on no account to come to the banquet on Monday, as he seemed from his letter to be minded to do. So on Monday Spain alone was present, and on Tuesday Poland alone. The King announces that the others will be invited a day or two before they leave.

London, 8th January, 1603 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

183. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Father Cotton, the Jesuit, his Majesty's favourite preacher, was stabbed the other night when passing through the streets in his carriage. He was struck in the neck by a man dressed as a lacquey, who repeated the blow, but missed him. The first wound is not mortal. The King has given orders that the Father shall be attended by the Court doctor, and fed from the palace.

Paris, 21st January, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

184. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two members of the States were deputed to reply to my representations. They said that it was universally known that Spain claimed to treat as hostile all ships trading south of the Tropic of Cancer; therefore, all Spanish ships or Spanish allies' ships captured by any other European nation beyond that line are fair prize When the "Veniera" and the "Ponte" were captured by the Dutch they were beyond the Tropic of Cancer, sailing with a Spanish warrant and under a Spanish Captain, Edward Lopez, a Portuguese. They were, therefore, fair prize, and no claim for damages could lie.

The Hague, 27th January, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

185. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All these last days have been devoted to fêtes, banquets, jousts, as is usual in England from St. Stephen's to Twelfth night.

1604.

The French Ambassador, in his master's name, has presented the King with nine magnificent riding-horses, and has summoned from France a riding-master, a fencing-master, and a dancing-master.

The courier from Florence has arrived. The Grand Duke approves the action of his Ambassador (Montecuccoli). He says that it has always been the etiquette for the last-arrived Ambassador to receive not to pay the first visit. Montecuccoli is now making his visits of *congé*. The Ambassador of Savoy left last Wednesday. He was invited to banquet the day before.

London, 28th January, 1603 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

186. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Constable of Castile (Duke of Frias) was not well received at first by the Archduke Albert, as he was suspected of intending to undertake the direction of the war; but, on his declaring that the negotiations for peace with England was his real commission, he was highly honoured. *They say he is bringing vast promises of money for the ministers and of a million of gold for the King himself, which he is to repay only when it suits him.* This and the great inclination there is for peace leave no doubt but that it will be concluded. All the same the English are fitting out fleets for the Portuguese Indies, a thing that the Spanish hate.

The Spanish Ambassador has approached the King on the subject of the place of congress, and has suggested that, as the Constable is old, the weather bad, and the journey troublesome, the King should send his Envoys to some neutral territory, suggesting Emden. The King replied, with warmth, that it was not he who was seeking peace, and if the Spanish wanted anything let them come for it.

The Proclamation summoning Parliament was published yesterday. It exhorts all constituencies to return members who are neither superstitious, that is suspect Catholics, nor turbulent, that is Puritans. The date is not fixed, as the plague has shown signs of increasing again, owing to the carelessness with which the bedding and clothes of persons who died of the disease, are being used by the living.

London, 29th January, 1603 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

187. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The time for the execution of Piers is approaching. He originally offered to Scaramelli three hundred crowns for his freedom, but hoping to be included in the general pardon he subsequently withdrew the offer, and spent the money. He has strong support in the Council, and many members have begged the King to pardon him; but his Majesty replied that he had passed his word, and that the whole question now lay with your Serenity's Ambassador. All the Councillors now turn to me, assuring me that I will greatly please the Council and the King himself, and will be acting in the best interests of the injured parties; for, apart from

1604.

the thousand crowns Piers now offers, he promises to disclose the names of many mariners, his companions in crime, from whom three or four thousand crowns at the least may be recovered, and that this will be much more valuable than the death of this man; the execution of six mariners in Southampton being sufficient for an example; and they urge a thousand other considerations besides. I report all this in order that your Serenity may instruct me. Piers will be reprieved for two months. The interested parties can consider what is best; I have replied that I cannot interfere directly in the matter. I must say that the interested parties show little care for their own interests. There is no one here authorized to act for them; and though I am in duty bound to protect the interests of Venetian subjects it is not becoming for me to appear in courts to ask for warrants. It is true Sig. Martin Federici holds a power of attorney for them, but on condition that he acts on their orders only. Those orders have never been received. I report all this in my own defence, for if the affair goes to ruin they will only have themselves to thank.

The conference on religious matters has been holding its sitings before the King. The debate has been acrimonious; one minister had the audacity to say that, if they were to obey all these prelates, they might as well obey the Pope at once. He was nearly put in prison for it. The King wound the matter up by a declaration, to which all have had to bow.

London, 4th February, 1603 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

188. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DÓGE and SENATE.

Ten days ago there arrived at Court Sir Anthony Standen and James le Sieur (*Suer*). The first comes from Italy, where he visited your Serenity and the Grand Duke, the other comes from Denmark and the German Princes. He is blamed because, without any orders from the King, he urged the German Princes to assist and protect the Duke de Bouillon, the contumacious subject of his Most Christian Majesty, and declared that the King would do the same. There is not evidence enough to justify the Council in proceeding against him, but he has not been able to see the King yet. Standen is charged with too open a display of his Catholic sympathies; he attended Mass and all other religious functions, without recollecting that he was the representative of a Prince of a different Creed. They further say that, when he was in Florence, he was in the closest relations with a Secretary of Cardinal Aldobrandino, and that he corresponded with the Jesuit Father, Robert Perons (*? Parsons*) in Rome, a man who is suspected of being ill-affected towards his Majesty. The Jesuits gave him a pamphlet to prove that sound government and reasons of state require that the King should embrace the Catholic faith. Standen is said to have pledged himself to secure the spread of the Jesuit Order in England, and has promised to report to the Jesuits in Rome all that takes place. In return his Beatitude has promised him the hat and large revenues, and he has already received a very considerable present. All this is based on information from a confidential servant of Sir

1604.

Anthony's. In order to obtain further proof of this the Government sent to Paris a friend of Standen's to await his arrival, and then to lodge with him, and to pretend that it all came about by chance. This was done and succeeded capitally, for, on his friend telling Standen that he was bound with all speed for Florence on business, Sir Anthony begged him to take charge of a packet of letters addressed to Rome, and to post them in Florence. The friend promised and took the letters. Next morning early he mounted his horse, but instead of going towards Italy he set out for England, and handed the letters to his Majesty in person, who, on perusing them, was fully convinced, and obtained all the information he desired. These letters served to convict Standen, who had at first denied everything. But on the production of the letters he confessed all, and declared that he was worthy of death. He was instantly consigned to the Tower, and he will not come out alive it is thought.

The Spanish Ambassador has replied to the Constable about the Commissioners to treat for peace in Emden.

Baron Buccleugh (*Baclu*) is preparing to take command of the two thousand troops he raised to assist the Dutch. Fresh troops also are being raised in Scotland.

The plague has greatly decreased this week, there were only fifteen deaths.

London, 5th February, 1603 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

189. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King lets it be understood by his intimates that he has discovered that the Spanish are every day winning over some English minister with gold; for quite recently the Marshal of England, who was thought to have French leanings, said that he did not despair of crowning his master King of France in the Bois de Vincennes, where the English used to live when they were masters of a large part of France.

The King has assigned a pension of one hundred crowns a month to the Duchess of Lennox, a French woman, whose husband, a Scot, has great weight with the King of England.*

Paris, 17th February, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

190. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The merchants of the late Levant Company used to levy the dues upon currants and muscats, and pay the Crown four thousand pounds sterling, that is, sixteen thousand ducats, a year, and also provided for the Ambassador in Constantinople. During the first months of this reign they renounced their patent, and dissolved the company, alleging that they were unable to pay the four thousand a year, and could only meet the charges of the Ambassador. But when they saw that the King merely proceeded to levy the four thousand pounds on his own account, without vouchsafing any

1604.

other reply, they met again and presented a petition to the Council, earnestly praying for the renewal and confirmation of their Charter upon the same terms as before. All the other merchants offer the liveliest opposition, declaring that the trade of Venice and of the Levant, which is so important, ought not to be restricted to a single company, depriving all outside it of their right to trade, to the great injury, not merely of the King's subjects, but of the King himself, for the more merchants there are in the kingdom the greater revenue will the customs naturally yield. After a long discussion the Council named a commission of six to make a thorough inquiry and to present a report, upon which the Council will arrive at that decision which shall seem most consonant with the public weal. I hear that the merchants, not of the company, are in hopes that, if the Charter is not renewed, the impost may be entirely abolished, provided a like concession is granted in Venice.*

Some ships that had voyaged to Barbary to sell or barter their cargoes, finding that country torn in pieces by the quarrels of the three sons of the King of Morocco, each of whom claims the throne, have had to return home with their cargoes unsold. This is likely to cause two heavy failures.

A fire recently broke out in a Doctor's College (*un collegio di Dottori*), which destroyed a number of public and private documents.

The Florentine Ambassador is leaving to-morrow. He is highly content with his reception. With him goes Lord Burleigh (*Baron Burlei*) † on a mission to Italy to report upon Sir Anthony Standen's proceedings. A document has been found upon Sir Anthony's person; it sets forth the reasons which should induce the King to embrace the Catholic faith. Standen at first declared that the Grand Duke had given it to him, but he subsequently admitted that this was a lie.

Twenty-seven deaths of plague this week in the city only; the returns for the suburbs are not yet to hand.

London, 18th February, 1603 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

191. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador has again approached the King on the selection of some neutral place abroad for the discussion of peace negotiations, supposing that Emden does not please his Majesty. He urges the great age of the Constable and the inconvenience of passing the sea in winter time. He concluded by saying it did not become so great a sovereign as the King of Spain to send to the King of England's Court to treat of such an important matter as peace. The King replied that, if the Constable had sufficient strength to reach Brussels, he could quite well come on to England; spring was coming on, and a month, more or less, made little difference; as to the dignity of the Spanish Crown, if only Spanish subjects were to be discussed, and no mention made of either the Archduke or of Flanders then he would gladly send to meet the King

* Cal. S. P. Dom., Feb. 20, 1604. p. 79. † Michael Balfour of Burleigh. Cal. S. P. Dom., Jan. 28, 1604.

1604.

of Spain's Envoys. The Ambassador pointed out that the affairs of the Archduke could not be distinguished from Spanish affairs. "Then," replied the King, "If the Archduke wants anything let him send here, for I will not send Commissioners to him."

The Ambassador then referred to the rumour that English ships were fitting out for the voyage to the Portuguese Indies, and said that this would suggest doubts as to the sincerity of the King's desire for peace. "No," said the King, "This is an obvious sign of good-will, for when the subjects of two sovereigns traffic freely with one another then we may say that a true peace exists; and if your master takes this in another sense I don't know what I am to think of his intentions." This answer alarmed the Ambassador, who now begins to doubt if it will be so easy to conclude peace.

The French Ambassador has, in his mistress's name, presented to the Queen of England jewels to the value of twelve or thirteen thousand crowns. In the King's name eight of the Council were offered one thousand crowns a piece. Some of them made a difficulty about accepting the gift, and the question was discussed in the presence of the King of England, who declared himself content that each should take all that was offered him.

London, 19th February, 1603 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

March 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

192. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I reported the Levant Company's petition to Council for the restoration of their Charter, and the appointment of a committee of six. The committee met serveral times, and heard both the merchants of the company and the others. It then reported in favour of the continuance of the company, and, in order to give some satisfaction to the outsiders, they have arranged that any who chooses may enter the company on payment of two hundred ducats. The company is to maintain the Ambassador and Consuls in those parts, and to meet these charges, which are said to amount to twenty thousand ducats a year, it is proposed to levy duties on goods. The nature of the new impost is not known yet, and they entertain hopes that none may be levied if your Serenity will make a like concession in Venice, Zante, Cephalonia, and Crete. Others wish to renew the Charter as it stood; the company to levy the tax and to pay four thousand sterling per annum to the Crown. Others again would like to see the tax levied in the King's name, as they hope that the Crown revenues would thus be greatly increased. I shall keep you informed of all that takes place. Meantime numbers of vessels are being got ready for the Levant, and although the recommendations of the committee have not been approved as yet by the Council no one has any doubt but that they will be.

Antonio Perez reached England at last; but, arrived at Dover, he was met by an order from the King, bidding him remain there till further commands. He several times sued humbly for an audience, but unsuccessfully. The Spanish Ambassador suspects that Perez has been sent over here by the French to upset his negotiations. After waiting some time Perez has gone back to France.

1604.

The King and Court are at Westminster, that is in the very City of London. They are pushing on the preparations for the solemn entry, which is fixed for the twenty-fifth. On the twenty-ninth Parliament meets. They say it will be long for there is much to decide.

The last week sixteen deaths of plague, and this week only twelve. This gives hope that the scourge will soon cease.

London, 4th March, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

March 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

193. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Constable has begun to discuss the question of the retirement of the Archduke and the Infanta. The Crown of Valencia is held out as a bait. The Infanta shows some indecision, but the Archduke is resolved not to move. In order to induce him to accept their proposals the Spanish are more dilatory than usual in sending supplies. Count Maurice must be in the field with sixteen thousand men and four thousand horse. Their Highnesses have sent Don Rodrigo Lasso into Spain to represent the risk there is of some disaster unless vigorous support is given at once. The Constable has sent Don Vlasco d'Aragona to tell the King that the Archduke is resolved not to move, and everything is going ill, owing to his incapacity for government. Don Vlasco is also to report that the King of England will not send Commissioners to negotiate for peace outside his own kingdom.

The Polish Ambassador has obtained leave for his master to raise eight thousand infantry and twenty ships if necessary.

The King has ordered the release of many ecclesiastics, who were prisoners, some of them for upwards of eighteen years; in a few days it is hoped that all will be at liberty. This inspires the Catholics with hope, and it is thought certain that the question of liberty of conscience will be debated in the coming Parliament. It would be a notable triumph; but heresy has struck such roots in this country that many hold it unlikely that liberty will be conceded.

Secretary Cecil has made strong representations to me on the subject of the five hundred ducats due to Paul Pinder.

London, 4th March, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

194. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

About the middle of last month there arrived in this port the English ship, "Little Phœnix," Captain, Robert Olet, from Venice with currants, and the English ship, "Greyhound," from Smyrna and Chios, with cotton, silk, &c., both bound for England. I am told that by night, secretly, currants were carried on board both ships illegally. As it is impossible on this open coast to employ force, I planned by a ruse to get the two Captains up to the castle, so that, while holding them as hostages, I might freely search their

1604.

a search revealed nothing amiss. The Captain of the "Greyhound," however, refused to come into my presence, alleging various excuses. I, therefore, sent my officer along with the Admiral to search the ship one day when the Captain was not on board. There, among the bales of cotton they found some currants, and immediately tried to unship the "Greyhound's" rudder, so as to arrest the ship. The crew, however, rose and drove my officer and the Admiral out of the vessel. They weighed anchor and drew out of range at once; and for six days they lay off the city with the signal for battle flying. As I had no force with which to punish this insolence I proceeded to proclaim, try, and sentence the Captain and a merchant, who had bought currants.

Zante, 8th March, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

195. ZACHARIA GABRIEL and AGUSTIN CANAL, Governors in Corfu, to the DOGE and SENATE.

About four months ago a Maltese privateer fell in with a Turkish *caramusale,* laden with corn. The privateers captured it, and putting twenty of their number on board they sailed as consorts, intending to carry their booty into Malta. A storm separated them, and on the third of this month the *caramusale* ran on to the shoals of Alestimo in this island. Just at that moment, in spite of the high sea that was running, a small English *berton* pursued the *caramusale* and overtook her. The English, under colour of helping her, went on board, and by a ruse they seized and bound the crew, and clapped them under hatches. They then threw their own cargo of planks and hoops into the sea, and filled their vessel full of the corn, etc., which formed the cargo of the *caramusale.* They then set sail, and the storm carried them down the channel and out into the open. The crew of the *caramusale* stayed there in their wrecked and derelict ship, while the people of Alestimo helped themselves to a certain amount of the remaining corn, until in a few hours she sank.

We have opened proceedings against the people of Alestimo, and have fed, clothed, and embarked the crew of the *caramusale* on a ship of Naples.

Corfu, 10th March, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

196. Deposition of Claude della Motte, of Paris, a soldier by profession, embarked on board a galley of the Grand Master of Malta, to sail on a privateering expedition under command of M. Sambier. Sailed for Alexandria in the Levant. Off Cyprus fell in with a Turk, laden with corn. Fought all day. The Turks abandoned the ship under cover of night. Found eight dead Turks on board. Our Commander put twenty of us on board, and we sailed for Malta. We were caught in strong south-westerly gale, and lost our rudder and sails. We parted company, and were driven on to the shoals of Cape Blanco eight days ago. A *berton* bore down on us, and cried to us to keep up our courage. Seven men got into one of her boats and came aboard us, and with fair words

1604.

they took us to the salt pans of Lestimo. There they dropped anchor, and made us do the same. Then they all came aboard, and ordered us below, on pretence of saving the ship. They took our clothes, arms, all that we had; and began to lade their ship with our corn, after unlading their own ship of its cargo of staves and hoops. They lay there a day and a night, and then sailed away towards Corfu with four Frenchmen out of the *caramusale*. After that ten or twelve boats, with many people on board, put out from Lestimo. We begged them for help, and they boarded us. When they saw that by reason of the holes in her the ship might sink they began to unlade the rest of the corn as fast as they could, and carried it off in their boats. When we saw that instead of helping us they were plundering us, we jumped into the boats as well, in order to save our lives, as the ship was in danger of going down; she would have done so had not the men cut her cables and let her drift to destruction on shore. We were taken to the salt pans, and the Captain locked us into a warehouse and gave us food and drink; and sent us on to Corfu by land.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

197. Depositions of Pier Andrée, of Avignon. Repeats the story told in the preceding depositions.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

198. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor of Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In spite of orders, forbidding the export of currants, both the English and the inhabitants continue to smuggle. There are twelve islanders waiting trial, although some severe sentences have already been passed. The other day I sent an English ship out of port, but she lay hard by till the inhabitants had smuggled a load of currants on board. The same day, towards evening, my customs officers found a boat with twenty-six sacks of currants lying at the door of a warehouse—most of these warehouses are very handy for smuggling. In the boat and about the warehouse were sixteen men all armed with halberts, swords, and other sorts of arms, who used force to prevent the officers from seizing the boat or entering the warehouse; this they could easily have done, but the Captain of the harquebuseers arriving on the spot, they were forced to yield, and the officers seized the boat, and closed and sealed the warehouse, inside which was another boat all ready laden with currants to go on board the ship. I have proclaimed, as criminals, two of these citizens, the names of the others I do not know yet. I shall proceed to punish them according to the law. Your Serenity will gather from this that I am quite unable to check this smuggling altogether. The reasons I have already explained, and will not repeat. Unless the supreme authority takes steps its orders will not be obeyed.

Zante, 10th March, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

1604.
March 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

199. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Just as the Catholics were beginning to hope for a satisfactory solution of the religious question, encouraged by the liberation of so many ecclesiastics, which they attributed to a good disposition on the part of the King and Council, a Proclamation was issued, ordering the Jesuits and priests to leave the kingdom by the 19th-29th of this month under pain of the laws already in force against them. Some think that this step is taken against the priests because in all recent conspiracies they have had a great share, and that the King will use rigour with ecclesiastics only, and will treat the lay Catholics gently. The tone of the Proclamation makes this clear; besides the King has remitted the recusancy fines, which were an insupportable burden, amounting to thirty per cent. of the income. Others think that the King and Council, knowing how many Catholics there are in the country, do not wish to drive both lay and ecclesiastics to desperation at one and the same moment, but that after the clergy have been expelled the laity will gradually be crushed.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is seventy-four years old, was last Sunday struck with apoplexy when preaching before the King, and last night he died, to the grief of all. It is generally thought that he was a Catholic at heart. He never would marry, and was always a bitter foe to the Puritans, the most pestilent sect in this kingdom. There is great competition for the see, which has an income of six thousand pounds a year. As yet it is thought that the Bishop of London or the Bishop of Winchester * will be translated.

The agent of the Archduke has hired a house for Count d'Aremberg, who is expected soon on peace negotiations.

An agent from Duke Charles, uncle of the King of Poland, is here.

This week sixteen deaths of plague.

London, 11th March, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

March 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

200. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Count Alfonso Montecuccoli have passed through. The former is on a mission to Venice and Florence to enquire into the conduct of Sir Anthony Standen.

The Spanish Ambassador in England has begged the King not to give shelter to Antonio Perez, and so he has returned to France.

The King of France has not only completed his payment of 450,000 *crowns to the States, that is* 300,000 *for his share, and* 150,000 *on behalf of the King of England, as agreed, but he has begun to pay next year's rate as well. He has, with the King of England's consent, already disbursed* 105,000, *for which he has drawn a receipt. The King of England has again urged absolute secrecy on this*

* Dr. Thomas Bilson.

1604.

matter. No one here knows anything about it but the King, Rosny, Villeroy, and Sillery. Will your Serenity order absolute secrecy in Venice?

Paris, 16th March, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

201. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday at about the hour of twenty, the King, Queen, Prince, Council, and Court left Westminster by river for the Tower. They were accompanied by a large number of boats, and on landing they could only climb the stairs with difficulty, owing to the crowd which had gathered to see their Majesties. There was bull-baiting and other sports. All the prisons in the Tower had been thrown open, and the prisoners set free, but a few days earlier the four conspirators, whose lives had been spared by the King's clemency, were moved to another prison. The same was done to Sir Anthony Standen, who had been sent to the Tower on his return from Italy.

On Tuesday the King created two Earls; one the Treasurer, who became the Earl of Dorset, and the other, Lord Henry Howard, created Earl of Northampton. Thirty knights of various conditions were also created. The City looked for the creation of twelve Barons and one Duke; the latter is exceedingly desired, for there is no English Duke, though there is one Scottish, Lennox, and the English cannot bear to see the first rank held by one of that nation. The King, however, declined to do any more, though they hope to secure this favour from him before Parliament, which is to meet on Monday, is dissolved. Wednesday was spent in the usual sports. Yesterday morning, at eleven o'clock, the King left the Tower. He was preceded by all the magistrates of the City, the Court functionaries, the clergy, Bishops and Archbishops, Earls, Marquises, Barons and knights, superbly apparelled and clad in silk of gold, with pearl embroideries; a right royal show. The Prince was on horseback, ten paces ahead of the King, who rode under a canopy borne over his head by four-and-twenty gentlemen, splendidly dressed, eight of whom took it turn and turn about. The Queen followed twenty paces behind; she was seated on a royal throne, drawn by two white mules (*chinee*); in a richly furnished carriage behind her Majesty came the Lady Arabella, with certain maids of honour in attendance; behind her again about seventy ladies on horseback, all splendidly dressed. In this order the procession moved from the Tower to Westminster, a distance of about three miles all through the City. There were eight triumphal arches; six raised by the citizens of London, one by the Dutch, and one by the Italians, which certainly came first, both for the excellence of its design and for the painting which adorned it. This was his Majesty's entry, which should have been made at the time of his succession, but which was put off till now because of the plague.

None of the Ambassadors were present at any of these festivities, owing to the quarrel for precedence between France and Spain. The King has declined as yet to pronounce on the point, nor will he accept the usage of other Courts, for he does not admit that they

1604.

have any weight with him. He resolved to invite no one, though he gave a house apiece to France, Spain, and myself, whence each of us had an excellent view of all that took place.

Fifteen deaths last week from plague; only ten this; a good sign when we remember the crowds gathered to see the show.

London, 26th March, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

202. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Envoy of the King of Poland's uncle has not been received as yet by the King. It is thought that he will not be admitted, as the King very openly declares that he does not approve of rebellious subjects.

His Majesty has recently sent a gentleman of his chamber, called Hay (*Hei*), to condole with the King of France on the death of his sister, the Duchess de Bar.

The Spanish Ambassador has returned no reply from the King of Spain on the subject of the peace negotiations. In conversation he has suggested building a house on the very confines of France and Flanders, and of using a round table to surmount the difficulties of precedence. The King stands firm in his resolution to send no Commissioners over seas. It is thought the Constable will take no steps till he has an answer from Spain. He also wishes to see how the siege of Ostend will terminate; they declare the city is at its last. They say they have found out an easy way to make a harbour capable of sheltering a large number of ships, and this will enable them to put a bridle on the English in these waters. But there is a rumour that Ostend is not as badly off as the Spanish affirm, and that it has recently been revictualled.

London, 26th March, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

203. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England has sent a gentleman (Hay) of his bed-chamber, a Scot and prime favourite, under pretext of condoling for the death of Madame, but really to tell the King that his master has always refused to send Commissioners to negotiate for peace outside England, and to promise that, if the matter comes to a head, the King of England will send the terms of the treaty here before taking a final step. This Envoy has been received to-day, so I do not know yet what answer he has obtained. All this in the strictest confidence.

Paris, 30th March, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

204. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Monday last, the 29th, Parliament was opened. The King went in state. There were many fine liveries, different from those

1604.

worn at the entry. The King and Prince wore mantles of crimson velvet, lined with ermine. Parliament is composed of three orders, the nobility, which is restricted to those bearing titles such as Earls, Marquises, Barons, and the clergy—these two orders form the Upper Chamber, as it is called, which numbers about one hundred and thirty persons; the third order is that of the citizens or burgesses, who form the Lower Chamber. It numbers about five hundred and fifty persons; each city, town, or big village sending two members. Every member has the right to move the repeal, amendment or passing of laws. The resolutions of the Lower Chamber are then carried by a special officer to the Upper Chamber, where they receive confirmation, and are submitted for approval by the Crown.

His Majesty made a long speech on opening Parliament, so long that it has not been printed yet. He exhorted everyone to work together for the public weal. As his Majesty still declines to decide on the question of precedence between France and Spain the Ambassadors were not invited to the ceremony, but we were each furnished with a house whence to view the procession. On Saturday, the third, Accession Day, there were jousts. Three boxes were erected for the Ambassadors, just opposite the Royal stand, and hung with tapestries. These boxes were touching one another, but divided by wooden partitions, so that from one you could not see what was taking place in the next. The right-hand box was assigned to the French Ambassador, the second to me, and the third to the Spanish Ambassador. This has given rise to endless discussion. Some say that, as France was placed on the right hand, his was the post of honour, others that, as the Spanish box had the best view, it was the place of honour. There is no doubt but that this was done on purpose to allow each to claim the precedence. But all these disputes are breeding bad blood among the Ambassadors, and the fruit is beginning to show; for they no longer visit, speak, or salute, and each does his best to avoid the other.

The Catholics have petitioned for liberty of conscience, and promise allegiance and abstention from plots against the King's life. His Majesty has returned no answer, but the tone of his speech at the opening of Parliament showed a disposition very favourable to the Catholics, and it is a fact that, in spite of the proclamation, very few priests have left the kingdom, and no great diligence is used towards their expulsion; nay, even those who are actually in prison and could easily be expelled have not been moved yet; and the Catholics begin to entertain lively hopes.

Last week seventeen, this week sixteen deaths from plague. The increase is ascribed to the crowds that have arrived for these festivities.

London, 7th April, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

205. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador has recently informed his Majesty that, as during the whole of his residence in England, the King has shown a firm resolve not to send Commissioners over sea, the

1604.

Constable has been urged to come to England along with Count d'Aremberg, who will act for the Archduke. The Constable has expressed his willingness, and he is expected shortly along with d'Aremberg. The King awaits him eagerly; and both his Majesty and his ministers are anxious for peace; a proof of this disposition is afforded by the fact that orders have now been issued, though hitherto always refused, that none of the English fleet, which is ready to sail for the West Indies, shall touch any places under Spanish rule. A copy of this order has been given to the Spanish Ambassador. The Ambassador, however, is not entirely satisfied, for he desired absolutely prohibition of the whole navigation to those parts.

The Kings of France used formerly to have a Scottish company of men-at-arms, under the command of the Scottish King's eldest son, named the Duke of Albany, a district of Scotland. It does not seem desirable now that he should retain that command, and so they have agreed to bestow it on his younger brother, who will take the title of Duke of Albany. His lieutenant is to be the Duke of Lennox, who will take the opportunity of being in Scotland for the meeting of Parliament, to raise the company of one hundred men and to bring them to France.

Every day it becomes more and more apparent that between the Lords and Commons there is great friction and ill feeling. It has shown itself on various occasions, but more especially in the case where the county of Buckingham has refused to return Sir John Fortescue (*Foschini*),* who is a member of the Privy Council, and has elected in his stead a man of small or rather of low condition.† This has caused an altercation and the exchange of threats between certain members of the Privy Council and the burgesses. The King is greatly disturbed, for he desires nothing so much as concord, with a view to the union of England and Scotland, a favourite scheme of his, but one which will meet with many difficulties, as he well knows, and, therefore, he does all he can to secure unanimity. In order to win over Parliament the King has divested himself of the right to nominate an undertaker, a right which Elizabeth had usurped in defiance of the laws of the Realm. It is an office of the highest importance, for it is he who lays all matters before the House, and it is his duty to carry up the bills from the Lower to the Upper Chamber. I have no doubt the King's object is to facilitate the union, but some say he wishes to raise subsidies. He is resolved not to apply to Parliament for money without being sure of getting it.

Very little is going on just now in Parliament. It will be adjourned for Easter in four or six days. The King is on the point of leaving London on a hunting expedition forty miles away from here. He is only delayed by his desire to smooth away the disagreement between the two Houses. His Majesty is inclined to be favourable to the Lords, but the Commons show great firmness in standing by their privilege.

London, 8th April, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

1604.
April 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

206. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Scottish gentleman (Hay) sent here by the King of England has been highly favoured, and has dined twice with the King, and been out hunting with him. *At his last audience, in his master's name, he recommended to the King the Calvinists. This disgusted his Majesty; and the Envoy's present was reduced to a jewel worth six hundred crowns. This mission has given his Majesty much anxiety, as the German Princes threaten to conclude a league with England. The King of England is credited with intending to call both Calvinists and Puritans by the name of Protestant.*

Paris, 13th April, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

207. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The quarrel between the Lower House and the Privy Council over the case of the county of Buckingham and the exclusion of Sir John Fortescue is more active than ever. Neither the authority nor the entreaties of the King were of any avail, and he has gone to the chase. The Council is very ill-pleased; and his Majesty has shown himself clearly of their part, for he has used contemptuous language of Sir John's opponent, calling him a "Bankrupt, outlaw" (*forfante, fallito*),* and threatening to clap him in the Tower. The Council hoped that with the help of the royal authority the affair would be concluded as they desired; for they could not believe that the Commons, the county of Buckingham, or the member would venture to continue long in their pertinacity, when they saw the King's obvious displeasure. Some members of Parliament, desiring to accommodate the affair, wrote to the county of Buckingham, urging it to hold a fresh election; but at that election Sir John polled very few votes, while his opponent polled one hundred and fifty more than on the previous election, and the county has announced its resolve to maintain his cause to the death, as a just cause and one based upon the ancient privileges of the Realm. The affair is in such a state that no one can guess how it will end. The King's return is awaited. I am informed that he regrets the extremity to which the affair has been pushed, for he sees that he must either give or receive considerable damage.

The Spanish Ambassador has begged the King to grant the use of Somerset House for the Constable. It is the most splendid house in London, after the Royal palace. Somerset House, by ancient usage, belongs to the Queen, and so his Majesty replied laughing, "The Ambassador must ask my wife, who is the mistress." The Ambassador did so, and the Queen readily assented. The King is to bear the charges of the Constable and his suite. This disturbs the French faction, for his Majesty did not show such honours to M. de Rosny, and because this is taken as an indication of good-will towards Spain.

* James' Proclamation of January 11, addressed to the constituencies, ordered them to elect neither "bankrupts" nor "outlaws." Cal. S. P. Dom. January 11, 1604. The Court of Chancery declared Sir Francis Goodwin's election void on the grounds that he was an outlaw. Gardiner, i. 197.

1604.

I enclose the King's speech at the opening of Parliament. This week seventeen deaths from plague.

London, 15th April, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

208. Instructions to the AMBASSADOR in England.

We look for good results from the punishment inflicted on certain English corsairs, from the favourable disposition of his Majesty, and from the promised despatch of a man-of-war to suppress piracy inside Gibraltar.

But meanwhile complaints continue. You are, therefore, to recall to his Majesty's mind the promise he has made, and to press for the deposit of sufficient caution money by all ships sailing from England. You will also ask that a King's officer shall sail with each ship; you will suggest this as of yourself. We enclose letters from the Governor of Zante in proof of the injury; they explain the case of the "Phœnix" and the "Greyhound."

Ayes 168.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 2.

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

209. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 5th of this month there arrived in this port the English ship, the "Pearl," Captain Ezechiel Cripps (*Chrieps*), from Constantinople. The owner and supercargo came up, as usual, to the castle to report. I told them that, if they wished to stay in harbour, they would have to give me security that they would not take in currants, and that they would not sail until they had been searched. They said they had no business to do here, and that as soon as they had landed some passengers they would sail. I said I would give them the whole day, but that they must sail before night; and with that they went down to the harbour. At sundown I learned that they were still lying in port and making no signs of sailing, so I sent my officer down to tell them to clear out at once, or I would have to take other steps. They demanded a written statement of the reasons for their expulsion. On this impertinent and insolent answer, and clearly seeing that they meant to stay here and carry out some secret design, I ordered a piece of artillery to be trained on them, and instructed the magnificent Alvise Marcello, who was lying in harbour with his galley, to exact compliance with my orders, but not to expose his ship or crew to any risk. He immediately trained his guns on the Englishman, and then a shot was fired first from the castle and then from the galley. Neither struck the "Pearl," and she at once weighed anchor and sailed away to Glarentza, where she lay for several days.

This will let your Serenity see the insolent behaviour of English ships in your harbours; they being resolved to ignore all orders, and to do what they like. If the illustrious Signor Giacomo Giustinian, Provveditore of the galleys, would scour these waters matters would

1604.

go better, and this insolent race would either keep away or would conform to the regulations.

Zante, 21st April, 1604, O.S.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

210. LUNARDO ZORZI, Podestà in Cittanuova, Istria, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The doings of the English and such people in the very bosom of your Serenity have reached my ears and taught me their perfidy. It is, therefore, possible that what took place a few days ago was not, as I first fancied, the result of accident or a drunken frolic, which I need not report; in any circumstances I now consider it advisable to send in a detailed account.

At the end of last month there sailed into the port of Quieto, which is under this jurisdiction, an English ship hailing from Venice, as the Commander, who is called Captain Giovanni Bianchini (John King), informed me. He is a fine looking man, about thirty years old. He and some of his crew landed and came to the Palace. They displayed every sign of respect and of courtesy, and saluted several times with fanfare of trumpets and tuck of drum, until at last I was induced to offer them some slight refreshment, as is the custom of the country. They then sent to say they would like to come upstairs to pay their respects to me in person. They were, accordingly, all of them introduced, and after the exchange of compliments the Captain invited me to visit his ship, as she was the most beautiful ship of her kind that ever was built. I refused several times and was quite determined not to satisfy him, but the Father of the preaching Friars and other principal people of the place, who were present, being bitten with curiosity to see something new and beautiful, as they were promised, persuaded me, and I gave my word that I would come. The next day I and the Friar, a Canon, a Judge, some citizens, my chief officer, and the son of the Chancellor, embarked in a boat and went on board. While we were being taken round the ship, first to one place, then to another, on the plea of showing us the best they had, sail was set,—the anchors had already been weighed,—under the colour of showing how well she could cruise about; but, as for a long while we kept on one course, I began to be suspicious, to be frightened, to be terror-struck at the prospect of assassination. I turned my whole heart to God, and made urgent signs to go back with the ship, not in the boat which was being towed astern. As we all went towards the companion (*barchizo*) to leave the ship they stopped us at first in joke, declaring that they meant to carry us off to England, then they changed their tone and said the same in earnest, all giving us to understand that this was their revenge for having been imprisoned on a charge of smuggling, and to show us what they could and would do. But after earnest entreaties by us all, and inspired by the Holy Ghost, they agreed to let us go. We had not got far when they fired a gun with a great big ball, which struck the water near the boat, and shortly after

1604.

another gun also loaded. The ball passed over us without touching us, thanks be to God, and the ship went on her way.

Citta Nuova, 22nd April, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

211. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Certain Greeks report that a pirate, a Frenchman, called Vinciguerra, has captured some English privateers. The Frenchman fitted out his ship at Malta; she has two-hundred-and-twenty men and thirty-six guns.

Zante, 27th April, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

212. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Relates the episode of Tes, the ciphering Secretary of M. de Villeroy, who for four years had been telling the King's secrets to Spain. Villeroy suspected.

Paris, 27th April, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

213. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Difficulties have arisen about the issue of the Charter to the Levant Company. They have been raised by those who desire to enter the company, and who, in accordance with the recent order, are called upon to pay fifty pounds sterling, that is, two hundred crowns, as entrance fee. They say that this is unjust, as the funds thus raised would go to enrich the old company, for the number who wish to enter is very great. They offer to contribute to the ordinary and extraordinary expenses. The old company proposes, however, to appropriate the entrance money to the extinction of its debts, and so it puts forth all its strength to uphold the present order. The others say that the old debts should be paid by the old company out of its gains and not out of the pockets of the new members. The negotiations are at a standstill, although many have attempted in vain to end the deadlock. Meantime the new impost is not levied, and it is generally held for certain that it will be entirely abolished, in the hope of a similar concession from your Serenity. I am told that the Ambassador, who will leave England in fifteen days to take up his residence in Venice, will be commissioned to deal with this matter. Their hopes are based on the decree of the Senate, 14th August, 1586, where it is expressly stated that the impost is to be removed at Venice if it is removed in England.

A few days ago Henry Constable was sent to the Tower on account of some intercepted letters, which he had written to the Papal Nuncio in France (Del Buffalo), in which he said that he held it for certain that the King had no religion at all, and that everything he did was governed by political expediency. The members of the

1604.

Council are of a disposition to follow his Majesty in matters of religion; and so the King's will is the sole cause of all that may occur.

The Spanish Ambassador has again announced the arrival of the Constable, which, however, has been put off for a week or two; the feeble health of the Constable is pleaded as excuse for the delay.

Count d'Aremberg has got the gout again. It is conjectured, however, that the Spanish may be anxious to capture Ostend first, which would enormously enhance their prestige in treating for peace. The Constable will ask for the restitution of the cautionary cities, Flushing and Brill, and will, in return, pay the sum due from the Dutch to the English; but no one believes that the King will consent.

Twenty deaths from plague last week; the returns for this week are not yet to hand. They are issued on Thursdays only, and as the courier has changed his day from Thursday to Wednesday I cannot furnish this week's list.

London, 28th April, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

214. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King came back from the chase on Maunday-Thursday, more in compliance with the prayers of the Council than from any particular wish of his own. All Friday was spent in a discussion between the Privy Council and a committee of the Commons (*alcuni deputati del Parlamento*), which was held in his Majesty's presence, the subject being the Buckinghamshire election. On Saturday the King ordered the county to proceed to the election of another member, as neither Fortescue nor his opponent were members for the county. He hoped in this way to remove all occasion for further scandals, as blood was growing warm on both sides. This settlement was with difficulty acepted by the Commons, who held that the King was therein committing a breach of privilege of the counties, which had always enjoyed full liberty of election, and of Parliament as well, for no case had ever occurred in which a member, elected by a county and admitted to the House, had been expelled without any legitimate reason (*questo accommodamento fu acettato con qualche difficoltà da quelli del Parlamento, poichè pareva a loro che per questa via havesse il Rè interrotto in qualche parte li antichi privilegii delle provincie, le quali hanno havuto sempre la elettione libera, et del parlamento ancora, non havendosi mai più veduto, che una persona eletta da una provincia et ricevuto nel parlamento, sia, senza alcuna causa legittima et evidente, stata dismessa*). However, when they saw that the Council, in spite of all its weight with the King, was unable to carry Fortescue, they finally calmed down. A writ has issued for a fresh election in Buckinghamshire, and it is hoped that it will take place at once.*

* See Gardiner, i. 169, 170. Molin's account is substantially correct.

1604.

Nothing of moment has taken place in Parliament as yet; they have merely declared the succession of this King and the right of his legitimate heirs to the throne; and reinstated some Barons and Earls in their titles and possessions, notably the Earl of Arundel, son of the eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, the son of the Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Southampton.

On Monday the question of the union of England and Scotland came up. The King greatly desires it, but various difficulties arise; first, the Scottish claim the capacity to hold all honours and dignities, which the English hold; the English are willing to agree, but only on condition that the four great offices of Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, and Lord Chamberlain shall always be held by the English, and that no Scotsman may be appointed to any English office till the expiry of twelve years; during which period they hope to win the affection of the King to themselves, which now is chiefly bestowed upon his fellow-countrymen. The second difficulty is that the English insist that Scottish Peers shall not rank in England, while the Scots claim equal rank for their peerage with that of England, and that seniority of patent alone shall count. The third difficulty is that the English claim that Scotland shall be taxed as England is taxed. In Scotland there used to be no direct taxes, the country being so poor, and everyone being bound to military service at his own charges instead, but now that the Crowns are united the fear of war disappears, and the burden of military service, which was considerable, is removed. and so, say the English, the Scottish ought not to decline to contribute towards the burdens of England, whose dignities and immunities they are going to share. On the other hand the Scottish plead their poverty, and declare that they cannot pay a penny more than their present charges. These points are sustained and argued by both sides with such heat that the King doubts whether he will be able to surmount the difficulties. They say Parliament is to be prorogued in four or six days, till Michaelmas in September.*

London, 28th April, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

215. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Villeroy's Secretary (Tes), who drowned himself when flying from the King's officers, has been embalmed, and is to be tried as though he were alive. He kept the Spanish informed of the contents of M. de Rosny's first letters from England. They were taken to M. de Villeroy's house, but cannot now be found. M. de Villeroy is in great anxiety, and declares he would pay any sum so as to have the secretary alive, that he might establish his innocence. The King treats him with his usual confidence.

The King is chiefly anxious about letters he had from the States, declaring how hard pressed they were.

Paris, 11th May, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* A commission of twenty-eight drawn equally from both Houses, was appointed to confer with twenty-eight Scots and to report. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1604, pp. 97-105.

1604.

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

216. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Monday week, the 3rd of this month, but April 23rd old style, on St. George's Day, a chapter of the Garter was held. The King, the Prince, and the knights, to the number of eighteen, all in their robes, went to chapel, where prayers were said in the vulgar tongue, in place of the Mass which used to be celebrated according to ancient usage; each knight made his offering of gold and silver. Then the procession was formed, and they all entered a great hall, where the banquet took place. His Majesty and the Prince sat at one table, the rest of the knights at another. The Ambassadors used to be invited, but owing to the question of precedence between France and Spain, his Majesty issued no invitation, he merely gave the Ambassadors a convenient place whence to view the ceremony, and afterwards caused dinner to be served to each of us in separate rooms. But as the banquet lasted a long time, as is usual in this country, an innovation was made; for no sooner had the Ambassadors finished their dinner than they were summoned, one by one, into the royal presence. France was called first. He entered the hall and approached his Majesty's table; there he stood paying compliments and offering congratulations for the space of about half a quarter of an hour (*per il spatio di mezzo quarto d'hora*), and then went to the Prince, did the same, and took his leave. The Spanish Ambassador was then called; as he entered by the door he met the French Ambassador, who was coming out, and there being a great crowd about, their suites charged each other violently, partly because they could not help it, partly because they wanted to; for one wished to leave the Chamber, the other to enter it, and neither wished to seem to yield. The Ambassadors passed close by each other without saluting. All this has given rise to much gossip about insults, and hands on hilts, and high words, which is all false. The Spanish Ambassador went through the same ceremony as the French, then I followed, then the Ambassador of the Duke of Neuberg * (*Neuburgh*) and the Ambassador of Wirtemberg; the latter was charged to return thanks for the Garter.

Presents of horses, mules, &c., for the King from the Grand Duke, from Wirtemberg, and from M. de Caron in the name of the States.

The English merchants interested in Turkey are very anxious about the burning of the galleys off Algiers; they fear it was done by an Englishman, though at the instance of the Grand Duke, and that the Turk may make reprisals on English property. They are doing their best to secure the despatch of a courier express with letters from the King and presents. Meantime they have stopped two ships laden for Constantinople, and think of giving them orders to sail straight to Venice without touching any part of Turkish dominions.

Two days ago there was arrested, in a house, a priest almost robed to say Mass; his congregation also was all arrested, but subsequently

* Erected into a Sovereign Duchy at the beginning of the 16th century in favour of

1604.

liberated. The priest was condemned to death a few days later, but the King pardoned him.

London, 11th May, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Original despatch, Venetian Archives.

217. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador went to his Majesty a few days ago to say that the Constable writes that he is so ill and his malady will take so long to cure that he cannot say when he will be able to cross the sea. As the conference cannot be put off much longer it is suggested that d'Aremberg, Richardot, and other Councillors should conduct the negotiations. The Constable offers to send his powers by the hands of the Envoys; and begs the King to send his ships to convey them as soon as possible. The King and his ministers are not only surprised, but displeased and suspicious as well. The plea of health is held to be a mere excuse. The King was highly pleased at the prospect of receiving the Constable, and had already gone to great charges in preparing a lodging, but now they feel that they are being trifled with and openly show resentment. The Spanish Ambassador, aware of this, now declares that the Constable will make every effort to come, but that it is impossible to defer negotiations any longer. The Ambassador has further begged the King to urge the States to send an Envoy here during the negotiations, with a view to concluding peace. The King answered that last year, at the instance of Count d'Aremberg, he had written in this sense to Holland, and that in reply the States declared that they could take no steps as long as Count Maurice was still in the field. Subsequently they sent answer that they would only treat on the basis of an independent state, and declined discussion of any other attitude; and in face of such an answer the King thought it useless to renew the proposal. In Parliament nothing is being decided; they debate continually. His Majesty grows daily more and more eager for the union, but every day fresh and unsurmountable difficulties arise, so that no one believes that the King can possibly accomplish his intent. He does not cease to labour, argue, plead, but all, as yet, in vain; for in truth these two nations nourish an inextinguishable hate for each other.* The King thought that the concession of full liberty to the constituencies to choose their own members, and his abstention from the methods of his predecessors ought to have disposed his subjects to meet his wishes. But it is obvious now that the policy was a mistaken one, for the Parliament is full of seditious subjects, turbulent and bold, who talk freely and loudly about the independence and the authority of Parliament in virtue of its ancient privileges, which have fallen into disuse, but may be revived, and this will prove a diminution and abasement of the royal prerogative.

The week before last ten, in the last, nineteen deaths from plague. Alarm is felt at the approach of the warm season.

London, 12th May, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

* On April 15th the King ordered Popham to apprehend certain "people of the damned crew of swaggerers who seek to create disturbances against

1604.
May 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

218. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that an English corsair has brought a prize into Modon. He was chased right up to the castle walls by the Admiral. The Admiral demanded from the Turkish commander the prize and also the pirate. But the Turk replied that he could do nothing without orders from the Sanjak of the Morea.

Zante, 17th May, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

May 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

219. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Four westerlings attacked two English privateers. They fought for half a day. One of the English ships was boarded by seventy men, when the crew set fire to the ship and the powder magazine, and burned and blew them all into the sea. The other Englishman went to the bottom, riddled with shot, and all her crew were killed as they struggled in the water.

Zante, 18th May, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

May 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

220. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After long efforts to persuade Parliament to carry out the union, and finding that fresh and insurmountable obstacles are constantly arising, the King has limited his request to the demand for a commission of Scottish and English to discover the way to overcome the difficulties. This proposal, which was introduced in the lower House, was rejected in terms which were far from cautious, and showed but little respect for the royal power and authority. This is a proof that the real opposition lies in Parliament, not in the nature of the proposal itself. When the King heard what had taken place he was greatly incensed, and taking a pen he, with his own hand, wrote a somewhat sharp letter to the Commons, a copy of which I enclose. The King ordered the letter to be read at a sitting of the House, and that a copy be given to any who might ask for it. When the letter had been read the House hesitated for a while, but after debate they assented to the appointment of the Commissioners. They will number about thirty, and four-fifths are necessary to a quorum. If the Scottish are to elect a like number and in the same way, heaven only knows when they will meet. The King is very anxious, for at first he thought the opposition was confined to the lower House, but he finds now that the upper House shares the feeling, and though they do not openly display their sentiments they privately urge the Commons to stand firm, and furnish them with arguments. The Commissioners will soon be named, and then Parliament will be adjourned till Michaelmas.

Count d'Aremberg and the other Envoys have landed at Dover. They are expected here to-morrow or the day after. The King and Council are very angry at what that Englishman has done in Bar-

1604.

bary, at the instance of the Grand Duke. They are afraid of complications with the Turk; and an Envoy is ready to start for Constantinople. They merely wait further particulars. The King has written to the Grand Duke to complain.

The French Ambassador, on the occasion of his daughter's baptism, to whom the Queen stood sponsor, gave a breakfast, to which he invited the Ambassador of Spain, and thus a reconciliation took place.

I have received your despatches of the 17th April, enclosing the Governor of Zante's letter. I have asked for audience, and am to be received on Friday.

Last week twenty deaths from plague. They fear that this week the number will be much greater.

London, 19th May, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

221. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The audience I ought to have had on Friday was put off till yesterday. I informed his Majesty that I was commanded to call his attention to acts of extreme insolence committed by English sailors; that the Senate could easily have found a way to punish and suppress; but that they did not wish to take any step which might possibly throw a doubt on the affection which they feel towards his Majesty; that they thought it better to report the matter to his Majesty, in the confident hope that he would duly punish the culprits, and order the indemnification of the sufferers.

I then detailed the facts of the attack made by the sailors of the "Greyhound" (*Levriera*) on the Governor of Zante's officers, who were searching for contraband, and their expulsion; and also how the "Greyhound" drew out to sea and lay for six days in sight of the town with the signal for battle flying. I added that Captain Bower (?) (*Bour*) in April, of 93, seized the *marciliana*, "Costantina," and carried her into Modon, where he sold the cargo of wood and grain, which was the property of your Serenity. He tried to sell the ship too, but the Cadi, though a Turk, had more respect for the Ensign of St. Mark than the scoundrel Englishman, and took the ship into his own keeping. The King listened with great attention, and showed his displeasure at such acts; he said that this was the outcome of the war, during which they had issued more letters of marque than, perhaps, was justified. He promised exemplary punishment if the culprits came into his hands, and told me to inform the chief Secretary, Cecil. I took the occasion to mention my own private loss, which I suffered through the robbery of my effects, on their way from Venice to England. After great difficulty I succeeded in capturing two of the culprits, but law here is very different from that in other countries, and, I think, not quite reasonable, for here, if you proceed against the person of a thief you may not proceed against his property and *vice versa*. I told his Majesty that I thought such a law too favourable to robbers and something like an invitation to become such, for they have only to restore the stolen goods or a part of it to save their lives. "Quite true," said the King. "They are barbarous laws, unworthy of a

1604.

civilized people and contrary to the *jus gentium*; but what can I do? I found them in force when I came to the throne." I replied, "Sire, my case is very different from that of others; for it is a case not of merchants and merchandize, but of the Envoy of a great and friendly state, and of his private property." The King told me to bring this matter, too, before Cecil, who would see to it that I received every satisfaction. All the same I have very little hope, for the two prisoners are poor wretches with no property, and if they were hung that would not cover me for my loss. All ships that sail with letters patent pay caution money of three or four thousand crowns, but that is of no use when they can rob to the value of a hundred thousand. I will try to secure that the caution money be raised.

London, 26th May, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

222. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the discovery of Tes' treachery the King has been in consultation as to whether he had not better declare war on Spain. M. de Rosny recommends peace, Villeroy war.

Paris, 26th May, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

223. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Turkey merchants have finally resolved to despatch their ships, but with orders to inform themselves as to the state of affairs in Barbary before landing there; if the attitude is hostile to the English they are to go on to Constantinople. The Secretary of the English Ambasador in Constantinople goes with them. He had been sent to England for credentials from the new King. They have good hopes of all success, relying in part on the present; in part on the unsettled state of Turkey.

The Scottish Parliament has met. It differs from the English Parliament in this, that in the latter all members take part in debates, in the former they select among themselves a committee of thirty or forty for dealing with all public affairs. On the election of this committee news was brought that the English were raising difficulties about the union. This roused disgust and anger in the breasts of the Scottish. The whole Parliament met again, and charged the committee to listen to no proposals whatever regarding the union. The Scottish pretend that the English should sue for union, and should beg to be accepted by the Scottish.

Count d'Aremberg and the other Commissioners arrived a week ago, the 19th. Among them is Alexander Roveda, arrived from Milan at the instance of the Constable. He lodges with the Spanish Ambassadors. These two are to represent the King of Spain, while d'Aremberg, Richardot, and the Grand Audientiary (Louis Vereiken) are to represent the Archduke. They have been received in

1604.

audience to present credentials; on Saturday the Court goes to Greenwich, and in July the Royal progresses will begin.

Deaths from plague, twenty last week in London.

London, 26th May, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

224. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral is still off Modon, in the hope of recovering the *marciliana*, "Vidala," which the English pirate ran into that port. I wrote to the Sanjak of the Morea, demanding restitution of the ship and the cargo. He replied he would willingly give me all that was Venetian, but that he was informed there were Spanish on board, and these he meant to keep as enemies of the Porte.

Zante, 29th May, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

June 2. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

225. Instructions to the AMBASSADOR in England.

Complains that last month several westerlings were lying in the port of Malamocco; among them the Englishmen, the "White Horse" and the "Plymouth" (*Plemua*). The crews quarrelled with one of our ships, ran up the sign of battle, and ran out their guns. We imprisoned the English for a few days. You are to explain the case, so that they may not misrepresent it.

You are also to complain of a certain Englishman, Giovanni Bianchini, who insulted the Governor of Cittanuova.

Ayes 139.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 5.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

226. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral arrived in port to-day. He had in tow the *marciliana*, "Vidala," which had been captured by an English pirate. It was given back upon the orders of the Sanjak of the Morea. The English pirate has a very small ship, but very heavily armed. The crew is composed of English, Turks, Moors, Sclaves, and a Maltese, who is the pilot. The Captain is called Vespasian Saier, an Englishman.

Zante, 6th June, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

227. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Parliament has chosen the Commissioners for the union. The number is 44, thirty from the lower and fourteen from the upper House. The Scottish Parliament has not named its Commissioners yet. The King urges them on, but they show great reluctance.

1604.

on account of the insults they say they have received from the English. They refused to allow the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar to sit, declaring that, though they were Scotsmen, yet having been appointed of the English Privy Council, they had no right to a share in the debates of the Scottish Parliament, for they might report to the English Privy Council, with great injury to Scotland; they gave way, however, and news that Commissioners have been appointed is expected hourly.

Count Maurice has been at Sluys; he has mounted a battery of sixty guns, and hopes to capture the place. The Marquis Spinola is active under Ostend. He has recently captured the bulwark, known as the Porcupine (*porcospin*). There is heavy betting that the Dutch will capture Sluys before the Spanish get Ostend.

The King goes to Greenwich to-morrow; the Queen follows in a few days. The Court stays on here. The plague is increasing; in the last two weeks there were twenty-four deaths in the first, and thirty-four in the second. A further rise is expected, and everyone is beginning to look out for a house in the country.

I have several times asked when I could see Cecil; he has always begged me to have patience, as what with Parliament sitting and the negotiations for the union on hand he has not time to breathe; and I can well believe it, for everything is entrusted to his care.

London, 8th June, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

228. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

An English Catholic, servant of the late Queen of Scots, has been made prisoner for writing loosely about this Crown.

Paris, 9th June, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

229. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambasador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Spanish Ambassador was assured that the Constable was not coming to England he applied for the use of the palace, which was almost ready for the reception of the Constable, on the ground that his present lodging was so far away from Court that it would be inconvenient for all parties concerned in negociating the peace. This plea was accepted, and he is lodged in Somerset House. Some apartments, however, have, by the King's orders, been reserved for the meeting of the Envoys and the English Commissioners, who number five, the Treasurer, the Admiral, Secretary Cecil, the Earl of Northampton, and the Earl of Devonshire * (*Devister*). They have already met thrice, the first time on Sunday week, the 30th of last month; this meeting was occupied by the presentation of powers granted to the Constable. They only authorize him to treat, and are identical with those granted for the Boulogne conference, which the late Queen refused to accept as

1604.

a basis for negociations. The English Commissioners raised another difficulty, that the powers were made out in the name of the Constable, and, therefore, it was not suitable to deal with substitutes in the absence of the principal, these substitutes being the Ambassador and Roveda, who was named by the Constable in virtue of his powers, while the Ambassador produced a letter from tne King, bestowing on him the same authority and in the same terms as were conveyed by the Constable's powers. Finally, after much discussion, the powers were admitted, though there is no doubt it was only the King's known inclination towards peace that induced the English Commissioners to yield. The second meeting was on Tuesday, the first, when the following proposals were made:—

An offensive and defensive alliance between England and Spain. The English replied that, as the King and his nation were at peace with all the powers, such an alliance did not seem desirable, as it would raise suspicion; this in answer to the proposal for an offensive alliance; as to the defensive, the answer was that Spain and England were too far apart to be of much practical use. There was a long discussion, but the Spanish saw that they were losing time, and droping this point they asked for an assurance that no rebels present or future should receive assistance. The English replied that, as regards future rebels, there would be no difficulty, but, as regards present rebels, they begged for a specification of who was meant. The Spanish promised compliance at the next meeting.

The third session was held on Friday, the 4th, in which the Spanish named the States as rebels, who would have been subdued long ago had they not received assistance from powerful Princes, more especially from this kingdom. The English admitted that the States had often received help, but as allies and confederates, nor had England ever admitted that they were rebels, for although it was true enough that the Dutch were subjects of Spain, it was still most true that they were before that subjects of the House of Burgundy, whose heir Spain was, but upon conditions quite well known, and if those conditions had been observed by the ministers of Spain the population would not have rebelled. At these words the Spanish took offence, and rose to their feet to withdraw; but the English begged them to state what kind of assistance the Spanish wished to prohibit, for they would do all they could to give satisfaction, and with that they separated. They were to meet again yesterday, Tuesday, and Friday, but as it was a festival they did not. Meanwhile M. de Caron, agent for the States, does all he can to strengthen his position; he is well aware of the King's inclination towards peace, and the influence the Spanish have acquired at Court with the great presents they have made to many of the principal ministers and to many of the Queen's favourite ladies; her Majesty shows herself more and more of the Spanish party, and makes such strides in the King's favour that if she chose to devote herself to affairs she would, beyond a doubt, soon be mistress of the whole situation. M. de Caron is afraid that she will induce the King to make peace, which would be very prejudicial to his masters.

De Caron, however, lets it be very clearly understood, and especially by those who have the King's ear, that he cannot under-

1604.

stand how the King can think of a peace, which would be other than honourable and beneficial to his subjects and his friends. That his masters are firmly resolved not to make peace with Spain, except upon condition of being left free, as they are now; that they are quite able to defend themselves as long as they are not prevented by the powers, especially by England, from raising their provisions and ammunition in their states, but if this was denied them *they would then be compelled to seek new allies and fresh supports, and hinted that they would throw themselves into the arms of France, which would greatly displease the King of England.* He hopes to be able to prevent the peace, for there are many who are working hard to impress on the King's mind these ideas; and the question has been raised in Parliament, though that is not the right place for it, as all questions of truce, of war, and such like depend upon the King's will absolutely. I enclose a copy of a speech on the subject.

London, 9th June, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

230. My intention is to speak weightily, and, therefore, I crave your ears. If the secrets of empire consist not merely in knowledge and in reflection, but also in practice, there is no fitter place for discussion than this, where this high and mighty assembly resides, wherein these matters may be handled and dealt with in detail in this very assembly, to which belongs the weal and preservation of the state.

Affairs of state are of two sorts, home and foreign. I will leave the first aside. I take it that in foreign affairs we are either in friendship or at war; there are two kinds of friendship, voluntary and necessary; voluntary friendship is represented by complimentary messages between Princes, for the sole purpose of knowing and being known, that is, a friendship of no practical utility; examples are our relations with Venice, Savoy, and other Italian states, or with Portugal and Spain, too, and others; should our friendly relations with these be changed or over-clouded it would matter little to England; whereas a necessary alliance must be most carefully preserved. An alliance of that kind may be for two purposes, trade or safety. For trade, as with Russia, Prussia, the Empire, Turkey, Barbary, and so on; an alliance for safety is of such moment that it may not be lightly abandoned. For the union of these two kinds of alliance no province, state, kingdom, or Republic is of such moment to England as her neighbours of Holland and the United Provinces.

For the conservation of this alliance there are many solid arguments; there is the ancient league, not the Burgundian, but the Batavian federation,—for our sovereigns were frequently allied with them long before the House of Burgundy usurped the succession to these states from the noble lady, Jacqueline, their lawful heir. Jacqueline was married to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and was naturalized by Parliament in the second year of Henry VI., nor is there any doubt that the reason which induced our sovereigns to so close an alliance, was their recognition of that people as courageous and resolute to avenge themselves on those by whom they were

1604.

injured. Their neighbourhood rendered their friendship more valuable than that of any other Prince. If they were our foes it would be impossible for us to protect our trade from their piracy, or to prevent our trade from being interrupted; they would always be lying-in-wait for us, and we should be forced to spend a large sum on the up-keep of a fleet; we have had experience of the mischief even Flushing could do at a time when it was merely a fishing village, unfortified, though afterwards enlarged and protected by England.

Besides, war with them means the loss of our commerce with them.

Thirdly, alliance with them would render us masters of the sea, and would enable us to circumscribe and limit the trade of all nations east of us, and to lay down the law for France and Spain in all that regards their commerce; and we should always, in case of hostilities, be able to disarm them and deprive them of ships.

Fourthly, we are strictly bound to them in matters of religion by the alliance sworn by the late Queen, who received them under her protection; were we to abandon them now after all our success, due to their assistance, we should not only merit the charge of ingratitude, but the Government would be accused of injustice.

Finally, it is against all policy to allow them to fall into the hands of another monarch, who might avail himself, at the fitting moment, of that advantage against us; for the country must inevitably come under the yoke of France or of Spain, if England abandons her.

If we support the States we shall not offend Spain, for no one can be blamed for doing all that is necessary for his preservation; and England is and always has been interested in maintaining the States in their ancient privileges, and especially to see that the dominion of the sea is not taken from them. No Prince ever imposed upon them any Admiral than one of their own choice, down to the days of Charles V.

As to the Spanish I confess I have a particular regard for them above all foreign nations; all the same I owe fealty and submission to the King of England, as I received the name I bear from the good King Alfonso of Castille, in the reign of Edward the First, and in the time of Charles V. several other favours, yet am I a true Englishman, and so I must say that I consider the Spanish alliance as belonging to the class of voluntary alliances, for the interests are small, and Spanish trade is as valuable to us as Spanish arms. As to the trade you have recently heard the report presented by a weighty member of Council, that in Spain the difficulties in the way of recovering monies are so great that no merchant trading there can come back with any profit, and that, on the whole, war is more advantageous than peace. The King of France has recently issued a severe edict, prohibiting his subjects from trading in Spain; and there is no doubt but that the Spanish, upon the pretext of their holy faith, might any day confiscate all our shipping, to the ruin of our merchants.

As to their arms, offensive and defensive, we are never likely to use them, the defensive because Spain is too far away, the offensive because it is highly improbable that England would ever require them.

1604.

As to Spanish good faith or treachery it is not my intention to enter on the discussion, as it is always well to expect the best from such a sovereign as I understand theirs to be. But I know that his ancestor, Pedro, perjured himself and broke his oath, and lost the Duchy of Aquitaine; and Ferdinand played us a nasty trick, when he induced England to send a fleet to assist him against the French and then changed his plans and attacked Navarre, causing the loss of many brave gentlemen, and the damage which all fell on us. Nor have we any reason to vaunt the friendship of the late King Philip, who caused us the loss of Calais, while many think we have no reason to hope for better at the hands of his son Philip III., for like most young Princes he leaves everything in the hands of his Council, which is torn by ambitions and private feuds; as one sees in the corruption, which the Popes employ; for they are ever ready to dispense them from their oath, and in return the Spanish are ready to execute the Papal orders, as in the case of the kingdom of Navarre; and proofs of their allegiance have been visible enough recently in France, in the murder of the late King, the many attempts against the life of the late Queen of England, the threatened invasion by the great Armada in 1588, and many other demonstrations too long to enumerate.

The occasion is suitable for this discourse of mine, for we are at this moment treating of a union, which I may call domestic, and which may God in due time effect; and it is not the time now to break our ancient alliances, which are so vital to us. As for the fitness of the place no place could be fitter than this honourable assembly which, though some esteem it lightly, I hold to represent the power of this kingdom the coffers and cabinets of the King. Our Kings have always taken council with their Commons in questions of war with France, Scotland, Spain, and other powers, during the glorious reigns of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and in the late Queen's reign the question of declaring war with Spain was discussed in this House. In the ninth year of Edward IV. the Commons took part in sanctioning the conclusion of a reasonable peace by the King. In the second year of Henry VI. the Commons, learning that the Protector was negotiating a matrimonial alliance for the Scottish King, then a prisoner, claimed to be informed. Let it not be thought that I seek to advise his Majesty, that wise Prince, whose prudence is known to all, but I move that the Speaker be ordered to approach his Majesty humbly in the name of the Commons of England, and to inform him of the affection of the kingdom towards the states of Holland, and our zeal for the preservation of their ancient rights and privileges, and to commend them to the King's prudence and wisdom.

[*French.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

231. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the officer of the Sanjak of the Morea arrived at Modon, the English pirate was arrested, but soon after liberated by the

1604.

any justice on these corsairs. I havē reported all to the Bailo in Constantinople.

Zante, 20th June, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

232. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I have recently had an interview with Cecil upon the points which I had discussed in audience with his Majesty. I dwelt on the insolence of the crew of the "Greyhound" in expelling the Governor's officers, and hoisting the signal for battle off the city for six days; also on the conduct of a certain Captain Bower (*Baor*), and I just touched on the robbery of which I had been a victim. Cecil replied with these very words, "I believe your Lordship is aware that in all well constituted states there are various tribunals and judges for hearing and deciding all cases; they are various in kind, to meet the convenience of suitors, and because the nature of the cases is various; one set of tribunals taking civil, another criminal cases; for the King and his ministers are reserved the most important cases only, those which affect the State; I, therefore, think your Lordship might have refrained from troubling the King and myself upon a matter which belongs to the Admiralty Courts. I am sure had you applied to the judge of that court you would have received all fitting satisfaction, but had it not been so then you would have had a legitimate reason for approaching the King." I replied, "I am well aware that there are courts for such cases, as your Lordship says, but they are for private individuals; ambassadors and representatives of powers have no court but his Majesty's presence." "Well," said he, "since your Lordship is acting upon orders from your Prince I will say no more." He took my memorandum and began to read it. On the first clause, about the "Greyhound," he said, "What do you want me to do?" I said, "I want them punished." He replied that if they were arrested they would justify themselves in the way I have pointed out, namely, by pleading that they cannot be punished both in person and in property, and that if there were previous examples of such rigour having been used it was only done to please your Serenity, but must not be taken as a precedent, for then the French and Flemish would claim the same, and that would be the destruction of the sailor class, and the death blow to the devotion of the English. I answered that it was impossible to doubt the facts, for they were affirmed by your Serenity. Cecil replied, "Yes, but your Government speaks only from report." "That is true," I said, "but the report of one of her own officers." At that he folded the memorandum, and calling a secretary bade him tell the Admiral to attend Council that afternoon, when he promised me that the question should be raised, and he pledged himself to do all he could to obtain satisfaction.

Last Sunday the Admiralty Judge and Sir Henry Wotton, Ambasador-elect for Venice, came to call on me. They brought me word that, as regards the conduct of the "Greyhound," they did not take the matter very seriously; all the same to please your Serenity the crew had been imprisoned, and should not be [illegible]

1604.

till I pleaded for them. I said I was amazed that such insolence was treated so lightly; to which the judge said, "Oh! every merchant tries to smuggle; it is a very ordinary affair." I replied that however common smuggling might be it never could be legitimate, and when it was supported by force it became unendurable; and on the top of all came the third misdeed, that of lying off the city for six days with the signal for battle flying. The judge said that if they had fired it would have been serious, but as it was this was merely trivial. I replied that unless such conduct was checked now some day more serious complications would arise, for these corsairs might come across some Venetian official, who either had not or would not exercise such patience as the Governor of Zante, and who would punish them in some violent fashion. "Sir," said the judge, "they shall be sent to prison, nor shall they come out without your consent." Passing to the case of Captain Bower, he said that he would be arrested and condemned to death if caught, and if he had any saleable property indemnification would be made to the injured. As for the men who robbed me the judge promised that he would hang the two now in prison, and do the like to the others who came into his hands. I answered that, in my own case, I would rather recover my property than bring about the death of anyone. He said, "Your Lordship knows that the two in prison are miserable devils, without any possessions save their life, and with their life they must pay their debts." He renewed the promise for the despatch of a man-of-war to suppress piracy in the Mediterranean. In your Serenity's name I then submitted to him the suggestion that every ship should carry a King's officer, in order to repress these scandals. The judge replied that it would be very difficult to obtain an alteration here; but he would raise the question; he added, however, that I might rest assured that, now the war with Spain was over, no corsairs would be allowed to put to sea.

London, 23rd June, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

233. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The peace Commissioners have met several times since last I wrote. The subject of their discussion has been the question of "aid" to the States, which were always styled "Rebels," but seeing that the English Commissioners took it ill they *have substituted the word "Enemy." Roveda, the Spanish Commissioner, defined "aid," as all that contributes to strengthen the enemy or discourage the ally. The English replied that these were very vague terms, which might cover an indefinite field, and suggested that specification should be made if the Spanish really desired to come to any conclusion; at the same time they recommended the Spanish to be reasonable in their definitions of what was "aid," so that his Majesty might not find himself forced to refuse or else to become the declared enemy of the States, with which, for many reasons, the Crown of England ought to preserve friendly relations. After much discussion the Spanish put forward their proposals:—*

(1) *One of the principal was that all trade between England and*

1604.

English market for their tapestries, cloth, tweeds (?) (scotti) and so on, the manufacture of which employs many hands, all of whom contribute to the funds of the war; whereas, on the other hand, the States draw munitions of war from England, to their great advantage.

(2) *The King of England is to keep the seas open for all who chose to use them. The Dutch, at present, completely prevent anyone from using the ports of Flanders, which are, as it were, blockaded.*

(3) *They ask for Flushing and Brill (la berilla), and offer in return to pay off the entire debt due from the States to the Crown of England, which amounts to about two millions.*

(4) *That the King of England shall not permit the Dutch to raise troops in his dominions.*

The English Commissioners replied that they were amazed at such proposals, for they thought they were negotiating for peace with one Prince, whereas they found themselves expected to declare war on another. They hoped for benefit from the negotiations, instead they were to reap injury; for the prohibition of trade with Holland meant the ruin of all the merchants trading there. They could not be expected to make peace with one Prince merely to declare war on another. The King of England could not be asked to keep a large fleet in commission simply to suit the King of Spain. "Then," replied the Spanish, "You ought to allow us to come into these waters with a fleet large enough to fight those who are preventing us from free entry to our ports, and you should further allow our fleet to shelter in your harbours." The English Commissioners were taken rather aback at this request; but as far as I can gather they will yield this point. As to the two cautionary towns the English declared that it was useless to speak, for his Majesty would never consent to so unworthy an act; they had been received in pledge from the States, and to them only will they be returned whenever the debt is paid; that debt is already diminished by almost half, as the States pay forty thousand crowns a year, and as yet two millions have been paid off, while about as much still remains. The Spanish said that their master was resolved to make every effort to reduce the States by arms; his only obstacle was that he would be forced to shed English blood, as the garrisons were English, and he begged that the King of England, if he found he could not hand over the towns to their rightful master, would at least withdraw the English garrison. To this no reply has, as yet, been made. As to the fourth point, the prohibition of recruiting, the English answer that England is so populous that, unless the people are allowed to take service abroad, a serious crisis might arise at home: but a similar permission would be extended to Spain and to all other powers. The Spanish, therefore, could have no proper ground of complaint. They added that they had two requests to prefer, one that the tax of thirty per cent. on merchandise should be abolished, the other, that the trade to the Indies should be thrown open. The Spanish replied that the tax would be removed provided the English did not import goods manufactured in the countries subject to the Dutch, meaning that the English are not to act as intermediaries for the sale of Dutch goods. As to free traffic with the Indies it was not to be thought of, and if they insisted on this they might as well go no further in the present negotiations. That is, the present position of the peace negotiations. Up to now there have

1604.

only been discussions; nothing has been set down on paper as yet. In spite of all these difficulties, however, it is generally thought that peace will be concluded, as both parties desire it, but it will be a false and masked peace.

The Lower House, on a petition complaining of monopolies signed by many merchants, has dissolved all companies; if this Act passes the Upper House and receives the Royal assent, everyone will be free to trade as he chooses.

The Scottish Parliament has, at last, named the Commissioners for the Union. They are now discussing the place of meeting; the Scottish decline to go to England, and the English decline to come to Scotland.

The Grand Duke has obtained licence to export gunpowder.

On the 17th of this month * the Marchese Spinola delivered a vigorous attack on Ostend. Many fell on either side; the Governor was seriously wounded; though the Spanish effected no capture. But matters are at an extreme, for the besieged have made a new entrenchment, by which the whole place is reduced by a third. The garrison, however, is resolved to defend it till the end. Count Maurice does all he can to aid the town; he has just sent eight hundred men under very good officers. He is working hard under Sluys. His batteries are planted, but he has not begun to bombard yet. He is endeavouring to get his army across the fosse, in order to deliver an assault when the breach is made. The fosse, which is long, deep, and full of water, presents a serious obstacle; at low tide there are twelve feet of water and more. The Archduke is massing troops for the relief. Count Maurice intercepted a letter from him to the Governor, and now knows all his plans.

The plague is greatly diminished, to everyone's great surprise. The week before last 14 deaths, last week 11.

London, 23rd June, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

234. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ostend is said to have fallen at last. It was defended inch by inch. Sluys is better garrisoned than Count Maurice thought.

Paris, 23rd June, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

235. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has found out from the English Catholic, whose arrest I reported, that M. d'Entragues, father of the Marquise de Verneuil, has been plotting with the Spanish Ambassador, in order to induce the King of Spain to support the claim of the Marquise's son to the title of Dauphin. M. d'Auvergne supports her. D'Entragues has also approached the King of England, but in vain.

Paris, 23rd June, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* Cf. Motley. Op. cit. IV. 182.

1604.
June 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

236. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Grand Duke has bought one-thousand-two-hundred barrels of gunpowder, I hear; also a very fine ship of five-hundred tons, fully found, and he is in treaty for another. Now that peace with Spain is thought to be an accomplished fact, everyone is trying to sell their big ships. When the Council became aware of this they resolved not to permit it, in view of the injury which might arise to this nation. The Tuscan Secretary accordingly meets with considerable difficulty in despatching the ships he has bought, although the bargain was carried out under the signed and sealed permission of the King. I am informed that now is the moment to buy saltpetre, of which there is great abundance in England, in spite of the many years of war now past.

It is thought that the royal assent will not be given to the Commons' Act, dissolving the merchant companies. The Muscovy Company, which was on the point of sending an Embassy at the cost of ten or twelve thousand crowns, suspended its action till the decision should be known, but on the King's exhortation they resolved to despatch the mission, and that is taken as a sign that his Majesty will not grant his assent to their dissolution.

The King has revoked the letters addressed to the Grand Duke on the Barbary incident, as he is unwilling to cause the Grand Duke any pain.

Negotiations for peace are approaching an end. The question of trade, which presented such difficulties, is almost entirely settled thus:—*Trade between England and Holland to remain free; abolition of the thirty per cent. lately imposed in Spain, provided that the English do not introduce Dutch goods; that the King of England shall guarantee the safety of Spanish ships when in English waters; if the English choose to trade in Flemish ports they shall be free to do so, but must protect themselves from any molestation by the Dutch. As the Spanish are bound to protect themselves they will be forced to come in large numbers fully armed, and are to be allowed to shelter and victual in English ports, but on payment for all they take. The English Commissioners are in considerable doubt as to conceding this point, for it seems to them to be dangerous to allow forty or fifty Spanish ships to freely enter any English port. It is hoped that some way of compromise may be found. The Spanish also are endeavouring to induce the King of England to intercede, so that the King of France may remove the prohibition of all trade between France and any Spanish dominions. It is generally hoped that the King of England will succeed in composing these difficulties.*

I have lodged your Serenity's complaints about the insolence of the English, Flemish, and Dutch off Malamocco. If I can I will identify the man Giovanni Bianchini (John King), who insulted the Podestà of Citta Nuova.

Only 16 deaths last week of plague. The weather is bitterly cold, and everyone is in furs, although we are almost in July.

London, 30th June, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1604.
July 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

237. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador here resident has just received news from certain English merchants in Leghorn that three English ships have burned seven Barbary galleots, which were laid up in the port of Bedda (Buggia), not far from Tunis, destroyed a small fortress, and carried off the Cadi and twenty-five Turks as prisoners. These English were banished from England two years ago, and took to piracy on the Barbary coast. They were, on orders from the Porte, arrested, but set free again on payment of a large sum to the Beglierbey of Algiers, and even sent out once more to plunder, on condition that they paid a certain proportion of their gains to the Beglierbey. This went on for a time, but the native Militia, whom they were always harrying, finally gave them such a rough handling that they resolved to offer themselves to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as there was no chance of their being able to return to England, and promised, if he took them into his pay, to do some signal deeds. He gave them a large sum of money, and they set sail again for Barbary. They landed, on the strength of their old relationship, and on a fit opportunity presenting itself they carried out their promise. They then returned to the Grand Duke, and were handsomely rewarded. The Pasha complained to the Porte; and the English Ambassador went to inform the Porte that of his own accord he had obtained orders to arrest and execute these pirates.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, the first of July, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

238. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday night, by order of the King and Council, the Earl of Southampton, Baron Danvers, and five others were arrested, and each one confined in a separate house. Yesterday morning, after undergoing several examinations, they were set at liberty. I have not yet found out the real reason. As they have been set at liberty so soon it is to be supposed that the cause was the malignity of some of their enemies, who are numerous. Parliament will be prorogued on Tuesday next. *The proposal to grant a subsidy was not favourably received by the majority, and so the King would not press the motion. He wrote a letter of thanks to Parliament, declaring that he was not in need of money; but he could not conceal his irritation. And, indeed, the Lower House has always opposed his Majesty upon every point in such a disagreeable manner that people are amazed that his Majesty can stand it.*

When Parliament is dissolved the King and Court will move to Windsor, where they will spend the summer. The King has been advised not to make his usual progress, on account of the plague, which is very bad in the country. London is now the healthiest place; last week there were only nine deaths.

The King, Queen, and Prince, with many noblemen, went to Rochester to review the fleet, which numbered thirty-seven sail. There were besides many ships belonging to private owners. There

1604.

was a great display, as this is the first time the King has reviewed the navy.

The Florentine Secretary has at last been allowed to despatch the ship he had bought. Many of the Council were strongly opposed; but the King had pledged his word.

London, 6th July, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

239. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

When the Englishman was arrested the Count d'Auvergne sent to say that if the King would pardon him he would reveal the whole plot. The King promised; and d'Auvergne told the whole story, throwing the chief blame on the Marchioness (de Verneuil). But the King does not believe him.

Paris, 7th July, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

240. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador, in audience, has satisfied the King, who was suspicious about the conduct of the King of England as regards Spain; also in the receipt for the money paid to the Dutch he insists on being styled King of France.

The French Ambassador in England declares that peace with Spain will be concluded, for the Spanish assent to everything the English demand.

Paris, 7th July, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

241. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago the men of one of the Northern Counties, who are almost all Catholics, rose and expelled the Calvinistic ministers, and insisted upon the public and solemn celebration of the Mass in the church. Nothing has been done as yet. The Lower House has passed severe measures lately against the Catholics, but they have not been carried yet in the Upper House. The King is well disposed towards the Catholics.

Negotiations for peace are not progressing as vigorously as was expected. The way to satisfy both parties has not been found; especially on the question of the admission of a Spanish fleet into these seas and ports. The English Commissioners cannot consent to this clause, which would oblige his Majesty to keep a number of ships and troops ready in each port at a vast expense. Nor can they come to terms about the navigation to the Indies; the Spanish wish the King to pledge himself to stop it; whereas the English say that they cannot do more than permit the Spaniards to punish all they may find at it. But the Spanish urge that this will compel them to maintain a large fleet.

1604.

The Spanish also wish the King to forbid his subjects to take service with the States, but his Majesty maintains his original attitude of allowing them to serve wherever it suits them best.

Ostend is in extreme peril. The Marquis Spinola has manned three redoubts; and the besieged have constructed fresh trenches further inside the town in which they can hold out if the outworks are captured. Count Maurice is bombarding Sluys.

London, 7th July, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

242. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday week the King left Greenwich for the chase; meaning to be at Rochester on Thursday to review the fleet. As he and the Queen were riding, the King wished to pass her Majesty, but he received a kick on the leg from her horse. They had all to go home, and the King was in bed for two days. The naval review at Rochester is put off. The King will adjourn Parliament in person.

London is the healthiest place in the kingdom. Only six deaths from plague last week.

The main points about the terms of peace have, I am told, been settled thus:—

The India navigation to be open.

The 30 *per cent. on English goods to be removed, provided the goods are certificated as made in England; and a certificate shall also be required that all goods imported from Spain are sold in England, not elsewhere.*

Flushing and Brill to remain in the hands of the English.

Free trade between England and all Spanish and Archiducal possessions.

The English promise protection to all Spanish ships in English harbours and waters; but on the open sea each is to protect itself.

If Spain wishes to send a large fleet into these seas she must first give a detailed report of its strength, and then the King will decide as to whether he will allow it to enter his ports.

Free trade between English and Dutch.

Two points are still open; one is the question of the Inquisition in search of forbidden books, which the Spaniards claim to make; the other is, as to the amount of assistance England may furnish to Holland. The Spanish insist on this point. The King says that he would allow the Spanish to recruit in his kingdoms, but they would experience great difficulty in raising men; so intense is the hatred of the English for that nation.

*The Spaniards wish to protract negotiations, for Ostend may fall meantime; but the King's impatience to conclude the business compels them to attend to it.**

Ostend is in this position; Spinola has captured the two outer lines, and is now before the third and innermost. In order to make this more difficult, the besieged have constructed a double ditch, one inside, the other outside the lines, and have filled them

1604.

with water. They have thrown up a half-moon behind this third line. Two engineers and a thousand sailors are hard at work. The Dutch hope to hold the place for three months more.

The reason for Southampton's arrest was the slanderous charge preferred against him by unknown enemies, that he plotted to slay several Scots who were much about the person of the King. On his release he went to the King and declared that if he knew who the slanderer was he would challenge him to combat, but as he did not he could only appeal to his Majesty. The King gave him fair words, but nothing else as yet.

His Majesty has just decided to go to Rochester to review the fleet.

London, 14th July, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

243. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King returned to London on Thursday evening, after being at Rochester. He spent Friday in examining the bills submitted to him, and on Saturday he went to the Upper House, where in a speech of an hour's duration he explained the reasons for dismissing them, the chief of which was the advanced season and nearness of harvest. They are to meet again on February 7th to finish business, chiefly about the Union, which the Commissioners shall meantime discuss. He has arranged that the Scottish Commissioners shall come to London. He praised their diligence in business, but could not refrain from saying that among them were ten or twelve flighty heads, that needed reform. The bills, with few exceptions, were approved. The Monopoly Bill was not submitted to the Crown because it had not passed the Upper House, no more was the bill affecting Catholics. The following day, Sunday, he sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and knighted two; exhorting them to expel all priests. This was done to give satisfaction to these perfidious Puritans.

After the Mayor and Aldermen were dismissed Sir Henry Wotton took leave; he was knighted, and will start on Friday. He is a gentleman of excellent condition, wise, prudent, able. Your Serenity, it is to be hoped, will be very well pleased with him.

M. de Caron is raising two thousand men for Count Maurice, who is before Sluys.

London, 20th July, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

244. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen is anxious to push on the trial of the father of the Marquise de Verneuil. The Jesuit Father Cotton has been charged to quiet her. Besides the Englishman there is a Spaniard also in prison for this affair. The Marquise is to be sent to Verneuil.

1604.
July 21.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

245. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has reported to the King of France the articles of the peace with Spain; and has asked if the King of France would like him to mediate on the subject of free trade between France and Spain.

Paris, 21st July, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

July 21.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

246. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has gone towards Windsor; the Constable of Castile is expected. The peace is now sure to be concluded. The King will come to London on the Constable's arrival. His Majesty is impatient to wind up the business, so that he may set out on his progress, in spite of the advice of everybody; for no place is healthier than London, where there were only ten deaths from plague last week. The King intends to move northward, and to stay away till October.

Peace is, one may say, concluded in the terms I have already reported. The two open points, about the Inquisition and about aid to Holland have been settled thus: In the treaty itself nothing shall be said to lessen the authority of the Inquisition, but the King of Spain shall promise privately that the English shall not be examined or molested, provided they make no public scandal; the King of England shall forbid his subjects to carry into Spain any other than the necessary books, that is the Bible and the Psalms, and shall order them to live decently without scandal. As regards aid to the Dutch the English shall remain free to take service where they please.

London, 21st July, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

247. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King intends to write to the King of England to warn him that under these favourable terms offered by Spain may lurk some treachery.

Paris, 26th July, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

July 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

248. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday last the Ambassador Wotton came to visit me. He was to leave for Venice that same afternoon. His route is France, Lorraine, Augsburg. I understand that he has been fully informed of various events, with a view to his making some slight complaints, when the right moment arrives, about the ill-treatment of English merchants in Venetian territory; but more especially to point out the injury inflicted by the prohibition on the export of currants

1604.

them. He will strongly urge your Serenity to modify, if not to annul, these orders. But the complaints of ill-treatment are merely meant as a counterpoise to the complaints against the English. The English wish all that is past to be forgotten, and they think that the execution of six or seven men and the restitution of seven or eight thousand crowns out of all the hundreds of thousands they have stolen, is satisfaction enough.

I must tell your Serenity that while I was engaged in trying to make out the name of the Giovanni Bianchini, who is charged with having insulted the Governor of Cittànuova, a certain Giovanni Chin (John King), Captain of the ship "Royal Merchant," which was lately in Venice, came to me to complain of a report that he was the person in question. He admits that he visited the Governor and received many favours from him; so much so that he invited his Excellency on board. The Governor came just as the sailors were weighing anchor, for the wind was fair. Nevertheless the Governor was received, and entertained him with comfits. Some of the officers, laughing, asked if the Governor would like to come to England, but no thought of violence entered their heads. When the Governor left, in sign of honour, two guns were fired; it is true that they were loaded with ball, for the guns were always loaded; but the shot fell into the sea more than the length of the Piazza San Marco away from the Governor's boat. He added, "They say I meant to carry off the Governor, but just tell me what object could I have for doing that, when I knew that once in England I would swing for it on the smallest complaint your Excellency might make to the King? I have a good position here and am respected" (that is true enough), "and have a wife, family and substance; would I go and ruin them and lose my life for nothing? They are very wrong who spread such rumours, and the Governor, most of all, if he has really made such a report, which I don't believe, for I treated him as I would have treated my sovereign; I have eighty men on board my ship and a young Venetian, journeying for his affairs; examine them all; if you find the matter other than I have represented it, I put myself in your hands for any punishment you may choose to inflict. Nay, more, I am going back to Venice this September, and if I have, in the smallest degree, injured a subject of Serene Republic I shall be in the hands of the Senate to punish me as they please." I replied in general terms that considering the excellent treatment accorded to the English it seemed to me that their conduct ought to be very different. He said he was not responsible for the conduct of others, for himself he was innocent; and with that he departed. I sent for and examined the young Venetian, whose name is Tomaso Lancillotto. He confirmed the Captain's story in every point. Before taking any further steps I thought it well to report all to you.

The Commissioners for the Peace are beginning to draw up the terms already agreed upon between them. They are as I have reported. There are a few questions of slight importance still to be settled; chiefly respecting the India navigation. That will be concluded on the arrival of the Constable. He will soon be here, and they are making preparations to receive him with all honour. The King is at Oatlands; and will move to Windsor.

1604.

The Commissioners and the Ambassadors of France and Spain, as well as d'Aremberg and Richardot, have had a meeting. Richardot shows great unwillingness to come to terms over the tax of thirty per cent., which was imposed at his suggestion. He insists that the King of France shall first suppress the Calais dues.

The siege of Ostend is in the same position as before. Sluys is hard pressed, and they have resolved to send Spinola with twelve thousand men and provisions to relieve it. Meanwhile the Count de Bucquoy will press the siege of Ostend.

Nine deaths from plague last week.

London, 28th July, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

249. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has greater confidence in Father Cotton than in anyone else. He keeps the Father constantly in his private apartments.

The receipt for the money paid to the Dutch has at last been made out as the English desired, that is, giving the title of King of France to the King of England.

I have at last discovered that the suspicions which the French held and still hold about the King of England all spring from a bad conscience, for they are aware that the Spanish, through the medium of Villeroy's Secretary, read all the despatches of his most Christian Majesty to his Ambassador in England, and therein learned that the King of France was fostering rebellion in England, the usual policy of securing peace for oneself by sowing discord among one's neighbours. The Spanish showed these despatches to the King of England, and this will compel him to demand that France should openly declare war on Spain.

Paris, 4th August, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

250. Simon Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier from the Constable arrived last week with news from England about the last conference on peace. Long sittings of the Councils of State and of War have taken place. The Constable will cross over to England.

Valladolid, 4th August, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

251. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King and Queen came back on Saturday evening from Oatlands and Windsor. They stayed in London till yesterday afternoon, when they went to Theobalds, Cecil's huose. There they will await the Constable's arrival. Three ships have been sent across to Dunquerque to escort him. He and his suite will be entertained at the King's charges for five or six days, in which time the ceremony

1604.

of swearing the peace will be concluded. The King will then begin his progress at once. Of the thirty-six clauses of the treaty twenty-two are settled and signed. They are the most important. The Spanish Ambassador has a hundred people in his house, making liveries and robes.

Some days ago, near York, a magistrate hanged a priest and another Catholic for no other offence than their religion. They had been in prison some time, but the execution was delayed until news that the King had confirmed the old laws against Catholics. Although the King declares he wants neither life nor goods of any man on account of his religion, yet sure it is that unless these laws are amended, we shall often hear of such like troubles, for most of the magistrates are Puritans. The King is annoyed at this event, but has taken no steps as yet to prevent its recurrence. Meantime a Proclamation ordering the Puritans to submit to the Bishops has been issued.

A few days ago the Dutch captured at sea a small vessel from Sandwich with goods belonging to the English. They wrapped the sailors in the sails and drowned them all, so as to prevent the deed becoming known. But the interested parties got wind of it and roused the people of Sandwich against some Flemish subjects of Holland, who lived in the town, killed three of them and threatened to kill them all. The King and Council are seriously annoyed at a town daring to fly to arms and execute justice of itself, and at the small regard the Dutch have shown for the English, who are accustomed to be treated with courtesy and respect.

Ten Ambassadors from the towns of Hamburg, Lubeck, Emden, Dantzic and Bremen have arrived to procure the confirmation of the ancient rights of trade between England and those cities;* but their chief object is to beg his Majesty to prevent his brother-in-law the King of Denmark from insisting on sovereign rights over Bremen as he has done in Hamburg and has attempted in Lubeck, for which purpose he is threatening to use force, and is massing troops. An agent from Denmark has been here for some weeks about this very question of raising troops. The question of privileges has been referred to Council, where opinions vary; the question of mediation his Majesty reserves to himself.

Marquis Spinola went from Ostend to Bruges to see the Archduke upon the subject of relieving Sluys. They settled to remove from before Ostend three thousand men to complete the number of twelve thousand, with which the Marquis, on the 30th of last month, moved on Sluys. The Governor of Sluys had informed the Archduke that he could not hold out beyond the 12th. This left only other three thousand before Ostend, enough to keep what had been won, but not enough to make any further acquisitions. Count Maurice is very strongly entrenched before Sluys.

Dead of plague last week, thirteen.

London, 4th August, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

* The claim was rejected in Council 30th Sept., 1604. *See* Cal. S. P. Dom.

1604. Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

252. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have obtained fresh instructions to the Sanjak of the Morea that he is not to hinder the execution of justice by the Governor of Zante upon the persons of the two English pirates. I have, in order to give these instructions greater weight, secured letters from the Sultana, the Sanjak's mother, and from his agent. These have been despatched with the ship "Martinenga."

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th August, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

253. To the SANJAK OF THE MOREA.

Imperial orders not to meddle in the affair of the English pirates nor to hinder their execution.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

254. From the MOTHER of the BEY OF MOREA to the BEY.

"Light of my eyes, Lord Bey, my dearest son."

Advising him to obey imperial orders; and to keep on good terms with Venetians.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

255. From ACHMET CHIAUS to the BEY OF MOREA.

Advising him to obey and not to risk losing the friendship of the Venetian Ambassador.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

256. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Grand Vizir fell seriously ill on his way to Belgrade; he sent for a doctor from Ragusa. Seven days after reaching Belgrade he died. The Imperial Seal has been sent back by the hands of a Chief of the Spahis, who reached Constantinople in ten days. The day after his arrival, that is, yesterday, the Grand Signor named Mehmet Grand Vizir.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th August, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

257. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador has given me the enclosed memorandum of the terms agreed on between England and Spain. Your Serenity will have already received details from Ambassador Molin.

Valladolid, 9th August, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

1604.
Aug. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

258. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has sent three splendid mules to the King of France; but this notwithstanding, the suspicion between them grows daily.

The French ministers could not refrain from saying to the English Ambassador that they suspect his master of having signed some secret clauses in the treaty of peace with Spain.

A letter from the agent of the States has been intercepted. I enclose a copy.

Paris, 18th August, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

259. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is out of London at various hunting lodges. He will not come in till the Constable has arrived. They say that he reached Dover last Monday, so he may be looked for in London by Friday or Saturday. The Spanish Ambassador has gone to meet him along with the other Commissioners. The Constable would not leave Flanders till the King had passed his word that the Dutch would do him no harm, for they were fifty strong on the sea, and said they meant to capture him. The King sent for M. de Caron and declared that if the Constable received the slightest annoyance while on board an English ship he would take it as an insult to himself. De Caron was obliged to promise that the Constable should not be molested.

Cecil, on the King's orders, has communicated all the terms of the treaty to the French Ambassador, as a further proof of the confidence he has in his Most Christian Majesty, and as a guarantee that this treaty contains nothing which can contravene the one concluded with France last year by M. de Rosny. This greatly pleases the French Ambassador, as there were rumours of clauses prejudicial to France.

The French and Spanish Ambassadors have all but come to an agreement to remove the prohibition to trade and the tax of thirty per cent. These concessions are to be made simultaneously, so as to avoid any appearance of yielding on one side or on the other. The actual conditions are still to arrange, for the Spanish wish the French to pledge themselves, as the English have done, not to carry Spanish goods into Holland, and that the caution money shall only be returned on the production of the proof of sale. The French Ambassador is unwilling to accept this condition. The question will be settled at the coming of the Constable.

Lord Burleigh (Michael Balfour), who was sent to Italy to make enquiry as to Sir Anthony Standen's conduct, returned eight days ago, and reports that he has found out nothing of moment against Standen. Standen has been released from the Tower and confined to his own house. The same has happened to Henry Constable, who was a prisoner on account of letters he wrote to the Nuncio in France on religious matters. It is thought that both will be sent out of England, at least for some months.

1604.

The Dutch are anything but satisfied with the peace between England an ! Spain. They complain that they will lose the protection of this kingdom, and object to the King's announcement that Spain or the Archduke shall be at liberty to raise troops in England. They say that though it is true that the English hate the Spanish and like the Dutch, yet gold works miracles everywhere, and nowhere greater than in England. They will be left alone to face Spain, and cannot hold out long. The Spanish Ambassador, who will now reside in England, will soon corrupt the whole kingdom by the ordinary means and artifices; and this is the real object for which Spain has accepted the peace.

Spinola has made two attempts to relieve Sluys; neither was successful; in the first he was repulsed by the artillery; feigned to withdraw towards Ostend, but returned suddenly under cover of night and delivered a second assault.

The garrison of Ostend seized the occasion of Spinola's absence to make a sortie; the besiegers were forewarned and let them through; then cut off their retreat and killed six hundred.

In the last two weeks twenty-five deaths of plague.

London, 18th August, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 20. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

260. Instructions to the AMBASSADOR in England.

As peace between England and Spain is now a certainty, it should not be difficult to obtain saltpetre. We order you to negotiate for as large an amount as possible, and you may go as high as 120 ducats the ton for it, refined and consigned to our arsenal in Venice.

Ayes 113.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 3.

The original contract was made by Secretary Scaramelli, and the name of the merchant therein anonymous, is Signor Angelo Balbani, merchant in London.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

261. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Constable crossed the Channel on Tuesday week, the 17th; at Dover he was received by Lord Wotton, brother of the Ambassador. He stayed all Wednesday at Dover, and on Thursday came on to Gravesend, where Lord Northampton met him; on Friday he came by river to London and landed at Somerset House, which has been decorated with the most gorgeous hangings that belong to the Crown. They are all lodged at the King's charges. The King came to town yesterday, and to-day the Constable will have audience. On Sunday the peace will be sworn, and a banquet given. *The Constable brings letters of credit for three hundred thousand crowns, most of which will go in presents to those who have assisted in the negotiations.*

1604.

I paid the Constable a visit on Monday. I saw Cecil a day or two ago; and he communicated the terms of the treaty; the same as I have already reported. The King will name friendly Princes, among the first your Serenity. Cecil added these actual words: "*Had the Crown not been in straits for money on account of the late wars, your Lordship may trust me that peace would not have been signed; but necessity knows no law. The King, it is true, is a lover of quiet, but I don't know how long he will continue so, time will show.*"

The King is hard up, and Parliament has not voted him any money; so some days ago he asked the City of London for a loan of a hundred thousand crowns, but here, too, he failed. He has resolved to issue under the Privy Seal bonds * for two hundred thousand crowns, the smallest are for a hundred, the highest for six thousand crowns. These bonds are by the King's orders taken round to various persons, and they are asked to advance money for his Majesty's service. The bonds, being for various sums, are distributed according to the wealth of the individuals, but those who are charged to place them out distribute them as they please. *This is a method of raising money, which has been adopted before both by Elizabeth and by her father Henry, but only in cases of extreme urgency; as this urgency is not evident at this present moment everyone complains and cries to heaven. The bonds, it is true, promise to refund in eighteen months, but that has never happened in the past, and they do not expect it now. It is thought that many will decline to accept the bonds. (Ritrovandosi il Rè in molta strettezza di denari et havendo percio tentato con il parlamento per haver da quello o un sussidio o un donativo, nè essendole riuscito, come scrisse con altre mie a Vostra Serenità, procurò la Maestà Sua questi giorni passati di haver un imprestido di cento mille scudi dalla Città di Londra, ma nè anco da questa banda ha potuto cavar alcuna cosa; in tanto che si è risoluto di far polizze sigillate con il suo sigillo privato per la somma di* $\frac{m}{200}$ *scudi, essendo quelle di minor somma di cento scudi et le maggiori di sei mille et le altre di somme diverse; queste sono portate di ordine del Rè a casa a diversi et con esse le viene dato imprestido per nome et servitio di Sua Maestà quella quantità de demari che è contenuta nella polizze che le vienne consignata, essendo come ho detto di diverse somme; et segondo la conditione et richezza de gli huommi cosi vengono date le polizze di maggior et minor somma, se ben quelli che hanno cura di dispensarle fanno poi quello che le pare, et segondo li amici cosi li trattano. Questa maniera di trovar denari se ben altre volte è stà usata dalla Regina defunta et anco dal Rè Henrico suo padre tuttavia non l'hanno fatto se non per cause molto urgenti et necessarie con tutto che non conoscendosi hora questa necessità ogn 'uño strepita et si duole sino al cielo, perche, se bene nelle polizze vien promesso di restituire il denaro nel termine di* 18 *mesi, non essendosi mai per il passato restituita alcuna cosa, molto manco lo sperano per l'avvenire. Però viene creduto da molti che vi saranno di quelli che o non accetteranno on non sodisfferanno a dette polizze.)*

I am informed from a good quarter that in Holland there is an agent of the Emperor, who nominally is commissioned to prevent

* Cal. S. P. Dom., July 18, Windsor.

1604.

the Dutch from assisting the Count of Emden (*Comte di Ambdon*); *though really he is endeavouring to induce them to come to terms with Spain, on condition of declaring themselves vassals of the Empire and pledging themselves to furnish the King of Spain with a certain number of men to fight the Turks. The Dutch lend an ear to this proposal.*

On the 17th Spinola tried to force Count Maurice's lines, but was repulsed; first at fort St. Catherine, where he lost two hundred men, and then at fort Oostburg (*Austruburgh*), where he lost three hundred. He then tried fort Coxie (*Coixi*), where his loss was even heavier.* The beseiged, seeing this, lost heart and sent to ask Count Maurice for leave to communicate with the Archduke, and promised that if in six days they were not relieved they would surrender. Count Maurice refused, and sent the messengers back. That was on the morning of the 19th; in the evening they sent again to arrange terms of surrender, which were that the next morning the garrison should march out with musket loaded, match burning, ball in mouth; with colours and arms, but without tuck of drum. Count Maurice to enter the place and to keep the artillery, numbering one hundred pieces, the galleys and their slaves, whom he at once set free. And so the Dutch have captured Sluys in three months, while the Spanish have failed to capture Ostend in three years. This news will reach Venice at the end of this month. Letters take ten days from Flanders to Venice, and twenty-two from England to Venice.

Nine deaths of plague last week. It is raging in the country. They are thinking of forbidding St. Bartholomew's Fair.

London, 25th August, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

262. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have obtained orders against the Governors of Coron and Modon, who continue to give shelter to English pirates. The Sanjak of Morea is to visit those places in person, and to open an inquiry. The Grand Vizir was very unwilling to issue such orders, on the plea that the people suffer when the Sanjak appears in their city with a large retinue. As there is a prospect of making large and easy gains, the Sanjak will, I hope, act vigorously.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th August, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

263. To the SANJAK OF MOREA.

Orders to open an inquiry into the conduct of the Governors of Modon and Coron on the subject of the shelter they give to English and other pirates. If they are found guilty orders to inflict capital punishment.

[*Italian.*]

* Motley, United Netherlands, iv. 197.

1604. Sept. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

264. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Rosny has advised his Majesty to attempt the capture of Gravelines and Dunquerque, which would be a counterpoise to the English. Nor are the places very strong.

Paris, first of September, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

265. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

English merchants in Spain are forced to accept copper as payment; this entails a loss of twenty per cent.

Paris, the first of September, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

266. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King came to London on the 24th of last month. The Constable wished to send that same day a gentleman to wait on his Majesty; but the King would not receive him, pleading that he was busy and was also tired with the journey, but he announced that the following day he would receive the Constable. He was attended to Court by Lords Southampton and Effingham, son of the High Admiral. The audience lasted about three quarters of an hour, and was entirely confined to compliments. On Thursday he was received in private audience, which lasted an hour and a half. *I understand that he asked leave to raise three thousand men in these kingdoms. The King replied that he did not intend to prevent his subjects from taking service where they choose. The Constable did not like this answer, as he wished the King to interpose his authority, in order to facilitate the levy, which he knows will be difficult, owing to English dislike of Spain.*

On Friday he was to have been received by the Queen, but while she was waiting him he sent to say that he could not attend at the hour appointed. Later in the evening he attempted to see her Majesty, as he was told she was somewhat offended, but he did not succeed. The following day he had audience. He begged that he might be allowed to see the Prince at his dances and exercises, that is, pike exercise and horsemanship. The Prince danced twice or thrice, and then he and the Constable went down into a garden, where the Prince showed his skill. The Constable made him the present of a richly caparisoned pony.

On Sunday at eleven o'clock in the morning, the Earl of Devonshire, with a suite of fifty gentlemen, richly dressed and on horseback, went to escort the Constable, Taxis and the other Commissioners. The Constable and Taxis were dressed in white, most splendidly embroidered. They were on horseback, the others in carriages. The King was waiting them at Court, and all of them descended to the chapel. The altar was covered with silver gilt plate, and on it stood the Gospels in English. After some hymns in praise of peace had been chanted in English, Secretary Cecil

1604.

handed a copy of the treaty to the Constable, and read aloud the oath by which both the King and Prince bound themselves to the observation of the terms concluded and signed by both parties, the King and the Prince meanwhile laying their hands on the Gospels. The King embraced the Constable, Taxis and the other Commissioners. D'Aremberg was not present, being confined to bed with the gout. Then they all left the chapel and went upstairs to a great hall, where a banquet was laid. The King, Queen, Prince, Ambassadors and Commissioners seated themselves, and presently his Majesty drank to the Constable, wishing health to his Catholic Majesty. Then the Constable drank to the King's health out of an agate cup, with feet and lid of gold, which he offered to the King, and added that he had a ewer and basin of the same stone, which he would send to-morrow; these objects are said to be worth ten thousand crowns. Taxis did the same to the Queen, only his presents are of rock crystal. The rest of the day was devoted to dancing and various sports. The Constable was to have taken his leave of the King on Monday, but in the night he had an attack of the kidneys, and as the King did not wish to delay his own departure he settled the question by visiting the Constable and Count d'Aremberg at their houses, thereby attaining his own object and honouring these gentlemen all the more. They are still in bed, but they say they will leave on Friday. Taxis is making presents every day, and one hears of nothing else just now. It is said that he has spent upwards of two hundred thousand crowns in jewels, and that money has been given as well. The Spaniards are lauded to the skies; for in fact this is a country where only those that are lavish are held in account; and since my arrival in this Court ten months ago, I have heard of nothing so often as presents. All the representatives of foreign Princes have made more or less liberal gifts; nor do the great nobles and members of the Privy Council make any scruple about accepting them, and scoff at those who hold a different view.*

The Queen, Prince and Council are all to leave London in three or four days to join the King at Rockingham (*Rackinghen*).

The King begged to be excused from granting an audience of mere compliment on the conclusion of peace.

The Marquis Spinola is still before Sluys watching Count Maurice's moves. The Dutch have brought upwards of a thousand boats full of earth into Ostend to raise fresh works.

Thirteen deaths from plague last week.

London, the first of September, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

267. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King, before leaving London, gave with his own hand a diamond worth six thousand crowns to the Constable. He also left orders to make presents to the other Commissioners, and for that purpose they have bought eight thousand crowns worth of plate. The Constable received twenty thousand ounces and solid

* *See* Gardiner, i. 214, 215.

1604.

gold vases weighing about a thousand ounces; Taxis received ten thousand ounces, and d'Aremberg the same; the rest was divided among the other Commissioners.

On Saturday the Constable left for Dover to cross over to Flanders. He presented jewels to the value of twelve thousand crowns to the Queen. Each member of the Council, that is, twenty-four in number, received a gift, the smallest was three, the largest twelve thousand crowns; many ladies,* many noblemen, and all the Court officials have received presents, and in fact the merchants, on whom the bills were drawn, say that the Spanish have left behind upwards of three hundred thousand crowns.

The Spanish are highly delighted because one of the clauses† of the treaty forbids either party to assist the rebels of his ally. But Cecil has told me often that this will not prevent the King from allowing his subjects to take service where they like. He pointed out that the peace of Vervins bound Henry IV. not to assist the Dutch, yet he did so whenever it suited him. And as a matter of fact levies for the Dutch continue. And many think this peace is apparent rather than real.

The Constable is urging his Majesty to call upon the Dutch to enter upon a new agreement as regards the cautionary towns; for, in their treaty with the late Queen, it was established that they should repay half their debt of 3,200,000 *within thirteen years, at the rate of* 120,000 *crowns a year, for which England was to hold Flushing and Brill as caution; but if during that period England should make peace with Spain then a new agreement should be drawn up as regards the payment of the remainder of the debt. The Constable, in order to annoy the Dutch, is trying to make the King believe that they are very rich and can easily pay. Peace with Holland is earnestly desired by Spain, all the more so that since the fall of Sluys, the towns hitherto faithful to the Archduke have petitioned him to come to terms. Holland would submit to the Archduke if he would only promise to recognise the privileges accorded by the House of Burgundy.*

The Queen and Prince left on Monday for Windsor, where Charles, Duke of Albany, has arrived from Scotland. In ten or twelve days they are to meet the King at Windsor, and to settle about his Progress, which he desires to make, against the wishes of everyone, for the plague is raging in the country. In London neither the heat nor St. Bartholomew's Fair have raised the death rate; last week there were only thirteen deaths from plague.

Nothing new at Ostend. The earth and fascines brought into the town have allowed them to raise new defences. They think the place can hold out for six months, and they even bet that the Spanish will not capture it. The Archduke openly says that all the reverses of this war are the result of his having an inefficient lieutenant. Many Spanish apply for the post, but Spinola declares that if it is conferred on any but himself he will abandon the service, while many of the Spanish swear they will not obey him if he is named.

London, 8th September, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Among others, "Mistress" or Lady Jane Drummond, who received a pension of £350. † Rymer, Fœd. xvi. 617.

1604.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

268. Terms of the treaty of peace. Signed by Th. Dorset, Nottingham, Devonshire, Northampton, R. Cecil, Juan de Velasco, Count of Villa Mediana, Alexander Rovidius, Count d'Aremberg, Richardotus, Verreyken.

[*Latin.*]

Sept. 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

269. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In obedience to your Serenity's orders of 25th September last, received 27th October, I wrote to the Sanjak of the Morea, pointing out that he ought not to raise any objection to my disposing of the two English Corsairs, who were my prisoners, sent me by him in the preceding May. I did all I could by letter and with the help of Francesco Mondino, a citizen of Zante, who laid various arguments before the Sanjak, and even on his own initiative offered him three hundred crowns. But in vain. The Sanjak always claimed the prisoners. Accordingly, I wrote to the *Bailo* in Constantinople, explaining the case, and begging for an Imperial order instructing the Sanjak to grant my just demand. This the *Bailo* Contarini obtained for me, and I sent it to the Sanjak by Francesco Mondino. The Sanjak, however, refused to comply. His excuse was that the Imperial order contained the words: "On receipt of these orders, when you have ascertained that these two malefactors, belonging to the English pirate galleon, really committed misdeeds on the high seas, you are not to hinder the Governor of Zante from proceeding against them capitally." The Sanjak on that claimed that I should send him the prisoners for trial, and if they turned out to be guilty he promised to send them back to me. His real object was to get a large sum out of the men. I then reported to the *Bailo*, in order that he might obtain a fresh warrant without any saving clauses. This he has recently done; the orders were also accompanied by letters from the Sanjak's mother and from his agent at Constantinople. This brought the matter to a conclusion. The Sanjak wrote to me to do what I thought fit with the prisoners named in the Imperial letter. I and my Council proceeded to try the prisoners, and condemned them to death. On the eleventh of this month they were hung in a high and conspicuous place, whence they could be seen by all the city and the port; and they will hang there yet for some time as a warning.

Zante, 13th September, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

270. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of France has given the second son of the King of England the command of a company of the Scottish guard, but they do not want him to come with his men into France. Since the union of the two Crowns the King of France does not trust the Scottish guard.

Paris, 14th September, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

1604.
Sept. 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

271. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose depositions of the master of the ship "Ghirarda," plundered by the English near Strivali, and taken into Modon.

Zante, 15th September, 1605. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

272. Depositions of DOMENICO, son of ISEPPO, Master of the ship "Ghirarda."

Sailed from Canea on the 2nd inst. On Thursday last, the 13th, we were off Strivali, unable to make head against a strong north wind. At about two hours after dawn an English *berton* bore down on us. English and Turks came aboard; put part of our men ashore on Strivali; and towed away the ship. I begged to be put on shore, and they granted my request. The *berton* is of three hundred tons and upwards; a crew of ninety and forty guns. About forty of the crew were Turks from Tunis. The *berton* was eight days out from Tunis.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

273. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Mehmet Pasha, General in Hungary, is made Grand Vizir.

The Secretary of the English Ambassador complains that off Brazzo di Maina his ship was attacked by your Serenity's admiral. I am informed that the fault lies with the English, who refused to make the customary signals. If worse had overtaken them they would have deserved it. These English ships are always doing damage under cloak of friendship.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th September, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

274. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and Queen have been to Oatlands to see their second son, the Duke of Albany. After staying there two days they came to Windsor. This week they will move to Hampton Court. The King has given up the idea of making a Progress. Two reasons induced him to take this resolve; one is the plague, which is spreading in the country and also in London, where, in the last two weeks, twenty deaths have taken place each week, owing to the concourse of people for the fair of St. Bartholomew; the other and more vital reason is that the King is extremely anxious about the Union, and, as the Scottish Commissioners will be here in a few days, he intends to be present at most of the sittings, with a view to a thorough understanding of the difficulties and a moderation of the pretensions which both sides will probably advance.

1604.

The Constable on his way to Dover, when passing Gravesend, saw a number of ships full of men going over to the service of Count Maurice. He thought this monstrous, that while the ink of the treaty was hardly dry it should be thus quickly and openly violated. For the terms are that the King shall neither send aid nor permit aid to be sent. The Constable sent to the justices of the district calling on them, upon pain of his Majesty's displeasure, to arrest the troops. The justices seemed to be convinced, and the troops were forbidden to sail; but no sooner had the Constable crossed the sea than the ships continued their voyage.

M. de Caron affects to be satisfied with the peace; but really he is afraid that the Spanish will gain the ascendancy here, and that the King, who is guided by the Council, will finally abandon the States.

The negotiations between France and Spain about the thirty per cent. on French goods are still open. The French Ambassador did not succeed in arranging the matter with the Constable, who has left certain very limited powers with Taxis. England is interested because, until the question is settled, they remain deprived of their Spanish trade, for the French will not allow French goods to leave the country without a deposit to guarantee that they are not sold in Spain. There are two main difficulties, one that the Spanish wish to bind the French to sell Spanish goods nowhere else but in France, the other is that they wish to bind the King of France to keep the seas clear. This is merely intended to embroil him with the Dutch.

I have received your instructions about the saltpetre.

I shall have to bribe the ministers, otherwise they will raise a thousand difficulties. Bribery is so general in this country that it is useless to hope for anything unless this method be adopted.

London, 22nd September, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 28. Ceremoniali III. Venetian Archives.

275. Sir Henry Wotton's Arrival in Venice.

Sir Henry Wotton, the Ambassador of the King of Scotland and England, entered Venice incognito on the 23rd inst. He sent to inform Secretary Scaramelli that he desired to remain five or six days without receiving visits, so as to allow him to look about him, and also it make a purge which was necessary. He begged Scaramelli to come to him, that they might agree about the details of his public entry and audience. He was informed that he would be treated with the same ceremony as was adopted in the case of other Ambassadors of great sovereigns. Four days later the Ambassador went to the Island of San Spirito. There a number of Senators, with the Chevalier Vendramin at their head, went to meet him. and conduct him to his lodgings, and the next day to the Collegio. On his entry the Doge rose to his feet, and the whole Cabinet also. He received the Ambassador with demonstrations of affection, and they all sat down. The Ambassador then explained the object of his mission, with abundant phrases, expressing the esteem of his master for the Republic. The Doge replied in suitable terms. The hall was full of people drawn together by

1604.

the arrival of this new Ambassador. After the usual compliments the Ambassador took his leave.

Five and twenty ducats were at once voted for refreshments that day, and five and twenty for the following day.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

276. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Vlasco d'Aragona has arrived. He brings from the Constable the ratification of the treaty of peace with England.

Valladolid, 30th September, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

277. The English Ambassador salutes the Doge in the name of the King; presents his credentials; dwells on the satisfaction felt at the restoration of the ancient amity between the Republic and the kingdom of England by the presence of Ambassadors from both parties. Presents a petition on behalf of a young Scot (Thomas Seget) in prison for some youthful error.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

278. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and Queen are come to Hampton Court, and most of the Scottish Commissioners have arrived. The King cares for nothing else save this question of the Union, and so, in spite of the difficulties, it is thought it will be carried through.

The twelve Ambassadors of the Free Cities have obtained little satisfaction and are resolved to leave, but two of their number stay behind to keep the question open; their mission here was to demand the confirmation of certain ancient privileges of monopoly in London, but the English, who are pushing their trade all over the world, insist upon open markets, and have succeeded in securing the rejection of the claim by pleading the rupture of certain conditions by the Germans.

Since the King's accession the tax on currants has never been exacted, though every merchant pledged himself to pay it whenever the King called for it. That he has now done,* as he is in want of money. The members of the Levant Company appeared before the Council, and pleaded that the late Queen had granted them the right of exacting the tax, on condition that they maintained the Ambassador and Consuls, and paid four thousand sterling a year to the Crown; if his Majesty should now insist on exacting the tax himself they could no longer maintain the Ambassadors and Consuls. To this the King replied that it was a matter of no moment to him that an Ambassador should reside in Constantinople, as he had no wish to continue friendly relations with the Turk; if the Company found an Ambassador necessary for their own interests they must pay for him themselves. This answer has produced an uproar and commotion among the Levant merchants.

* Cal. S.P. Dom. July 23, 1604.

1604.

They don't know what line to adopt. The most approved suggestion is that they should sound your Serenity as to whether you would allow them *to* export from Venice free of duty, in which case they would pledge themselves to abandon all trade with Turkey.

The Spanish Ambassador, on learning that the troops, which the Constable succeeded in stopping at Gravesend, have now passed over to the service of the Dutch, resolved to go yesterday to Hampton Court to complain to the King. There is a general disaffection towards this peace, for no one can bear to see the Dutch abandoned; nor do they like this prohibition of the India navigation. The Spanish, on the other hand, are no better content, for the terms of the treaty are openly violated.

Your Serenity will have heard of the fall of Ostend.* The week before last, sixteen, last week, fourteen deaths from plague.

London, 6th October, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 6. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

279. To Ambassador Molin, in England.

Sir Henry Wotton has arrived. The terms employed by him on his reception have caused great satisfaction. We enclose letters to the King of England and the Prince of Wales (*Vaglio*), expressing our pleasure at receiving an Ambassador and our appreciation of the choice his Majesty has made. We congratulate him on the peace with Spain and the Archdukes.

Your despatches are always welcome on account of the important information they contain.

Ayes 105.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 2.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

280. To the King of England.

Thanks for his Majesty's letters and the honoured person of Sir Henry Wotton. Congratulations on the peace.

Ayes 105.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 2.

281. To the Prince of Wales.

Thanks for compliments conveyed by Ambassador Wotton.

Ayes 105.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 2.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

282. Secretary Scaramelli reports to the Cabinet that the English Ambassador (Wotton) has arrived in Venice, but that he desires to remain incognito for two or three days to put his house in order before receiving visits and to take a purge.

Although the Ambassador has been in Venice before he knows no official persons except myself; he accordingly begged me to

* Ostend surrendered on Sept. 20. Motley's United Netherlands. iv. 200.

1604.

wait upon him, in order to arrange the details of his public entry and first public audience.

I informed the Savii, who told me to obtain the permission of the Chiefs of the Council of Ten and to wait on the Ambassador at the hour indicated. I did so, and after some formal remarks the Ambassador said he desired to know when and in what state he would be received, for his master was inferior to no reigning Sovereign, and as King of Scotland was the oldest and the first Sovereign to receive baptism, and by the Union of the kingdoms of England and Ireland he acquired that power which all the world recognises now, and his Ambassador expected to be no less honourably treated than other Ambassadors.

I satisfied him on that score, and explained the usual ceremony observed in the case of Ambassadors of Crowned heads. We settled his entry for Friday afternoon. He will withdraw for this purpose to a convent on one of the little islands near by. His first audience will be on Saturday. In conversation he said he had two qualifications, the good will and the confidence of his Majesty, which would assure him attention for all that he might put forward in the course of his negotiations here. He said that he was well aware of the regard your Serenity had for religion, and so he desired before being introduced to say that he, too, was obliged to place his religious convictions before all other considerations, that he could not live without his religious rites, but these will be carefully limited to the service of himself and his staff; and he promises not to admit Flemish or Germans and barely the English, who are not in his suite, for to tell the truth most of the English resident in Venice are Catholics. This undertaking will secure that no scandal, public or private, shall take place in this City. The service will always be conducted in English. The King had given him special instructions on the subject.

He enquired how the Ambassadors of France and Spain conducted themselves on entering the Chamber, for he had heard that Spain only uncovered on reaching the steps that lead up to the throne. I replied that both these Ambassadors and the Imperial Ambassador and the Papal Nuncio uncovered at the door. He argued over this for some time, till I told him that the Doge rose from his seat on the entry of the Ambassador, whereupon he was pacified, remarking, "Oh! if the Doge rises the Ambassador certainly must uncover." He added, "I was anxious on this point, for I could not accept a difference of treatment, which might serve as a pretext for arguing that my Sovereign was in any way inferior to the others. Of course we Ambassadors will visit and dine with each other, and will have company each in his own house, but on the score of religion I shall not be able to attend his Serenity at public functions, and thus any question of precedence will be avoided. Should his Serenity ever invite me to table I hope it will be when I am to be alone; and that I suppose will be rarely." He spoke with great prudence and eloquence, and begging me to kiss your Serenity's and your Excellencies' hands he gave me my leave.

[*Italian.*]

1604.
Oct. 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

283. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary of the English Ambassador has been received in audience, and has presented letters from the King of England on the subject of piracy. He says he is to go back shortly to England, and there he will receive credentials as Ambassador here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th October, 1604.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

284. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The supercargo of the ship "Pirona" recounts that on the journey from Constantinople on the first of this month, new style, they were attacked in the Archipelago by an English *berton*. They exchanged shots for about an hour, then the Englishman sailed away towards Constantinople, and the "Pirona" continued her route. We found she was damaged and making water, though the damage was quickly remedied.

Zante, 19th October, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

285. Deposition of MARCO SALAMON of Candia, supercargo on board the Galleon "Spelegato."

Left Candia for Venice. Put into Suda for water and to wait for fair weather. Sailed again on the 26th of last month. On Thursday last, the 11th October, off Strivali, we were boarded and captured by an Englishman. Our mizen mast and sails were set on fire. Thirteen people were killed between crew and passengers, and five taken prisoners. Our crew numbered thirty-one, and there were about fifteen passengers; the *berton* was of about two hundred tons burden, and had one hundred and twenty people on board. He cannot give her name; but it was said that two Knights and two Captains were on board, and one of these was called Formin, a man of about forty years of age, black beard, medium stature, well built; the other squinted, but deponent remembereth not with which eye, thinketh it is the right; well built; about forty; thick brown beard, ordinary moustaches. Of the Knights one was thick-set, pale, black beard, about thirty; has a mark on one lip; short; fat; called Saint Andrew. The other is short; thin; blond; deponent does not know his name. The ship had a variety of flags, and used them as suited her.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in despatch from Zante, 20th October. Original Venetian Archives.

286. Deposition of FRANCESCO PENZO of Chioggia, master of the *marciliana* "Grassa."

I left Venice twenty-nine days ago with a cargo of beans. I was driven by stress of weather as far as Strivali. On Tuesday last, the 17th, an hour after daybreak, an Englishman bore down upon me from the north-west. He demanded my boat, and I sent it and went on board myself. The Captain questioned me, and

1604.

then sent on board the *marciliana* and took all that he wanted. A sail appeared to the east and the Englishman left us. He carried off a parcel of money. The ship was of about two hundred tons, with a crew of eighty. They called themselves Savoyards, but I think they are Maltese. Their ship was fully armed, and all the more so as they had the guns out of the galleon "Spelegato," which I saw lying among the ballast. I do not know the name of the ship, but the Captain is a young man, without a beard, dressed in silk, very smart, about twenty-two; thin; wiry and fair; his moustache is just beginning to show; it is auburn. The crew was mixed.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in despatch from Zante, 20th October.

287. Deposition of ZUANNE PAPILLA, supercargo of the ship "Moresina."

We left Syria on May 12th and Cyprus 14th September, for Venice. Before we left Cyprus three Florentine ships, two of five hundred and one of three hundred tons, sailed in.

Off Malta, an hour after sundown, a ship, possibly English, fired a blank shot at us. We answered with ball. She showed a light, but we would not trust her, and after exchanging shots she sailed away.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

288. GIROLAMO GIRARDO, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador is in bed, with renal pains. The Court will not leave Hampton Court till Tuesday, when it comes to London. The King stayed on there because the Scottish Commissioners have not arrived yet; though they are expected daily.

The two Ambassadors of the Free Cities have taken their departure after two audiences, in which they obtained but little satisfaction.

After some opposition the Bishop of London (Bancroft) has been named Archbishop of Canterbury. The King attempted to make the appointment, but the Chapter of Canterbury declared that the election rested with them. The King gave way. The Bishop of Chester* has been translated to London.

The Duke of Lennox has been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary in France to return the compliment of M. de Rosny's Embassy. The Spanish grumble and say that if a Duke is sent to France another must be sent to Spain. There is no English Duke, though the English endeavoured to persuade the King to create one, as they disliked a Scot taking precedence of them all, and now they are glad of this occasion, for they say the King will create three Dukes.

M. de Caron, the agent for the States, left on Monday last, the eleventh of this month, for Holland. He is to come back in a month. The King thought of sending an agent to invite the States to send their eighteen Commissioners from their nine provinces to discuss the exact sense in which the clauses of the peace are to be read; but

* Richard Vaughan.

1604.

he eventually entrusted the mission to M. de Caron. The Dutch people declare that they have been abandoned by the English. The Dutch are forcibly preventing the English from trading in any port subject to the Archduke. There is strong suspicion of a secret accord between England and Spain; and a proof is that the Spanish Ambassador, who went to the King to complain of the English troops that went into Dutch service, did not venture to say a single word, though the injury to Spain is obviously great.

When the Spanish Ambassador was at Hampton Court he came to the end of his presents, for there he found a number of English, who complained that they had received nothing, and he satisfied them all.

The week before last fifteen, and last week fourteen deaths from plague.

London, 20th October, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 30. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

289. To Ambassador Molin in England.

The Secretary to the English Ambassador in Constantinople, who has been in England, went to *Bailo* Contarini immediately on his return to the Porte, and complained that off Brazzo di Maina the ship he was on was attacked by our admiral, and exposed to the danger of being sunk. Contarini informs us that the incident arose from the Englishman not making the proper salutes, and that if worse had happened they would only have got their deserts. For these English ships, under guise of friendship, are constantly committing intolerable injuries upon our subjects.

Ayes 122.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

290. Simon Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Secretary Ronaccio is expected here from the Duke of Savoy to urge the King to press forward the proposed marriage of the Duke's daughter to the Prince of Wales.

Valladolid, 31st October, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

291. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King, Queen, and Prince came to London to-day week, the 26th of last month. They were met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens with great pomp. The King will go into the country again to course hares. I demanded audience, and it was assigned to me for Sunday at three p.m. I offered congratulations on the peace. *I wished to hear from his Majesty's own lips how he read the clause about the India navigation, and I said, "Sire, your subjects may trade with Spain and Flanders, but not with the Indies." "What for no?" said the King. "Because," I re-*

1604.

plied, "the clause is read in that sense." "They are making a great error whoever they are who hold this view," said his Majesty; "the meaning is quite clear." I then went on to tell him of the arrival of his Ambassador in Venice, where he had been heartily welcomed as the representative of a beloved Prince and for his own merits as well. The King replied that he had received despatches from the Ambassador, relating the honours rendered, and for which he felt obliged. He said that he had chosen Wotton because he had known him long ago in Scotland, whither the Grand Duke had sent him as being a discreet and prudent gentleman, who had lived so long in Italy that he was master of its manners and its tongue.

Only six people have died of the plague in the last fortnight; and as that is nothing out of the common I will not make any further reports on this subject.

London, 2nd November, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

292. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The question of free trade and the thirty per cent. tax has been settled between France and Spain in Paris. The King of England is very well satisfied.

The Earl of Moray (*Moret*), a great Scottish nobleman, has been summoned here on the charge of having urged the Scottish Parliament to swear never to accept the Union. The Earl found great difficulty in speaking to his Majesty. He received but little satisfaction, and the Council has forbidden him to approach within fifteen miles of London or to go further away from it than thirty, until he has cleared himself of the charge against him. The Scottish Commissioners have almost all arrived. The Marischal and another are still wanting. They say they cannot come, as four small boats containing all their luggage have gone down at sea, and they declare that they cannot possibly arrive in London unless the King helps them. But as a matter of fact this conduct on their part is attributed to disinclination rather than to anything else. The King is much annoyed; and in spite of the absence of these gentlemen he insisted on a meeting of the Commissioners on Saturday last. Nothing was settled except that three copies of the agenda should be taken; one for the King, and one for each Parliament.

This morning the King resolved to issue a proclamation to be published in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen, ordering all officers and ministers of the Crown to style the King for the future as "of Great Britain, France, and Ireland;" to use that style in all documents where his Majesty is mentioned, and to coin money with that legend.

Many of these English corsairs have, since the peace with Spain, taken service with the Dutch. *The Spanish Ambassador complains loudly of this. The Ambassador told me that he would endeavour to persuade the King to insist upon the payment of the two millions in gold due from Holland within a year's time. If he succeeds I have no doubt but that this will be the death blow to the*

1604.

Dutch; for if they pay up they cannot go on with the war, if they do not the King will dispose of the cautionary towns as he pleases; that is, he can hand them over to Spain, who would willingly pay the two millions and more for their possession.

London, 3rd November, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

293. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, FRANCESCO CONTARINI, OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador, though invited, did not attend the banquet; the English Ambassador excused himself on the point of precedence.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th November, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

294. The English Ambassador presents a note on the subject of the merchants of London, with whom he had had a conference, in which they stated their grounds of complaint. On his arrival in Venice he had had consultations with the English merchants there resident. He finds that all that has taken place since 1580 to the prejudice of Venetians in England or English in Venice is entirely due not to any lack of good will, but to the want of ministers resident at the respective Courts. He presents the following suggestions:—

1. That English merchants, who are constantly molested by the officials detaining their lighters with cargo for their ships, shall for the future enjoy the privileges of the German Exchange House, as regards the detention of cargo.

2. That English merchants for the future shall not be subject to a heavier anchorage tax than the subjects of other Princes, who pay as the Venetians themselves pay.

3. As the law forbids the vessels of English merchants to reload in Venice unless they have discharged two-thirds of their cargo there, should it happen that there is not in Venice a market for such an amount, they shall be allowed to ship what remains on board their own or Venetian vessels for other ports.

4. That English merchants be at liberty to hire out English vessels in the Levant or in the West to all who ask for them.

5. That English merchants be at liberty to invest capital as they choose.

Having read the above the Ambassador went on, "Most Serene Prince, before I left England my master ordered me to recommend to you a case for the exercise of clemency in the person of a Venetian subject banished from his country; the recommendation is supported by this letter, which I beg you to cause to be read."

Letter from King James in favour of Antonio Dotto. Dated "from our Palace of Winchester, 21st November, 1603."

The letter having been read the Ambassador proceeded to say that "the King refused to assist Antonio Dotto until he had read the sentence of outlawry; but after examining it he found that it

1604.

contained no indication of deeds infamous or atrocious, nay, that it mentioned the payment of a small sum to the injured parties, a sign that the offence was not serious. My master wishes to limit his request to a safe conduct for three years, in order that Dotto may get his daughter married."

The Doge replied on the first point that the English had always been treated the same as the Venetians, and would be so for the future; as to the case of Dotto he recalled a certain man of that name banished for very heinous crimes. The whole question, however, belongs to the Council of Ten, and there it shall be raised.

The Ambassador returned thanks, and expressed hope of some benefit. He assured the Doge that if the English merchants were reasonably treated they would in a few years abandon the Levant trade and concentrate at Venice. The Ambassador then rose to his feet and said, "I give you news that their Majesties are well; the Queen is with child, and will soon present us an English Prince." The Doge replied, and the Ambassador departed.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

295. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King wanted to go to Royston for hunting, but the Commissioners for the Union remonstrated with him, and so he stayed, though against his will. The commission meets three times a week. All the Scottish members are present except the Earl Marischal and another great nobleman, both of whom have been banished by the King for this conduct. As yet nothing of moment has been done except the abolition of certain reciprocal prohibitions, about the marriages of Scottish and English, and about the traffic and trade between the two countries. They have agreed upon a common coinage. They are now coming to the more difficult points. The King has ordered the payment of ten thousand pounds sterling to the Scottish gentlemen, who lost all their luggage on four boats that went to the bottom. The treasurer raises difficulties, either because there is such a scarcity of money or because of the ill-humour of the English at these large presents to Scots. The King insists.

The King is considering the suggestion of farming out the customs. His objects are to know exactly how much he has and to put an end to the continual frauds on the revenue. He struck the average of the last ten years, and put the customs up to auction; Secretary Cecil took them over at a rise of twenty-nine thousand pounds. It has also been suggested to his Majesty to levy a tax on salt, which even at a moderate rate would bring in upwards of a million of gold. The King is in doubt, as he fears that the people may complain of increased taxation when peace has been concluded with Spain. But many think it will be levied; for the King is very hard up for money; his income is only a million and a half of gold per annum; if indeed it touches that sum; that is, not counting subsidies, of which no account can be taken, as Parliament is not sitting, and if it were its temper is well known. Recently the King has farmed out the tax on currants for 22,000 crowns; it used to be conceded to the Levant Company for 16,000

1604.

crowns. The Lord Chamberlain * has taken it. The merchants are disgusted; they threaten to dissolve the company and to abandon the Levant trade altogether.

Yesterday, after the sermon, which the King attends every Tuesday besides the feastdays, his Majesty touched a number of sufferers from scrofula; it remains to be seen with what result.

The Duke of Holstein, the Queen's brother, has arrived. He is going to raise ten thousand men for service in Hungary.

London, 17th November, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

296. Simon Contarini and Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday last the peace with England was proclaimed from several platforms throughout the city; but without much ceremony.

Valladolid, 23rd November, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

297. Maffio Michiel, Governor in Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 18th of this month an English ship arrived in port. She hailed last from Chios, and had on board Ismail, a son of the late King of Morocco, the King, I mean, who fell in battle against Don Sebastian. This son is now twenty-eight years old. After his father's death he fled to Constantinople, where he lived till the present time; the throne of Morocco going to his uncle. He has now been secretly invited back to Morocco by the chiefs, who are sick of the bad government and disunion among the four sons of the late King, cousins of Ismail. To Ismail they promise the throne, and assure him that there are ten thousand outlaws in the mountains, all of whom will be for him. He is to have the support of the Viceroy of Algiers, who is also a passenger by the same ship, and holds a commission from the Sultan to place Ismail on the throne. He has no more money than will suffice for this journey. The ship sailed to-day.

Zante, 25th November, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

298. Maffio Michiel, Governor in Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

Pirates continue to infest these seas, and I do not fail to exact caution-money from all English ships which touch here, that they shall neither molest your Serenity's subjects nor smuggle.

Zante, 26th November, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

* Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

1604.
Dec. 1.
Minutes of the Council of Ten. Venetian Archives.

299. That for important public reasons Anthony Sherley (*Sciarles*), Englishman, be summoned to appear to-morrow morning before our Tribunal, and that he be solemnly enjoined to leave our City within two days, and our dominions within four, under pain of death, never to return.

This resolution to be communicated to the Rectors in Padua, to our Ambassadors in Rome, the Imperial Court, France, Spain, and England; to the Savii of the Collegio; to the Rectors of

Vicenza.	Candia.
Verona.	Zante.
Brescia.	Cephalonia.
Bergamo.	Corfu.
Crema.	Zara.
Treviso.	Governors in Dalmatia.
Udine.	Governor of Palma.

Ayes 15.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

300. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

About three months ago some English merchants wished to complain to Council of the treatment of an English ship—on board which was the Secretary to the English Ambassador in Constantinople—by a Venetian ship. I asked for full information, but they either could not or would not give it me. The matter remained in abeyance; but ten or twelve days ago some of the crew of the ship arrived in England and laid full information. This resulted in a petition to Council. They say that they fell in with the galleys of Venice and, according to custom, they shortened sail and sent the Captain on board. The Commander of the galleys enquired who they were; they replied "English for Constantinople." He said he did not believe a word, for he knew very well that all the English were pirates; and that he must see the ship's books and the letters from the King of England to the Grand Signor. He sent to tell the master to come on board. Answer was returned that Englishmen were not accustomed to leave their ship for so slight a cause. Then the Commander of the galleys lost his temper and gave orders to engage. The English were not panic-stricken, though they were one against nine galleys, but they fought valiantly for a long while, and slew a number of the Venetians, and stove in the stern of the Commander's galley. He sent back the men and the boat and sheered off. These English boast that a vessel of only two hundred and fifty tons had the pluck to engage nine galleys and to beat them off. The English now claim damages; and besides the petition to Council they have moved the King. He asked if they had spoken to me; they said "no." The King told them to do so or to leave a memorandum with him, and he would speak to me. I have heard nothing more, but expect the

1604.

Council to address me on the matter shortly. I am not fully advised by your Serenity how the matter really stands.

London, the first of December, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

301. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Holstein * arrived in London last Monday week, the 22nd of November. He went straight to Court, and after a few words of compliment he said, "*Sire, your Majesty has committed a great mistake in concluding peace with Spain, and you will soon find it out.*" *He said much the same to the Queen, his sister. He is a young Prince of twenty-four without much knowledge of the world, who speaks and acts with great freedom. The Ambassadors have been to visit him; he ignored all etiquette, and did not even accompany them a single step; for this reason or because of his remarks to the King, the Spanish Ambassador informed the Duke that he must consider the visit as the visit not of his Catholic Majesty's representative but of a private gentleman. The Duke was rather surprised, but when the Ambassador was taking his leave, he said in French, "I should be delighted to please you if I could;" the Spanish Ambassador, who knows very little French, supposed that the Duke had offered his services to the King, and replied, "I will not fail to inform my master of your Highness' good will and desire to serve him," but the Duke broke in, "I never said that; I have no intention of serving your master."*

The King has settled at last to send the High Admiral as his Ambassador to Spain to receive the oath to the treaty of peace. The Earl of Arundel, one of the greatest nobles, for wealth and birth, will accompany him, along with many other peers, for they intend that this Embassy shall be in no way inferior to the Embassy of the Constable. But the presents will be nowhere near as rich. A lieger is to accompany the Extraordinary Embassy, but he is not named yet. He is to leave in February.

During the last few days papers have been found fixed up in various places; they contained attacks upon the King. The Mayor took one of these to his Majesty. They accuse the King of attending to nothing but his pleasures, especially to the chase, and of leaving all government entirely in the hands of his ministers, as though he had come to the throne for nothing else than to go a-hunting; warning him, too, that unless he changes he will bring himself and the kingdom as well down to the ground. The King flew into a passion, and ordered the Mayor to use all diligence to arrest the culprits; he declared that he was ready to spend fifty thousand crowns for the purpose; but there are no results as yet. As the King came to this Crown by inheritance he desires to extinguish the names "English" and "Scottish," and that all should be called "Britons." The French Ambassador is of opinion that the treaty which ran between his master and the "King of Scots" would thereby be annulled. This was M. de Rosny's view as well. This alliance was offensive and defensive, only if France went to war she was to pay the troops furnished by Scotland,

* Duke Ulric. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1604, p. 186.

1604.

if Scotland went to war France was to pay the troops she furnished. This condition was agreed to on account of the Scottish King's poverty; but now that he has succeeded to a rich and flourishing kingdom the French Ambassador wishes the alliance to be renewed on an absolute equality of terms. The King, who is not very willing to renew the alliance, because the Spanish are almost sure to hear of it and to grow suspicious, is glad that innovations on the old treaty are suggested, as this will give him a pretext for withdrawing from the promises made to M. de Rosny.

The Dutch pursue all shipping that touches the coast of Flanders, without any regard as to whether it be French, Spanish or Englisn. Recently they seized two Englishmen with cargoes of cloth to the value of fifty and sixty thousand crowns. The owners cry out, and have petitioned the Council, but get nothing save words and promises that when the Dutch Commissioners come the question will be raised, and advice that, meantime, they had better abandon the trade to Flanders.

London, the first of December, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

302. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago the *berton* "Moresini," which sailed from here on the 19th November, returned to this port. She had been plundered by a pirate just outside the channel. I am the largest sufferer, for these robbers have ruined or stolen the greater part of my household goods and those of my Chancellor and officer. As it was the end of my time of service we had put most of our personal effects on board, thinking that the "Moresini" was a good, sound, well-armed ship. But unluckily she fell in with these assassins. The master, as he was on board the pirate during the plundering, cannot give ocular testimony, but the passengers assure me that the larger number of the pirates are English, and that they fell on my goods like mad dogs, though they left the other merchandize of value alone. What they did not want, such as majolica and earthenware, they broke to bits in glee and also some boxes belonging to my family; but the greatest proof of their cruelty is that they killed some doves that my womenfolk were sending home for their particular delight. The birds were kept in a cage over the ship's side, and the pirates killed them all and threw them into the sea. This they did, I take it, to wreak vengeance on me for having hung a Captain and three English sailors. I do not complain, for I am ready to lay down my own and my children's life in service of your Serenity.

Zante, 4th December, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

303. Deposition of MARCO, son of ZUANNE of Venice, master of the *berton* "Moresini;" called the "Santa Maria."

We sailed on the 19th November. When off Prevesa a pirate bore down on us. I challenged her and the answer came in English, which I don't understand. Then as they still came on our

1604. English Captain cried, "I am Captain Abraham Las," and immediately the whole crew of the pirate uncovered. We exchanged salutes, and then the master of the corsair came alongside in a skiff, and with him the Captain, some soldiers and sailors. We made them welcome; and after eating and drinking they all went back to their own ship except the Captain. With them went two of our crew, Englishmen, the gunner and a sailor. After a bit we saw them haul in their boat; and I took it for a bad sign. I hailed them to come and fetch their Captain and to send back our two men. They answered that in getting the boat aboard they had stove her in; and asked me to send ours. I consulted with the Captain, and expressed doubts as to our safety. He assured me that it was all right, and that he knew his countrymen. I, seeing that we could not anyway withstand them, as they had twenty-eight guns and a hundred men, resolved to go in person. This I did next morning; the corsair cruising round us all night. I took some of my crew with me, though they were very unwilling, and an English passenger called Rimondo went with me, and my supercargo, also English. No sooner were we on board than they all began to chatter together, and presently commenced to put on their swords. Then about thirty of them got into the boat and came aboard this ship. I was taken below to a cabin, where they gave me food. When night came I saw the boat come back from our ships full of things, which they had taken, after breaking open all the boxes and trunks, though their chief officer made us understand that if any of us saw anything belonging to himself he was to point it out, and it would be restored; and under cover of this they did give back a few things, but most they hid away. A question then arose among them. Some wanted to carry off the ship, others to give her back to us. They came to blows, and one was badly wounded. Our English Captain came on board and succeeded in pacifying them, and he succeeded in obtaining our ship for us. We were all sent back, and the pirate went off. I found the whole ship pillaged. The Englishman was about four hundred tons. The crew were all young and beardless, and among them were four or five Captains; one was called Bully (*Pule*).

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

304. The English Ambassador renews his petition in favour of English merchants and of Antonio Dotto. Justifies his master's action as regards peace with Spain. Defends himself from a rumour that Italians had attended service in his house; says the rumour may have been spread by some of his own household; promises to maintain such quiet and order in his house as are due to the Republic.

The King instructed his Ambassador, at Constantinople to maintain perfect accord with the Ambassador in Venice and to take his policy from him. The Ambassador in Venice offers his services at Constantinople. Doge replied that the questions of the English merchants and of Antonio Dotto were under discussion. As to the peace the actions of great Kings are always criticised. "Feriunt altos fulmina montes." He is sure that the Ambassador will not admit to service in his house any but his own suite. Thanks for offers about Constantinople.

1604.

The Ambassador again asks that the young Scotchman's (Seget) case be tried at once.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Consiglio Dieci. Processi Crim. Venetian Archives.

305. Motion that sentence be pronounced on Thomaso Segetto, a Scot.

Ayes 12.
Noes 3.
Sentence moved that he be banished.
Ayes 5.
Sentence that he be imprisoned for three years, and then banished.
Ayes 10.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

306. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have lately seen Cecil. He told me that the Council had instructed Secretary Harpur (*Harput*) to come to me and to complain of the treatment which an English vessel had suffered at the hands of the Venetians; as the case touched the honour of the King and of the kingdom. I said "I knew nothing about it except what I heard here, and I could not believe that. If anything has happened it will be found to be due to the fault of the English Captain."

The Levant merchants are in doubt what to do. They have lost the revenue of the customs on currants, out of which they used to maintain the Ambassador at Constantinople and the Consuls in the Levant. The Chamberlain draws the revenue now. Some of the members have come to terms with those to whom Cecil has sublet the customs. His gain is six thousand pounds; some have rented the new import on currants from the Chamberlain, at a profit to him of two thousand pounds. The company will soon be dissolved.

London, 15th December, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

307. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Commissioners for the Union have finally, though after great difficulties, settled all the important points. In substance their decision is as follows:

The abolition of all laws and statutes indicative of hostility between the two countries.

The King and his ministers are to discover before February next some method of arranging all the border claims for damages inflicted since 1597. If they do not succeed the Parliaments of both countries are to assume the duty, so that not merely hostile legislation but all memory of hostile acts may be wiped out.

Free traffic and trade between the kingdoms; free and equal contracts; free hiring of ships. Only wool not made up (*messe in opera*) and hides shall not be exported from England to Scotland; animals and linen not made up shall not be exported from

1604.

Scotland to England. All subjects born in either kingdom after the death of Elizabeth (the "postnati") shall without distinction be equally eligible for honours, dignities, offices, benefices, equally capable of holding lands or succeeding thereto. The same shall hold good for all born before the Queen's death, except in case of Court or judicial appointments or seats in Parliament; this, however, without injury to the royal prerogative.

Steps to be taken to secure that the criminals of one kingdom do not escape by flying to the other; for the judicatures of both kingdoms shall remain separate.

These are the terms agreed on, but some of the Commissioners are unwilling to sign. When the King heard this he resolved to come to London yesterday evening to carry through the subscribing of the articles. These will be submitted to the English and the Scottish Parliaments.

The Queen was to have gone to Greenwich, but put off her journey, and probably will not go now. She is with child. She would not admit it till a few days ago. Her doctors advise her to go to Greenwich, as there is smallpox at Court, and a very favourite maid-of-honour is ill with it; her Majesty cannot refrain from visiting her, so great is their love, and the doctors fear she may contract the disease.

News arrived yesterday that the Spanish in the West Indies have captured two English vessels. They cut off the hands, feet, noses and ears of the crews and smeared them with honey and tied them to trees to be tortured by flies and other beasts. The Spanish here plead that they were pirates, not merchants, and did not know of the peace. But the barbarity makes people here cry out.

M. de Caron is at Middleburg, waiting to cross. He comes alone. *The Spanish Ambassador thereupon went to the King, and urged him to insist upon the presence of the Dutch Commissioners, otherwise his reputation would suffer. The King said he did not see it in that light, and that four months sooner or later was of no great moment. When the Commissioners do come the King says that in fulfilment of his obligations he will propose the peace with Spain; but that he would never force it on them, nor indeed be at pains to persuade them to it, an answer which disgusted the Spanish Ambassador. He is losing hope of accomplishing the peace through the King of England. Troops pass over to Holland every day; among others the third son of Cecil's brother.**

London, 16th December, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

308. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In the case of the Marquise de Verneuil, it is thought that the Englishman will be put to death.

Paris, 21st December, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

309. The English Ambassador again recommends the Paduan Dotto. He presents a letter written by a younger Antonio Dotto, declaring that the King of England and the Ambassador

* Sir Edward Cecil, afterwards Viscount Wimbledon.

1604.

must be in ignorance or they would never protect the elder Dotto. Ambassador complains of this letter.

Doge replies that the crimes are so enormous that they must refuse. Crimes read out. Ambassador says he will drop the matter.

He then read a note in favour of Roland Coymort of London, master of the ship "Lucky Elizabeth" (*Elisabeth felice*), which he sold to Gerome Grimani for five thousand ducats, to be paid four thousand in cash and one thousand in purple broad cloth (*panni otto pavonazzi*), as appears from the deed of sale. The ship was consigned to Grimani, who, however, keeps on delaying payment.

Doge replied that of course Grimani must pay, and that he would be called to-morrow morning to the Cabinet and urged to do so.

The Ambassador said that he thought Grimani failed to pay because others had failed to pay him.

He then opened another memorandum:—The petition of Captain John Pontois, master of the ship the "Marita," for payment of his freights, which have been seized by the Five Savii alla Mercantia, on the petition of Angelo and Giovanni Battista Zaguri, who declare that she had stolen a cargo which ought to have come on board the Zaguri's ship at Tripoli in Syria.

The Doge suggested sending for the Savii alla Mercantia to hear how the matter stood. The Ambassador took leave.

As the Ambassador had carried off the letter written from Padua, I, the Secretary, was sent after him to ask for it; he gave it me, and said he did not intend to trouble himself because the Dotto affair had taken a bad turn for the present as nondum abreviata est manus domini.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

310. FRANCESCO PRIULI and SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 11th of this month the Constable of Castille arrived from England. He has been very well received. The Marquis Spinola arrived the day following.

Valladolid, 24th December, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

311. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose the depositions of the crew of a ship which was wrecked on Strivali. They with another ship of sixteen banks in consort with three Neapolitan *bertoni* captured an English ship which had been committing piracy for the last seven years.

Zante, 28th December, 1604. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

312. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No sooner had the King arrived in London than the articles of Union were subscribed by the Commissioners, and his Majesty returned at once to the country. He came back to London on

1604.

Saturday, and will not leave again till the middle of February. Meantime the Ambassadors appointed to various courts are getting ready. The Duke of Lennox goes to France; he will leave in three or four days. Baron (?) (*Sulz*) and Sir Thomas Edmondes (*Edmont*), Clerk of the Council, who has served in France, will leave for Flanders in the middle of January; the first as Ambassador Extraordinary to receive the oath of the Archdukes; the second will stay on as lieger. The High Admiral will leave for Spain at the end of February, and a lieger will accompany him, though he is not named yet. The King has given the Admiral ten thousand pounds and a post * held by Sir Walter Rayleigh, one of the conspirators who was condemned to death last year, but pardoned. The Admiral sold his grant for one hundred thousand crowns. He wishes this Embassy to appear in Spain with all splendour. They are preparing magnificent caparisons, wrought in gold and pearls for twelve mules; six of these will be given to the King and six to the Queen.

The owners of that ship which the Dutch recently seized have made such a row that the King and Council have resolved to write to Count Maurice. It is believed that everything will be restored to the rightful owners. The Council have, however, issued a warning that all who trade with Flanders for the future do so at their own risk. For until the Commissioners arrive, which will be in February, as M. de Caron, who returned four days ago declares, they wish to do nothing to hamper the States.

Here they are preparing to keep Christmas (*Crisme*) with great solemnity and an unwonted splendour. The Queen's brother, the Duke of Holstein, is here. Her Majesty is preparing a masque,† which will cost twenty-five thousand crowns. At Court they are studying how the Ambassadors can be present at the festival. But as the King declines to make any decision as to precedence between France and Spain, it is held certain that no Ambassador will be invited, and if anyone is curious to see the sight he must go privately. When the festivities are over, which will be about Candlemass, the Queen will retire to Greenwich, nor will she leave it till her confinement.

The Bishop of London has recently taken possession of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, with the usual ceremonies. He is Primate of England, and they say he will be made Primate of Great Britain, but that would offend the Scottish, so the subject is postponed.

His Majesty has given orders that seventy of the most learned subjects of this Crown, in imitation of the Septuagint, are to be chosen to revise the Scriptures, both in the Vulgate and the English Bibles, which are suspected to be full of error. Many are already named, and the matter is being pressed forward. The whole subject gives rise to various remarks, for it is generally held to be the suggestion of some devilish spirit for the sowing of fresh discord in the Church and among the Christian flock.

M. de Caron had an audience of his Majesty, and excused his masters for not having sent Commissioners. The reason alleged was the necessity they were in for raising money at once to meet

* "Grant to treat with persons holding taverns for fines and licences, etc." Cal. S.P., Dom. 8 Dec., 1604. † Cal. S.P., Dom. Jan. 10, 1605.

1604.

next year's war. He promised that they would without fail be here in February or March.

The King replied that he willingly accepted their excuses, and was quite satisfied that they should give precedence to their more important business; but he added that he would also suggest a peace with Spain. De Caron answered that the Dutch would always listen to all his Majesty might be pleased to say, but that in his judgment success would be difficult if not impossible unless Spain would recognise the complete and absolute independence of Holland. To this the King made no reply.

M. de Caron has gained in reputation. When the Commissioners arrive he will be raised to the rank of Ambassador; his salary is 1,600 crowns larger, and so he now receives 400 a month.*

London, 29th December, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 30. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

313. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As I informed your Serenity, the King published an order against all Puritan ministers, who within the space of two months should not make submission to their Ordinary. If they declined they were to be deprived of their benefices, and expelled as disturbers of public peace. The limit of two months is now passed, and a few days ago two hundred Puritans and more went to his Majesty at Royston, begging him not to put in execution his order against their ministers,† for all were resolved to lose livings, country, life itself in defence of their creed. If the Edict were carried out the petitioners would be left without a ministry. *These ideas were set forth in terms partly supplicatory, partly minatory. His Majesty took it to be almost an act of rebellion. He, however, made use of friendly words in reply, and told them to send some of their number to the Council, whom he would instruct to give them honest satisfaction. The orders he did give to the Council were that when the petitioners appeared they or the principal among them were to be arrested. This was done, and on examination it was found that this is sedition with roots spreading far wider than was supposed. The number of Puritans is great, and the sect includes some distinguished persons. The King and Council are very anxious, for his Majesty neither can nor ought to tolerate the presence in his kingdom of a number of persons, who refuse to recognise authority, be it spiritual or temporal. This has brought his Majesty in haste to London, otherwise he would have stayed in the country. Meantime they are doing all they can to discover the leaders of the sedition; and every day some one is arrested. The King is afraid lest they should appeal to Parliament, which is to meet in February, and numbers many Puritans and members bold enough to maintain that the King cannot reasonably veto legislation, and that if he does they will cut off supplies. The King is afraid lest if the leaders of the party appealed to Parliament on this incident something troublesome might turn up, and so he has resolved to prorogue the session till May, in order to have time to deal with Noncon-*

* That is £1,200 per an.

† For the whole subject of the Enforcement of Conformity see Gardiner I., 197, 198, though he takes no notice of this Royston petition, and refers only to the Northampton petition of February 9th, 1605.

1604.

formist members, and to secure that they shall do nothing in favour of their sect. If he does not succeed in this he will summon Parliament only to dissolve it, and thus avoid the possibility of some act which would give encouragement to this cursed sect; for he is convinced that such an issue would be injurious to the nation and even more injurious to himself.

The Ambassador of the Archdukes, who will be a son of President Richardot, is expected here; some say as Ambassador Extraordinary till d'Aremberg's son-in-law shall arrive. *Any way there is a rumour that the Archduke has opinions concerning Flanders very different from those of Spain, and that he finds he must keep his own Envoy at this Court to look after his interests; all the more so as rumour is rife that there will be a match between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta, who will bring the Low Countries as her dower. Although I am informed that the Spanish Ambassador has not broached the subject yet to his Majesty, it is none the less true that he is not displeased at the currency given to the report; he even cunningly encourages it. The rumour has reached the ears of the Archduke, who naturally is annoyed at any suggestion of touching the Provinces during his lifetime.*

A large quantity of powder is being exported to Italy, for the use of the Grand Duke. I have forwarded the sample of saltpetre.

London, 30th December, 1604.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 30. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

314. Motion that the English Ambassador be invited to attend before the Cabinet (*Collgio*); and that the following be read to him: My Lord Ambassador, although the ordinary Courts of Justice would certainly have disposed of the case pending between Captain Roland Caitmort of London and our Geronimo Grimani, son of the late Giacomo Grimani, about the sale of Captain Roland's ship; none the less, to satisfy your Lordship, we have assumed the case to ourselves and given such orders as will secure the prompt payment of Captain Roland. In the case of the Englishman Pontois against the Zaguri for freight we have given orders for the expeditious settlement of the suit.

As long as the English pay the customs they shall receive all good treatment from us.

As to the other four points, they affect the whole question of commerce. If England will place our subjects upon the same footing as themselves we will enter on a discussion with a view to establishing mutual free trade.

Ayes 169.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 14.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

315. To Ambassador Molin, in England.

We have received letters from the King of England warmly recommending Antonio Dotto for freedom from his outlawry or at least a safe conduct for three years. This, as you know, is an affair belonging to the Council of X., and they have found various difficulties in the way of acceding to the King's request on account of the many serious crimes of the said Dotto. We are sorry that

1604.

we cannot oblige his Majesty, and to justify our refusal we have shown his Ambassador a list of Dotto's misdeeds. You are to convey this refusal in suitable terms and to explain the nature of our judicial system to his Majesty.

We send you copy of letter from our Admiral *aprôpos* to that English ship. You will explain that although the English out here are continually doing damage to our subjects, yet they decline to be searched. It is a lie that this vessel has done any damage whatever to any of our ships, and the English Secretary in Constantinople says not a word about that to our Ambassador. The temerity of a private merchantman in refusing to acknowledge the Admiral's flag of a friendly power ought to be repressed.

Ayes 169.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 14.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

316. To the KING OF ENGLAND.

Declining to grant a grace to Antonio Doto; and expressing sorrow for their inability to gratify the King in this matter.

Ayes 169.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 14.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

317. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Dutch, in order to show that they are quite able to carry on the war alone, are making great efforts for next year's campaign.

Valladolid, 31st December, 1604.

[*Italian.*]

1605.

Jan. 3. Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

318. The English Ambassador summoned to the Cabinet and the resolution of the Senate, in date December 30th, read to him.

He replied, "Most Serene Prince, if I understand rightly the three questions of Pontois, Roland and the English merchants' lighters are exhausted. On the remaining points I am not so well able to grasp the meaning, and so I beg your Serenity to let the Secretary read again."

The Doge answered that the Secretary would, in another chamber, read and re-read the resolution, and the Ambassador might take notes if he pleased.

The Ambassador then opened a memorandum, read it over to himself, and said that he could not refrain from complaining that the just requests of his master were met by a proposal to grant them on condition that certain concessions were made. That is not

1605.

the way Ambassador Molin is treated in England. He had hoped for a ready consent; but if the Republic intend to deal with these questions in the way it seemed inclined to, he begged them to waste no time over their decision, for the excuse of stress of business was of no weight in the face of so many able and experienced Senators.

He added, "I must tell your Serenity that I have letters from the English Ambassador in Constantinople, offering of his own accord to be of all service to your Serenity."

The Doge returned thanks for these offers of help, but added that he desired to disabuse the mind of the Ambassador of an error. In every Court of Europe it takes a long time to reach a decision, even though everything depends upon the will of a single Sovereign; in the Republic the number of councillors rendered the process even longer. He assured the Ambassador that everything that was possible would be done to please him. As regards the letter young Antonio Dotto wrote to the Ambassador, he denies that he wrote it, nor can it be proved to be in his hand.

The Ambassador replied that in showing the letter he had no desire to injure Dotto; and that it was nothing to him that steps should be taken against Dotto.

The Doge answered: "But it is something to the Republic, who insist on respect being paid to your person."

He then passed into another room, where the resolution of the Senate was read to him by the Secretary. He kept on repeating that it is a strange answer to a just demand to say, "I'll grant your request if you grant me mine." He said he would put together all the papers on the subject. On taking his leave he pressed to be given back the letter of Antonio Dotto.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

319. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Rosny, though close in all other respects, shows himself liberal towards the States. He advises the King to continue the four hundred and fifty thousand crowns subvention to the States, although the King of England refuses to continue his share of the contribution, namely, one hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

The party opposed to this policy declare that the King of Spain will not stand this covert war much longer, but will be forced to declare war openly against France.

Paris, 4th January, 1605.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

320. Anzolo Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Among the Marquise de Verneuil's papers they have found a number of love letters and also a portrait of Marshal de Biron with a red sash, the sign of the Spanish faction; also a note, in her father's handwriting, of the information furnished by him to the

1605.

Spanish Ambassador. The Duke of Lennox is expected at Court as Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of England as a return for the Embassy of M. de Rosny.

Paris, 4th January, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

321. The English Ambassador announces the appointment of Secretary Herbert to deal with the commercial relations between England and Venice. He complains of the seizure of two English vessels, and demands their restitution. Begs for a better distinction between privateers and honest merchants.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

322. Ottaviano Bon, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador makes representations, in order to secure that pirates should not be sheltered in Modon, Coron, Lepanto and Patras.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 8th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

323. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The eve of the Epiphany, St. Stephen's day, old style, Sir Lewis Lewkenor, the receiver of Ambassadors, visited me, to tell me in his Majesty's name that the next day the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert (*Arber*), Groom-of-the-Chamber and prime favourite of his Majesty, would be celebrated at Court.* Sir Philip is brother of the Earl of Pembroke, who is married to a niece of Secretary Cecil. The King invited me to be present, and in the name of the couple begged me to honour their wedding. I replied that I felt highly flattered and would attend. I asked if any other Ambassadors were to be invited; Sir Lewis replied that if they came at all it would be incognito, so as to avoid all quarrel about precedence. I asked if I was to dine at the King's table; he said that detail was not yet settled, but that when he came to fetch me next morning he would tell me. This he did, and informed me that the King and Queen would dine in their own private apartments, and I would sit at the bride and bridegroom's table along with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Holstein. I enquired as to the arrangement of the guests, and Sir Lewis said the bride would take the head of the table, the Prince on her right, I opposite the Prince, and the Duke next me; the rest of the table would be filled with the Lords of Council and Court officials with their wives. This seemed to me a position sufficiently honourable for your Serenity's Ambassador, so I went to Court. After the service we took our places at table in the order explained. I could see that the Duke of Holstein was rather put out. After the banquet was over, and very sumptuous

* Herbert married Lady Susan Vere. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1605. Jan. 7.

1605

it was, everyone retired to his own apartments till the servants had prepared the room for dancing till suppertime. But so great was the crowd that dancing was out of the question, and so everybody kept his room till supper. As suppertime approached someone said to me that the crush was so great that he feared they would not be able to serve it. Presently someone said that the bride had taken her place, but such was the confusion that many guests had left. While I was waiting for the Chamberlain to conduct me to table, as he had done in the morning, I heard that the bride and the Prince were seated and that the Duke had got my place. I had just sent one of my suite to see whether it was true, when Sir Lewis arrived in a passion, swearing that he would go and find out what the Chamberlain meant by neglecting to conduct me to table; at that moment the Chamberlain himself appeared and begged most earnestly to be pardoned, as the error was great it was true, but it had happened through inadvertence. I replied that such errors were easily pardoned, but that I feared this was a ruse; and any way, in order to avoid being exposed to further mistakes, I intended to go home. He implored me to wait till he had spoken to the King. I consented, but informed him positively that I would not attend the masquerade unless my place of the morning was secured for me. Meantime they served me supper in Cecil's rooms; and presently there came thither Sir (Roger) Aston, gentleman-in-waiting to the King, to beg me in his Majesty's name to excuse the occurrence and to believe that it was entirely due to the crowd and confusion, and to say that he was waiting me in his own rooms to take me with him to the masquerade. I replied that I thanked the King, but that I was waiting an answer from the Chamberlain as to certain questions I had addressed to him. The Chamberlain shortly after appeared and said the King was still waiting me, and assured me that I should have my place. I accordingly went at once to the King's rooms, which I found full of ladies and the Lords of the Council. They one and all begged me not to take in bad part what was the result of pure accident, as I should presently be convinced. At this moment their Majesties left their rooms; I bowed to them, and the King took me by the hand and walking towards the hall, where the masque was prepared, he said that in such a confusion it was impossible to avoid some such accident, but that I might rest assured that his intention was to do all honour to the representative of the Republic. I replied that the affection which the Republic bore to his person merited the regard he felt for her. With this we reached the hall of the masque; the Duke of Holstein walking in front uncovered. We entered a box by five or six steps; in it were two chairs; the King took one, the Queen the other, a stool was prepared for me on the King's right, and another for the Duke on the Queen's left, but he would not sit down; he preferred to stand uncovered for the three hours the masque and *ballo* lasted. This has convinced me that the mistake was really an accident, or at least was not within the cognisance of his Majesty. If I had left the scene at once, as I at first intended, I should not have discovered his Majesty's real feelings, nor demonstrated them to the whole Court.

London, 12th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

1605.
Jan. 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

324. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the last meeting of the Congregation on England it was decided that certain Fathers already appointed for service in England are to set out now. Among these are some of the order of Saint Benedict, Englishmen by birth, who will be useful in spreading Catholic doctrine, and helping our religion. And in order that they may not be discovered and to avoid injuring the dignity of the Pontiff they have been verbally entrusted with ample powers to absolve, dispense and so on.

Rome, 12th February, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

325. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Many merchants have recently appeared before Council complaining of the treatment that they have received at the hands of the Spanish Customs officers. They have been obliged to pay not only the thirty per cent., but much more, in spite of the clauses of the treaty of peace. They say that, though the thirty per cent. is not exacted by name, yet with one difficulty and another the total amounts to forty per cent. There are some, however, who think that this is all fictitious, or that if it be proved in fact it will be found that the Spaniards were justified in using some rigour; for the merchants of this nation complain on very slight grounds, but it all ends in smoke, as is the case of their complaints against the galleys of your Serenity, about which I hear nothing more.

Parliament is prorogued to Michaelmas. There are many, who know the King's mind, who think it will not meet again.

The question of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta is not only kept on the tapis but is publicly discussed, though the Spanish Ambassador has not opened the subject to his Majesty yet. I am told that a few days ago a number of Privy Councillors were in the Queen's apartments, and either by accident or on purpose the subject was touched on. Almost all of them, and the Queen foremost, showed themselves very favourable to this match; much more so than to the French match. They say that the daughters of France can bring no dower but a little money, and that by the Salic law, which is most rigidly observed in that kingdom, they cannot inherit any territory; whereas the daughters of Spain may not only bring territory in dower but may even succeed to the throne. This has caused great suspicion in the mind of the French Ambassador. This jealousy is increased by the French Ambassador's inability to make progress with two negotiations; one, the renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland; the other, to procure invitations to public ceremonies with precedence over the Spanish Ambassador, and he bases his claim on the practice at Rome and Venice. He has obtained nothing yet.

M. de Caron found out in the first interview he had with the King that his Majesty was not at all anxious for the arrival of the Dutch Commissioners, nor indeed are the Council; accordingly he begged his Majesty to graciously permit them to remain away; though they

1605.

were ready to come at any inconvenience to themselves out of regard for his Majesty, not because they thought it necessary. The King replied that he had no desire to inconvenience them, and said they might do as they liked, for he had invited them only on the earnest representations of the Spanish Ambassador, in the hope of putting an end to this long and troublesome war. M. de Caron replied that there was only one way to end the war, and that was that the King of Spain should recognise the Dutch as a free and independent Republic.

London, 13th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

326. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The delay in the arrival of the English High Admiral is disliked here. After the peace was sworn, instructions were sent to Taxis to raise a regiment of three thousand English for service with the Archduke. Their object is partly to show that Spain has acquired greater forces, thanks to the peace with England, and also to give them an opportunity for scattering money and buying followers, in order to encourage the Catholic party.

Valladolid, 14th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

327. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago the Duke of Lennox arrived. He was met on his way to Paris; and accompanied into the city, where he is lodged with all his suite, numbering about one hundred and twenty persons, at the King's charges. As the Marquise de Verneuil was imprisoned in a house near the lodging of the Duke of Lennox, her first cousin,* they removed her to another house far away.

It is now certain that her father intended to take her and her son into Spain.

Paris, 18th January, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

328. Motion made that the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be summoned and that what follows be read to him.

As regards the ship "Angelo" of London, Captain Thomas Garnar, we find that the disturbance was brought about by that vessel refusing to allow our Commander in those waters to search her, as he has a right to do. As to the two per cent., which your Lordship declares that the Governor of Zante exacts on the value of the ship's cargo, we have no information other than is furnished by your Lordship; if you will give us further particulars we will do all we can to satisfy the subjects of his Majesty.

* Esme Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, 1st Duke of Lennox, father of Ludovic, the Ambassador, married Catherine de Balzac, sister of the Marquise des Verneuil's father. *See* Lady Elizabeth Cust's treatise on The Stuarts, Seigneurs of Aubigny. London, 1891.

1605.

As regards the other English ship, the "Sacra," which in July last off Zante refused to be searched, we have sent instructions to our Ambassador in London; but all the same we must inform you that the aspect of the affair is very different from that which is represented in England; for the crew of the ship refused to allow our officers to search or even to approach their vessel, although they knew that the galleys were vessels of the Republic, who search every ship they come across, because of the continual damage which is inflicted on us by pirates. We assure you that, as soon as the English abandon this opposition to being searched, which we are sure your Lordship will induce them to do, they will receive every consideration from our officers.

As regards the reciprocal abolition of customs in order to leave trade free, as your Lordship has told us that the King has just appointed Secretary Herbert to open negotiations on this subject with our Ambassador Molin, we will await the issue.

That a copy of this answer and the Ambassador's reply be sent to Ambassador Molin in England.

Ayes 147.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 25.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

329. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Mustaphà Pasha, Lieutenant Grand Vizir, a man of the highest authority, who ruled the Empire as he pleased, a favourite of the Sultan, and constantly receiving presents, even down to the Sultan's own robes, a man who everyone thought had a long lease of power before him, for he knew how to humour the Sultan and the Sultana, giving the one a thousand sequins a week to squander on his pleasures, and the other lovely dresses and adornments;—this Mustaphà, I say, on Monday last, the 10th of this month, was in Divan, in excellent humour, joking with everybody and especially with Borisi, when the Sultan sent to say he desired him to come to him alone. Mustaphà rose and declaring he would soon be back, passed into the inner apartments. As he entered he met a mute, who made a sign to call the chief executioner. Mustaphà, in alarm, made signs to the mute, asking what this meant? The mute merely invited him to enter; the executioner followed immediately, and in the time it takes to say a Credo *he came out again with a bloody scimitar, which he was wiping; then the body of the Pasha was dragged out; the head was half split; the executioner had stripped the body of all its clothes, more especially of a lovely purple velvet vest, reaching down to the feet, lined with fur. The body was dragged to the door of the serraglio, and there, near a fountain, it was thrown to the dogs, to the amazement of all who crowded the Divan. The body was buried late at night.*

The reason for this unlooked-for event is the lack of money to pay the troops. The Sultan was heard to cry out when the Pasha came before him, "Where is the pay for the troops? Is this how you keep your promise to me?" This delay in the payment had caused many to sell their orders on the treasury at half their value. Then

1605.

again some creditors presented a memorial to the Sultan, setting forth that, in spite of his commands that they should be paid, the Pasha had simply mocked at them. Further, the Sultan was rather annoyed with the Pasha for opposing the return of Mehmet, Grand Vizir, from Hungary. Finally the Sultan, the night before the execution, had slept with the Sultana, who had recently conceived a dislike for the Pasha because he had secured for his Majesty some handsome youths—the Pasha himself was of the profession and a good judge of the wares; and so the Sultana, when she found the Sultan angry, seized the opportunity to give the Pasha the last blow. Any way he died the death he inflicted a few months ago on Hassan Pasha, and has paid the penalty for his many sins. I, however, deeply lament his decease, for he was a good friend to me, and promised much in the service of your Serenity. But the world is like that here, and it is only too clear that those who govern at the Porte have brittle-heads (teste di vetro) and live with death an inch from their throats.

Instead of Mustaphà they have made Skoffi Sinan Lieutenant. He is an old man of seventy, placid, benign, blunt, not sharp; favourable to the Republic. The day after the execution his Majesty went to the Kiosk. He saw a galley coming in with a ship in tow. He called the Captain on shore and asked what the ship was; the Captain said it was a pirate captured by him. The Sultan made him land three of the principal pirates, and for his mere amusement he caused them to be dashed head foremost on the ground and then flung into the sea. Everyone is terror-stricken. On his way back the Sultan came to a little lake inside the Serraglio grounds; they say it is about a quarter of an acre in extent and has two feet of water in it. It was frozen over and covered with snow. As he approached, some, who were playing by the lake, fled. He called them back, and throwing a handfull of sequins into the lake he made them plunge for them. Then finding he liked the sport he sent for a purse full of a thousand sultanini, and in two or three goes he threw them all into the lake.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 23. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Princ.pi. Venetian Archives.

330. The English Ambassador renders thanks for the resolution of the Senate of January 19th. Is sure that favourable treatment will bring many English to trade in Venice. Begs to be told what conduct Venice expects from English ships in Venetian waters. Gathers that on the subject of taxation of English subjects the Republic wishes to wait till it hears what Ambassador Molin reports from England. As to the ship "Angelo" sequestrated in Zante he has no further information.

Doge replied: You will be told if anything else is expected of English ships in Venetian waters.

We must wait news from England before we appoint anyone to deal with commercial relations.

The Ambassador said: Then we will wait to discuss the conduct of English ships until we can discuss both points together.

[*Italian.*]

1605. Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

331. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

For some days past I have foreseen that many of these English privateers, who have taken service with Count Maurice, intend to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, nominally to attack Spain; really to reach the Levant and to harry and plunder the ships and subjects of your Serenity. One especially, name Sacheverell (?) (*Sechieruel*), who was with the ship that plundered the "Balbiana," said to her Captain, "You should come with me to the Levant to find those sound and solid Venetian ducats, which one may take without any risk." I complained to Cecil, who said that if this fellow comes into his hands he will have him hanged, not for these words but because he is a well-known pirate. I also approached M. de Caron on the subject. He answered me that the intention of his masters was excellent; and that they were resolved to exact caution-money from these ships against any damage done to the shipping of friendly states. If the States really imposed this caution-money it will be an efficacious check, but I don't see how people of such low birth as these corsairs are going to find sufficient security to cover fifty or sixty thousand crowns worth of plundered goods.

I am in receipt of your instructions, which will assist me in the answer I am to make when the Council communicates with me on the subject of the English merchants' complaints, as Secretary Cecil tells me they will shortly do. Cecil himself declines to discuss the subject, as he says he is not informed. The case of the ship that was fired upon when on her way to Constantinople, is being allowed to drop in the absence of any proof of what was alleged at first. I have not presented the letters to the King, as he left this day week for Royston on a hunting party. I thought of going there, but Cecil councilled me to wait, for the King cares to see no one except his few personal attendants.

London, 26th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

332. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 16th of this month, Epiphany old style, the King created his second son Duke of York, and made twelve Knights of the Bath, so called because at their creation they are dipped. The morning of that day, the Chamberlain sent to say that if I cared to see the Queen's masque that evening he would secure a convenient seat for myself and three or four of my suite. He explained that all the Ambassadors were being invited privately, so as to avoid quarrels for precedence. I said I would gladly attend. Meantime the Spanish Ambassador hearing that the French Ambassador was confined to his bed made vigorous representations at Court to secure for himself a public invitation; and he succeeded. Sir Lewis Lewkenor presently went to visit the French Ambassador, who having got wind of what the Spaniard was about, received Lewkenor very haughtily. Lewkenor said he had come on behalf of his Majesty to enquire how the Ambassador was, and to say how much his Majesty regretted that the Ambassador would be prevented from attending the Queen's masque. *The Ambassador burst out into a*

1605.

fury and said he knew what was going on and that it was all the work of seven or eight officials, of whom Lewkenor was the chief, whose sole object was to discredit the French and aggrandise the Spanish Ambassador, who was so insolent that the Ambassador of France had to put up with some fresh slight every day. He said he was well aware that it was impossible for him to stay long in a country corrupted with Spanish doublons if the honour and reputation of his master were to be cared for; and that the King of France was quite aware that he was held in but little esteem at this Court. Sir Lewis endeavoured to make apologies, but the Ambassador would not let him speak, but held on himself in the same strain; finally he said, "Off with you, off with you, Sir Lewis; I won't speak about the matter," and with that he led him to the door of the antechamber, about which stood many of his suite and strangers also, and there he added in a loud voice, so that all might hear, "I am glad they have this idea of my illness, for his Majesty will get this pleasure out of it that he can more freely enjoy his Ambassadors," Sir Lewis with that went away in confusion (disse ad alta voce che ogn' uno lo intese, ho piacer dell' opinione che si vuol haver del mio male, poiche da questo Sua Maestà ne cava questo gusto di poter goder più liberamente li suoi Ambasciatori; con che parti il Cavaliere tutto confuso.) In obedience to his orders he came on to tell me that I was to go publicly to Court. He did not find me in, but left a message that I was to be at the Spanish Ambassador's house at the fourth hour of night, and to go together to Court. That was done, and we were conducted to the King's chambers, where his Majesty appeared about the seventh hour, and moved on to the place where they gave the Masque, which was very beautiful and sumptuous.

The King, however, was told that the French Ambassador was too ill to leave the house. On Tuesday the Ambassador went in person to the King and complained very loudly of what had taken place; though he laid the blame on five or six officials, who had done him this wrong and his master this disservice. He charged them with being thoroughly corrupted by Spain, and declared with great vehemence that he must report all to his master, whose honour and reputation were too closely concerned. The King replied that his own affection for the King of France was so well known that he was sure his most Christian Majesty would never have made so much of a mere bagatelle as his Ambassador was doing. He said he knew that he had been deceived by his officials and could not trust them for the future. "If you," he said, "will report the whole to your master exactly as it happened I think he will not attach such importance to it as you do, for you know your illness was the cause of it all; but if you exaggerate I will inform your master myself, and I think he will trust my account. If you will be satisfied with reasonable amends I will see that you shall have nothing to complain of." The Ambassador left. The King called his officials and the Council, and loudly resented the occurrence. He threatened to punish the guilty, and declared that the Ambassador must receive such satisfaction that the matter should be heard of no more, and that the culprits should regret having meddled with what was no affair of theirs and having reported facts falsely. Lord Wotton has been appointed to deal with the business. The Ambassador demands the dismissal of Lewkenor. He has informed his master. We shall see how the

1605.

news is received there. The officials maintain that they have done no wrong; that the King will never make a declaration of precedence, and, therefore, will never invite Ambassadors to public ceremonies; that a Masque is not a public function, and that his Majẽsty is quite entitled to invite any Ambassador he may choose, not as an Ambassador, but as a friend.

London, 27th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

333. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Caron has full powers to deal with all questions affecting his masters. He has accordingly been in conference with three Commissioners, representing English merchants, over the question of free trade with Flanders and Spain. The question is full of difficulties. The Dutch claim that no goods shall be imported to Flanders and Spain in English bottoms; and they say that if the King is really what he professes, a neutral, he ought to observe on their side the clause of his treaty with Spain, by which he pledges himself to allow no Spanish goods to be conveyed to Holland in English bottoms. The Dutch also insist that all goods for Flanders and Spain exported from Holland and found on any ship whatsoever shall be confiscated.

The day before the King left for Royston the Spanish Ambassador waited on him and said *that he was disappointed in the non-appearance of the Dutch Commissioners, and must now point out to the King certain subjects on which his master felt aggrieved. His Majesty, he said, had promised not to help the Dutch either directly or indirectly, nor to allow his subjects to take service with them; and yet now, ships and sailors were daily crossing the water. The King replied that he did not know how the Ambassador interpreted the clauses of the treaty, but he must remember that he had told both the Ambassador and the Constable that he had no intention of depriving himself of the right to grant leave to his subjects to take service wherever they pleased; that he had merely promised his good offices on the subject of free trade with Flanders and Spain, but had never pledged himself to go to war with the Dutch on the subject; that if the Commissioners were not in England there was always M. de Caron. He complained of the conduct of the Spanish towards English merchants, to satisfy whom he had been obliged to send Sir Thomas Wilson (Vuilzon) on a mission to Spain, to obtain an indemnity, until such time as his Ambassador could go.*

Baron (?) (*Sulz*), who was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to Flanders, has managed to be released from this service; and in his stead will go the Earl of Hertford.

The Spanish Ambassador, in order to remove certain ill-humours between him and the Duke of Holstein, has offered him a sumptuous banquet.

London, 27th January, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1605.
Jan. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

334. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Congregation on England has met a second time; but the opinion prevails that it is the Pope's zeal for religion which is at the bottom of the whole matter. A great Cardinal said to me that it would be better not to convoke the Congregation than to go on with nothing certain in hand; for that would give the King an opportunity against the Catholics. The Scotchman * who is here is, I learn, to leave soon for Spain; a sign that he will not take back any answer to England.

Rome, 29th January, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

335. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Lennox, Ambassador of "Great Britain," as he is styled by his master, has had his first audience. It was a solemn ceremony. There were perhaps as many as forty carriages. No business was transacted. He asked for a private audience, which lasted an hour; the only business done was that the Duke begged the King to give him the Marquise (de Verneuil) and her father. The King replied that he did not wish to interrupt the course of justice, but that he would remember the Duke's intercession when justice had run its course. The Duke insisted; and said that he was the King's most devoted adherent in England, and that he deserved this favour. He obtained no satisfaction, however, and left very ill-pleased.

Paris, the first of February, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5.
Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

336. To the AMBASSADOR in England.

You will see from the enclosed the account of the robbery committed by an English *berton*, which plundered the property of Governor Michiel on board the "Morosini." As yet only a single name of those who committed this outrage has been discovered. We have represented the matter to the Ambassador of England here resident. You are to keep a watch on all ships that arrive there, and to endeavour to find out which of them has committed this crime, and to procure indemnification for loss and punishment of the culprits.

We hear that Secretary Herbert has been appointed to conduct negotiations about customs dues. We sent you a list of those dues of which our subjects complain, and which have totally excluded them from England.

Ayes 152.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 0.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir James Lindsay.

1605.
Enclosed in preceding Minute.

337. List of the custom duties, which Venetians find insupportable, and which exclude them from trade with England.

The ordinary customs are one-fifth higher for Venetians than for English, and amount to twenty per cent.

Currants ten ducats a ton.

Oil one ducat a barrel (*barilla*).*

Wine six ducats a hogshead (*bote*).†

Web of Kersey lire 5.16.

Venetians are bound to sell to London merchants only and to no others; and in London only and nowhere else; and the goods must be delivered within six months of sale, if not they are reckoned as lost and confiscated.

They are bound to pay a ducat a head per month to the parish priest.

While resident in the Island they are compelled to pay double tax and double tithe.

They are bound to invest all their capital in England, it being forbidden to take money out of the country.

Feb. 5.
Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

338. Motion made that the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be invited to attend, and hear as follows:

If we were to complain either to his Majesty or to you every time our vessels are damaged by Englishmen our complaints would be continual. But we are sure that this is quite contrary to his Majesty's intention, and we confidently await a remedy. We cannot, however, pass over this fact that quite recently an English *berton*, with one Captain Pule on board, under colour of acquaintance with Captain Abraham Lans, who with other English was navigating the "Morosini," aboard which was all the property of the Governor of Zante, committed an outrage against the said property. We demand indemnification and punishment of the culprits.

We must further observe that these continuous outrages compel our ships of war to search every vessel they meet; and they expect proper treatment when performing their duty.

Ayes 152.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7.
Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

339. The English Ambassador apologizes for the plunder of the vessel with the property of Maffio Michiel, Governor of Zante, on board. Enters upon a long discussion to prove that it is impossible for all English merchantmen to comply with the regulations when meeting Venetian ships.

Presents a petition from some English merchants that the Five Savii alla Mercanzia be instructed to conclude the suit, now pending for five years between the said merchants and the Government of Zante.

[*Italian.*]

* Barilla: 64·385900 litri.
† Botte: 751·170000 litri. Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*. Torino, 1883. p. 818.

1605.
Feb. 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

340. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The merchants of the Levant Company, who are very anxious at being deprived of their patent for levying the new impost, because out of that fund they used to maintain their Ambassador and Consuls, went to the King some days ago and complained bitterly at the loss of this source of revenue. They declared that they would be obliged to abandon the Levant trade and navigation altogether, and they endeavoured to prove to the King that this would be disastrous, not merely to private individuals, but to the commonweal, owing to the effect upon the customs. They did all they could to persuade the King to renew the patent, and offered to pay him the same as the Chamberlain was now paying. The King replied that he did not rightly understand this business, and that they must go to the Council, which would take such steps as the public service required. The merchants went to the Council and repeated their arguments. Some of the Council favour the company, but the Chamberlain's friends, who are many and powerful, are determined to support him. Each party makes suggestions; the following is one of them; it is proposed to double the duty in the case of foreigners—foreigners meaning nothing else than Venetians—that is, in place of ten ducats the ton they shall pay twenty on currants, and so on wine. They justify their proposal on the ground that English merchants are subjected to the new imposts in your Serenity's dominions, as well as the duties here, and as the Venetians only pay the duties here this will throw the whole trade into their hands. This proposal recommends itself to some, but there is a party, and perhaps the abler party, which is opposed to it. They sent a merchant, an acquaintance of mine, to see me, and in course of conversation, and as though of himself, he entered upon the whole subject. I replied that his Majesty and Council could of course do as they pleased in their own country, but such a line of conduct would not correspond with the policy indicated by the English Ambassador in Venice, which leaned to a diminution rather than to an increase of duties, with a view to rendering trade free to the benefit of both parties. That your Serenity would always reply with further taxation, and so the affair would go on *ad infinitum* to the total ruin of the trade. "So your Lordship," he said, "is of opinion that his Serenity would double the tax even if he knew that the tax was doubled here, only in order to put Venetians and English on an equal footing; for it is clear that as the Venetians only pay in England, whereas the English pay both in England and in Venice, they are far more heavily burdened than the Venetians." I answered that Venetians did not pay duty in Venice if they laded in Venetian bottoms, but if they employ foreign bottoms they have to pay. "Well then," said he, "the Venetians will employ Venetian bottoms surely, and thus secure exemption." I answered that Venetian rates for freight were so much higher than foreigner's rates, that it would pay merchants to embark in foreign bottoms and to pay the duty. That seemed to satisfy him, and he said he would lay the matter before Council. He then went on to touch upon another point; namely, that your Excellencies ought to grant the English exemption from export duty on all Turkish goods, in return for which

1605.

the English would pledge themselves to abandon the Levant trade entirely. He urged that this would be a great advantage to the Venetians, for the whole Levant trade would thus be left in their hands only, and should it appear at first sight that the revenue would suffer, this is not the case, rather the reverse, for at present the English carry direct from Turkey to England all Turkish goods, for which there is a market here, and the Republic draws no revenue from that; whereas by his scheme the import duties alone would go up at once. "Besides," he said, "there is another way in which the revenue of the Republic would benefit, for as the law of Venice now stands no ship may lade there, unless she has brought a cargo of two-thirds of her capacity into Venice, and so English merchants trading in Turkey goods will be forced to enter Venice with kerseys, tin, lead and other English products, which at present they import direct to Turkey, and here again the import duties would rise at once; and in short the gain from adopting this suggestion would far exceed the loss." I answered that at first sight these arguments seemed sound, but as I was not versed in such matters, I could not venture to reply; I offered, however, to write to your Serenity. "My Lord," he replied, "this is an idea of my own that has been in my head for some time; if your Lordship would write to some private friend of yours in Venice for further information I should be deeply obliged. Then if the scheme appears feasible I will bring it before the Council, with good results, I trust." I promised to write. I am assured that he was sent by Cecil, with whom he is in close correspondence, although he feigned to be talking of himself. I report the whole for your Excellencies' consideration, and if you see fit you will give me instructions thereon.

The King is expected to-morrow in London, to keep Candlemas, which falls on Saturday next, old style. As far as one hears he will only stay four or five days. I will ask for audience.

London, 10th February, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

341. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I hear the King has written a letter to the Council, in which he tells them that having been recently for nearly three weeks in London he finds this sedentary life very prejudicial to his health; for in Scotland he was used to spend much time in the country and in hard exercise, and he finds that repose robs him of his appetite and breeds melancholy and a thousand other ills. He says he is bound to consider his health before all things, and so he must tell them that for the future he means to come to London but seldom, passing most of his time in the country in the chase; and as he will thus be far away from Court he cannot attend to business, and so he commits all to them, relying fully on their goodness and ability. He then goes on to expatiate on justice, equity, religion, and concludes by announcing that he will approve all their resolutions. In this way the King has virtually given full and absolute authority to the Council, and has begun to put his plan in practice; for many who went to him with petitions and grievances have been told to go to the Council, for they

1605.

are fully authorized to deal with all business public and private. This is the cause of indescribable ill-humour among the King's subjects, who in their needs and troubles find themselves cut off from their natural sovereign, and forced to go before Council, which is full of rivalry and discord, and frequently is guided more by personal interest than by justice and duty.

In the place where his Majesty is at present staying there are, they say, a number of people possessed with the spirit of prophecy; it is a rare thing in England to find people afflicted with this infirmity, and so it is held as a portent. One of these possessed has declared that the King cannot live a year; that the country will suffer great adversity and such like things. He has been clapped into prison, and the King himself has examined him closely.

This fact added to the news which the Ambassador in France furnishes and confirms in three or four despatches, sent over here in great haste, news, that is, that a great revolution is on the point of breaking out in this kingdom, and that there are people who are vigorously plotting against the life of the Sovereign and of the State, all cause the ministers to live in anxiety and suspicion, for they do not understand from what quarter nor from whom the blow is to come. The Ambassador does not enter on particulars; he only says that in the French Court and among the most eminent persons there is this firm conviction. The consequence is that the Council meets almost daily, and frequently sits till midnight conducting many examinations. Three or four gentlemen have been arrested on suspicion of having relations with the Archduke in Flanders. But as a matter of fact I gather that the strongest suspicion falls on the Puritans, who are deeply offended at the edict against their ministers, especially as his Majesty insists upon its execution, though he has granted an extension of time. It seems that the Puritans announce their intention of doing all they can to prevent the departure of their ministers. They are in close relations with the Puritans of Scotland, whose ministers are very powerful, and actually declared to the King's face from the pulpit that unless he showed himself favourable to their religion they would have to remove him and elect a regent, and such like impertinences. From this the King conceived a violent hatred for the Puritans, though in Scotland he was never able to show it, owing to the numbers and the importance of the sect. (Questo aggiunto all' aviso che han questi Signori del Consiglio dal loro Ambasciatore che resiede in Franza, confermatoli per tre o quattro man di lettere spedite qui in grande diligenza, cio è che di breve habbino a succeder gran rivolutioni in questo Regno, et che vi siano persone che machino grandamente contra la vita di Principi, et dello Stato, fa che questi Signori vivono molto sospesi et con molta gelosia, non sapendo loro da qual parte et da chi debba venir questa rovina, perchè l'Ambasciatore non descende a particolari, ma dice solamente che nella Corte di Francia, et ne' soggetti più eminenti è questa ferma opinione, il che è causa che questi Signori quasi ogni giorni si riducono in consiglio, et bene spesso vi stanno fin meza notte, facendo molte inquisitioni. Sono stati ritenuti anco tre o quattro gentilhuomini per haver sospetta intelligenza in Fiandra con il serenissimo arciduca; ma in effetto intendo la maggior sospetione cader sopra li Puritani, li quali restando disgustatissimi dell' editto fatto contra i loro preti essendo massime risoluto il Rè, che in ogni maniera sia

1605.

eseguita, anchor che le habbia concesso una proroga, pare che si lasciano intender di voler fare ogni cosa perchè questi loro preti non partano. Si sa che questi hanno stretta intelligenza con il Puritani di Scotia i quali sono in grandissimo numero et hanno in quel paese grande autorità, poiche loro ministri nelle prediche usavano di dire in facia del medesimo Rè che se S. M. non si fosse mostrata favorevole alla loro religione era necessario per servitio publico levarli il governo et l'autorità, creando un governatore del Regno, et molte altre simili impertinenze, da ch'è nato nell' animo di S. M. un odio grandissimo contra questa setta; ma in Scotia non ha potuto mai dimostrarlo per respetto del numero et autorità grande di quelli.) The English Puritans were never able to acquire such weight, for the late Queen suppressed them. But the Union of the two Crowns has given them strength, and they are growing insolent and imperious; and some Puritan members of Parliament let it be understood that the first question to be handled must be the appointment of a Regent, as the King will not attend to the business of the kingdom. The Council look for the attack from that quarter, and are endeavouring to discover the leaders of the party, in order to apply the necessary remedies; but as yet fruitlessly.

In the reign of Elizabeth there was an individual,* who told her Majesty that in Scotland there was a mountain with a splendid mine of gold. She instantly ordered him to be arrested, so that he should not go to Scotland. He has now repeated his story to the King, who sent him to Scotland to prove his words, and helped him with the cost for tools and men. He has now returned with twenty-five ounces of the finest gold, which he says he has found in that mountain; but to get it he spent four thousand crowns; and so as the cost so far exceeds the profits the work will be abandoned, although he declares that for the future the expense would be much less. He has some supporters, but most are against going any further.

An English ship, but sailing with a patent from Count Maurice, has captured a Spaniard with a cargo of wine. She and her prize have been driven into a harbour of this kingdom. The Ambassador, on learning this, has secured the restitution of the prize, in virtue of the terms of the peace; and not content with this he demands the execution of the men of the English ship, as having contravened the obligation to give no help to the Dutch. M. de Caron protests. He is raising four thousand infantry.

London, 18th February, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

342. Ottaviano Bon, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Salignac, the French Ambassador, will kiss the Sultan's robe, after Bairam. M. de Breves is going to Jerusalem.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th February, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

* George Bowes. Cal. S.P. Dom. April 4, 1604. pp. 90, 114, 123. The mine was on the lands of Closeburn. July 18, 1604. Bowes obtained 200 pounds sterling on Oct. 11, 1604.

1605.
Feb. 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

343. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Parliament has condemned to death the Count d'Auvergne and the father of the Marquise (de Verneuil). The King has stayed execution in order to please the Duke of Lennox. The King has invited the Duke to a banquet, and after that he will have his audience to take his leave. *M. de Rosny complains of the clause in the Anglo-Spanish treaty which he says is unfavourable to his Most Christian Majesty. Lennox admitted this, but defended the clause. There are causes of friction between England and France: The seizure of cloth at Rouen; a libel on the King of England; the exclusion of the French Ambassador from the Court festival in London.*

Paris, 15th February, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

344. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King came to London on Friday last. He intended to pass these few days of carnival here and then to go back to the country. The Queen is to go to Greenwich till her confinement. I asked for audience, which was granted me yesterday. I told his Majesty that his Ambassador in Venice had made pressing representations in favour of Antonio Dotto, a Paduan gentleman, subject of your Serenity, who is an outlaw. I said that your Serenity, out of an ardent desire to gratify his Majesty, had ordered the Council of Ten to deal with the whole subject. The sentence of outlawry had, however, been passed by a very large majority, and that is a proof the matter is a very grave one, and so they held that without violating all the laws of the Republic it would be difficult to gratify his Majesty. At this point the King broke in, saying, "I did not at first recall this Dotto, but now I remember. Many people asked me to intercede for him, among others the Ambassador of France, who told me his master was going to write on Dotto's behalf; also the Tuscan Ambassador. But what crimes has he committed?" I answered, "They are many and grave. He has ravished women; thrashed men; wounded and disfigured many people; deflowered virgins." The King said, "Don't go any further, for I am a King and rule over subjects, and I am glad when justice is done. Deeds of this nature I cannot bear to hear of, nor can I defend them, for then I would be held for and would actually be an unjust man. I cannot desire to see in my neighbour's house people I would not tolerate in my own. Seditious disturbers of the peace and brawlers are not worthy to dwell upon earth nor to mix with their fellowmen," and in this strain he continued for a great while, and wound up with these words, "I have been deceived, for I was told he was in prison for simple homicide, and would soon have been released had he not had powerful foes, who delayed the pardon of his Sovereign. It seems to me that such cases as that are very easily condoned and deserve pity, because under the first impulse no one is master of himself, and therefore I readily let myself be induced to recommend Dotto to the Republic; but now that I am informed of his crimes, even had the Republic pardoned I would beg her to cancel it." *(Questi casi par'a me che si possono assai*

1605.

facilmente condonare, et che siano degni di compassione, perche nelli primi impeti nissuno è padrone di se medesimo et però io assai facilmente mi lasciai persuader a raccommandarlo alla Republica, ma hora che son informato delle sue colpe se la Republica le havesse fatta la gratia la pregherei a non gliela mantenere.) He then took your Serenity's letter, opened it, and read it. Then he said, "Tell their Lordships that I am perfectly satisfied with all they have done." Further compliments followed, and then I took my leave.*

London, 16th February, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

345. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Lennox, who was sent as Ambassador to France, writes to say that he has not been treated as becomes the representative of so great a Sovereign. He went to audience, and found the King in a chamber, with four Princes of the blood on his right and many nobles, among them the Duke of Guise, on his left; after saying a few words he covered, as usual, and he complains that instantly all the others did the same. This act is interpreted here as an affront to the Ambassador. This and the late quarrel with the French Ambassador at this Court adds to the friction between the two Crowns. The French Ambassador, who usually is the first to visit his Majesty on his coming to town, has not been yet, although the King has been here six days, perhaps he fears to meet *with some affront.*

The Marshal of Lithuania, of the house of Radziwil, sent one of his gentlemen to the King with letters and a present of six horses. This gentleman took ship in Hamburg on board a Dutchman. She fell in with a ship from Dunquerque, and was boarded. The gentleman was asked who he was and where he was going. He answered that he came from the Marshal of Lithuania, and was going to the King of England. They did not believe him; in spite of the fact that he showed his letters. They searched him, and finding five or six thousand Hungarian coins upon him they took them and threw him into the sea, and he was drowned. The servants of this gentleman and the horses were sent to Rotterdam, and thence crossed to England, where they reported what had occurred. This has caused much annoyance. They intend to make a searching enquiry, and if it is true they will complain to the Spanish Ambassador.

Two ships of Dunquerque, on hearing that a Dutch ship was lying in an English harbour, entered the port at night and cut her out quite easily. The Dutch crew were taken by surprise and escaped. The men of Dunquerque plundered the Dutch ship, whose cargo was not very valuable. The Council are very angry and have complained to the Spanish Ambassador, who has promised to restore all the plunder, though he has not done so yet.

Secretary Herbert came to visit me; it was a visit of simple com-

* Con. X. Crim. reg. XIX. 1600. March 12. Antonio Dotto banished in perpetuity. All his property to pass directly without fine to his sons. This outlawry cannot be annulled, nor may he receive safe-conduct under twenty years. The sentence was voted by the Ten *nem. con.* See also Inquisitori di Stato. Minuté e memorie. Busta 201., p. 4vo., "1604, 5. Genaio. Antonio Dotto fu rilassato con una buona amonitione."

1605.

pliment. I expected him to mention the subject of the ship attacked by your Serenity's squadron and the subject of the pretended oppression of the English merchants, and I gave him an opportunity; but he said nothing; and this confirms me in the opinion that they have no proofs of what they allege; and that the matter will die away of itself.

London, 16th February, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

346. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday a courier arrived from Don Juan de Taxis with news that the High Admiral of England will not set out till after the middle of March; and will land in Corunna, not in Biscay. As to raising troops Taxis thinks it would be more useful to prevent troops going into Dutch service. And as the English are avaricious he will not miss the occasion to win over some of their great men.

Valladolid, 19th February, 1604 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

347. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King left London yesterday for Royston. He stayed here some days longer then he intended, as he had to settle some differences between the Puritans and the Bishops. These differences present new difficulties every day, for the Puritans are firmly resolved not to submit to the Bishops. This attitude causes his Majesty and the Council much anxiety, all the more that their number is very great and they are led by chiefs of great position. His Majesty has been occupied every day in Council upon this subject, and pays attention to nothing else.

Recently, eight days ago, in Saint Paul's, the Cathedral Church of this city, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and other Bishops held a meeting, and summoned to their presence all the Puritan ministers and preachers. They called upon them to swear to observe the constitutions recently published by the Bishops, and to promise to recognise the Bishops as their superiors. As the Puritans resolutely and boldly refused, the more audacious were deprived of their benefices, and ordered to leave the kingdom within a month, others have been suspended, others granted twenty days to make up their minds.* *This has caused a great turmoil in this city, which is full of people who belong to the Puritan sect. Daily meetings are held in private houses. The party shows a determination not to yield, but to take every step for the preservation of their freedom and authority. The King thinks of nothing else than of humbling the pride and audacity of this party; but he meets with much opposition, for among his Council are certain members of the sect, who while seeking to protect their fellows, point out to the King that it is unwise to raise such a hubbub about a matter*

* Gardiner I., 195-200.

1605.

of so small moment, for after all it is merely a question of ceremonies, such as the wearing of the biretta and the cotta, the use of the cross in baptism, and such like points, which are of too small importance to occupy so much of his Majesty's attention; in fact that it is desirable that his Majesty should favour the Puritans, for nothing would give such encouragement to the Catholics as the persecution of Puritans, who really are the King's most obedient subjects, whereas the Catholics, owing to their dependence on the Pope and other sovereigns, must always be the object of alarm and suspicion, and, therefore, ought never to receive the smallest encouragement to raise their heads. Others again, more sincere Councillors, advise his Majesty that the Catholics are quiet and pacific, who are content . . . . . nor seek for other liberty than for their . . . . . but for the rest are most loyal subjects to his Majesty and his government, and ever will be. whereas the Puritans are insolent and bold, and deny all superiority, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, and this is the first and principal axiom of their religion, as may be seen at Geneva, the birthplace of this pestiferous sect. They recall to his Majesty's mind the intolerable conduct of the Puritans in Scotland, where the preachers had the insolence to tell the King to his face that unless he supported them they would appoint a Regent. If his Majesty does not now repress their pride and insolence he will not be able to do so later on, as happened in Scotland.

The King, after listening to the arguments on both sides, displayed extreme annoyance, and said he was amazed that a doubt should be raised as to his competence to punish either party if they showed themselves disobedient. He declared that he was resolved to proceed against the Puritans and their ministers, who refused to conform and swear obedience to the canons, and to deprive them of their benefices and expel them from the kingdom; on the other hand he is resolved to enforce against the Catholics the laws which are of great severity and bitterness, affecting property and life; and so the unhappy Catholics are preparing themselves for persecution; although some say that these threats will not be carried out, but that his Majesty employs such language partly in anger at what has occurred, partly because he heard that in Rome the Pope has named a Committee of Cardinals to discuss the affairs of England. A Scottish gentleman, called Lindsay (Linzi), is in Rome with the King's consent (con il consenso di Sua Maestà) it is true, but it seems that he has greatly exceeded his instructions. It appears that, in order to ingratiate himself with the Pope and the Curia, he is endeavouring to fill his Holiness' mind with all sorts of hopes that have no foundation; the King, desiring to show the world that he has no wish to become a Catholic nor any intention of favouring the Catholic religion, as perhaps Sir James has declared, now speaks in this tone and issues these orders: God grant that things go well, but I greatly fear it, for it is only too true that these ministers desire the total ruin of the Catholics in England, where since the King's accession they have hitherto been well treated; but now, unless the reins be slackened, one must look for absolute destruction.*

London, 2nd March, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Sir James Lindsay. Gardiner I., 221, 225. *See* Cal. S.P. Dom. July, 1605.

1605.
March 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

348. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These last few days the case of the Portuguese ship captured by a vessel manned by Englishmen has been occupying the . . Court, the secretary to the Spanish Embassy and M. de Caron have been present. The question of criminality was raised; the Spanish declaring that the Captain and crew, being English, have broken the terms of the treaty of peace by serving the Dutch against Spain, and are, therefore, deserving of death. The Captain, on the contrary, has clearly established that he was born in Flanders, not in England; he is set at liberty, and the sailors had all escaped before the trial came on. They are now discussing the question whether the ship is fair prize. The cause is not adjudicated yet, but the Court is inclined to hold that the ship is fair prize [and need not be] restored to the Portuguese; the argument is that the King is not bound to restore prizes to the real owner unless they are made in the [harbours] of this kingdom. Now this event took place in the Downs, which cannot properly be called a harbour, but . . . formed by two headlands of this island. The question now under discussion is whether the Downs are a port within the meaning of the articles of peace. . . . . The Spanish are afraid that as the Captain has been acquitted so the prize will be held fair, *for they are well aware that the English are most favourably inclined to the Dutch, a fact of which the Spanish Ambassador makes daily complaint to the King and to the ministers, but all in vain; for they hold that Dutch and English interests are identical.*

The French Ambassador has had audience, and did all he could to persuade the King that the Duke of Lennox was received with all due honour, both as representative of this Crown and because he was born in France of a French mother. As to the fact that the Princes of the blood and the great nobles covered in the King's presence while the Duke was in audience, this, he said, was merely an ancient custom of the country, dating from the days of Charles IX.; it is true that during the reign of Henry III. it fell into disuse, but the present Sovereign has revived it. The King seemed satisfied with this explanation, and the episode came to an end.*

The King has at last appointed his lieger in Spain. He is a gentleman of the family of Cornwallis† and a Catholic. He will start as soon as possible with the Admiral.

The Levant Company has again attempted to obtain a renewal of their patent; they have offered to pay to his Majesty the same amount as the Chamberlain pays; his interest at Court is so strong, however, that the company has again met with a refusal. The company will be dissolved.

London, 2nd March, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 7.
Consiglio Dieci. Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

349. That Ser Nicolo Balbi be arrested.

Aves	8.
Noes	2.
Neutrals	0.

* Catherine de Balzac d'Entragues. † Sir Charles Cornwallis.

1605.

March 7. That the arrest of Ser Nicolo Balbi, which took place to-day, be confirmed.

Ayes 14.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

350. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador tells the Venetian Ambassador that the Grand Vizir had asked him which would be the better intermediary for making peace with the Emperor, the King of England, the King of France, or the Republic; and that he answered that he knew nothing about France and the Republic, but that his master had not an Ambassador at the Imperial Court, and would be of no use.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th March, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

351. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Lennox went to an audience of leave-taking. He touched upon no business at all, but enlarged upon the subject of his master's good will towards France. The King did not say a word *about the separate treaty with Spain.* The Duke then went on to beg for the royal pardon for the Marquise (de Verneuil) and her father. The King, to please the Duke, promised to grant them their life, their property, and their honour; but their liberty he reserved, in order to grant it as a favour to someone else.

Paris, 15th March, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

352. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King remains in the country, occupied as usual with the chase, nor will he come to London before the date for the Admiral's departure for Spain. That was arranged for the second or third day after Easter.

. . . . . .

A Dutch ship has arrived off the English coast with a rich cargo of cloves, muscadells, and other spices. In fear of the Dunquerquers she will lie here till she gets an escort from Dutch men-of-war. The Dunquerquers, meanwhile, are arming as many as they can.

. . . . . .

Recently in the harbour of Plymouth a quarrel broke out between some Dunquerquers and some Dutch ships. The Council intend to warn the Spanish Ambassador and also M. de Caron that his Majesty will not submit to this sort of thing.

. . . . . .

A proclamation has been issued, authorizing all Vice-Admirals to employ force for the maintenance of order in the ports, and directing that the ships that first enter port shall be the first to leave, if so it please them, and that no ship shall follow them except after a day's interval.

1605.

The Puritans cannot bear the present regulation, and are continually besieging his Majesty and Council with petitions. A Puritan minister recently presented one to the King in the country, wherein he blamed the King for attending only to the chase and his own pleasures. The King ordered his arrest, and has sent him to London to be examined.*

. . . . . .

Orders have been sent to all the ports to arrest that Captain Pule, the pirate, who has plundered the Governor of Zante; but the name is not known here.

London, 17th March, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Date obliterated. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

353. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I called recently on Cecil. He asked me if a certain Canon of Vicenza, by birth an Englishman, ... whom I had commended to him, had crossed the water, for he had news from Paris that the man had reached that city; "For," he said, "In this hunting of priests I would not have any mischief befall him." I asked him what was the cause of this extraordinary movement against the Catholics, for I could see no reason which justified the persecution. *He replied, "The King's excessive clemency has ended in this, that priests go openly about the country, the city, and private houses saying Mass, and this gives great offence to the others. Then there is the news from Rome that the Pope has appointed a congregation of Cardinals to deal with the affairs of England. This has led many to think that the King is about to grant freedom of conscience, and has caused an uproar among the Bishops and other clergy. The Pope took this step on the advice of that feather-brained fellow Lindsay; as his Majesty has no such intention it was agreed to use a slightly unwonted diligence, in order to repress the licence of your priests, and at the same time to assure ours that there is not the smallest intention to make any change in the religion of the country. Lindsay has offended the King, and the Pope will find him out for a feather-brained fellow." "But," said I, "I am informed that he went to Rome with the King's consent." "That is quite true," replied Cecil, "and if your Lordship wishes to know the facts I will tell you them all. Lindsay, a year before Queen Elizabeth's death, asked leave of the King to go to Rome. This was readily conceded. When he reached Rome his friends procured him an audience of the Pope, to whom it is probable that he said many ridiculous things, as he has now done. In short the Pope made him a present, and he obtained a considerable sum of money, perhaps by promising to do what he can never do here. He also obtained an autograph letter from the Pope to the King, in which the Pope said that he had heard from Lindsay how favourably inclined the King was towards the Catholic religion, and that, if he could not openly support, at least he would never persecute it; for this the Pope rendered thanks, and promised that the King should have all his support towards the succession to the Crown of England on the death of the Queen. But if the King would educate his son as a Catholic then His Holiness*

* Thomas Bywater. *See* Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-1610,, pp. 203, 204, 206. The libel was presented to the King at Ware.

1605.

bound himself to employ his substance and his very life to assist his Majesty, and to cause the Catholic Sovereigns to act in concert for the same purpose. Lindsay returned to Scotland two months before Elizabeth died; and reported to the King by word of mouth. The King was very well pleased with the letter, as it came from a Sovereign and contained many affectionate and courteous phrases, but he never dreamed of sending an answer, although Lindsay urged him to do so; the reason was that if the King had written he must have addressed the Pope by his titles of 'Holiness' and 'Beatitude,' which according to our religion are vain phrases, and so the matter remained in suspense. Then came the Queen's death, when Lindsay again endeavoured to persuade the King to answer the Pope's letter, declaring that he might promise himself much from the Pope's aid when the right moment came. However, it pleased God so to favour the King that he met with no opposition. Now a few months ago Lindsay again had the idea to go to Rome. He asked leave of the King, and obtained it; when he was on the point of departure he said, 'Sire, I shall have occasion to see the Pope, and he will surely ask me about that letter. What am I to answer?' 'You will say that you gave me the letter, that I was highly pleased with the love and affection it displayed, and that on all occasions I will seek to show my gratitude in acts.' Lindsay replied, 'Sire, the Pope will not believe me; will not your Majesty furnish me with something that will convince him of the facts.' Thus urged, the King made up his mind to take the pen, and with his own hand to write a memorandum addressed to Lindsay, instructing him, should occasion offer to speak to the Pope, to assure him that his Majesty nourishes the desire to prove to him by acts the affection which he bears, and the esteem in which he holds the Pope's person as a temporal Sovereign; and Lindsay is to enlarge on this topic as far as he can. As regards religion the King desires to preserve and maintain that in which he was brought up, in the conviction that it is the best; but as he has not a bloody mind he will not persecute the Catholics, either in goods or in person, as long as they remain obedient subjects. As regards the education of his son as a Catholic, to that he will never consent; for he would merit chastisement from God and censure from man if, while professing one religion which he held to be the best, he allowed his son to be bred in another full of corruption and superstition. That," said Cecil, "is the substance of the memorandum which was sealed with the King's seal, so that the Pope and everyone else should be obliged to give it credence. But now Lindsay, according to our information, in order to ingratiate himself with the Pope and to draw money, has so far overstepped his instructions that he has induced the Pope to name a congregation of Cardinals to sit upon English affairs, and thus has caused us to keep a sharper look out upon the Catholics, and more especially upon the priests." (Hora alcuni mesi sono entrò il Cavaliere di nuovo in pensiero di andar a Roma; dimandò licenza a Sua Maestà, et l'ottene assai cortesemente, quando fu per partire le disse, Sire, io haverò occasione di veder il Papa, il qual so certo che mi dimanderà qualche cosa di quella lettera, che cosa ho io da risponderle? Disse il Rè, che mi havete dato la lettera, et che io resto molto obligato all'amore et affettione che mi dimostra, alla qual io in tutte le occasioni procurerò con gli effetti di corrisponder. Replicò il Cavaliere, Sire, il Papa non mi

1605.

crederà, Vostra Maestà si contenti di trovar modo con il quale io posso assicurar il Papa della verità del fatto; da che mossa ella si resolse di prender la penna et far di propria mano un memoriale al Cavaliere dicendo che se le veniva occasione di parlar con il Papa le debba affermar che vive con desiderio di dimostrarle con gli effetti l'affettione che le portava et la stima che faceva della persona sua come principe temporale; che in questo concetto dovesse estendersi quanto più poteva; che quanto a la religione voleva conservar et mantener quella nella quale era nodrito tenendo per fermo questa essere la migliore, ma che non havendo animo sanguinolente non haverebbe perseguitato ne nella robba ne nella vita li Catolici mentre vivessero obedienti suditi; non [? ma] quanto al far istruire il principe suo figliuolo nella Cattolica Religione, questo non lo farà mai; poichè crederebbe di dover ricever gran castigo da Dio et biasimo appresso il mondo se, mentre professa una religione stimata per la migliore, volesse permetter che il figlio fosse alevato in una piena di corrutelle et superstitione, [questo] disse il Signor Sicil è la sostanza del memoriale, il quale fu anco sigilato col sigillo del Rè affine che il Papa et ogni altro potesse prestargli fede sopra quei punti. Hora il Cavaliere per mettersi in gratia et per cavar danari ha trapassato tanto questi ordini, per quanto intendemo, che ha dato occasione al Papa di dessignar una congregatione di Cardinali sopra le cose nostre, et a noi qui di haver l'occhio un poco più aperto alli Catolici et alli preti particolarmente.) I replied that I could not believe, all the same, that his Majesty would break his word so often given that for questions of religion he wanted neither the property nor blood of any man. Cecil replied, "As far as blood goes rest assured, provided the Catholics keep quiet; but as regards property the laws must be enforced; though even here we shall go dexterously to work and far more gently than in the days of the late Queen. For the rich Catholics, who refuse to attend the established Church, will not think twenty pounds sterling (that is eighty crowns) a month a heavy fine; the less rich, who cannot pay this fine and are, therefore, subjected to the loss of two-thirds of their property during their lifetime, will now have this advantage from the clemency of the King, namely that, whereas under the late Queen the sequestrated property passed to strangers who, in order to wring as much out of it as possible, ruined the houses and lands of the recusants, now the sequestrated property will be let to its owners at a very moderate price, and so they will not lose two-thirds nor even a quarter of their property. This device has been adopted so as not to crush the Catholics utterly on the one hand nor yet to inspire a belief in the Protestants that the Catholic religion is going to be tolerated, which would inevitably ensue were the fines removed altogether." (Quanto alla robba non si puo far di meno di non osservar le leggi che sono in questo proposito; ma anco in questo si anderà molto destramente et più dolcemente assai che non si faceva in tempo della Regina defonta; perche li Cattolici che ricusano di venir alle nostre chiese et che sono richi non stimeranno molto il pagar le 20 L^e al mese, che sono 80 scudi, quelli che non sono tanto richi et non hanno il modo il far questo pagamento, a'quali in virtu delle leggi le sono levati li doi terzi della robba in vita loro, hareranno hora per la clemenza del Rè questo avantaggio che si come in tempo della Regina li beni che le erano levati davano a genti stranie le quali per cavar

1605.

quel più che potevano non stimavano il rovinar le case et possessioni di questi, ma al presente saranno dati a loro medesimi patroni, et a buonissimo mercato, in tanto che non solo non pagheranno li doi terzi della robba ma ne anco il quarto. Si è trovato questo temperamento per non affliger tanto li Cattolici et per non dar da creder alli nostri che si voglia permetter la Religione Cattolica, come senza dubbio crederiano quando fossero levati affatto li pagamenti.) I said, "My Lord, it is a great matter that though the Catholic religion is prohibited in many countries in none is it persecuted as here; for as a matter of fact the loss of property, if not entirely, yet in part, is a hard fate, and to those who suffer from it must seem monstrous." "My Lord," he replied, "It cannot be helped; there are laws and they must be observed, and there is no doubt but that the object of these laws is to extinguish the Catholic religion in this kingdom; for we hold it undesirable in a well-governed monarchy to allow the increase of persons who profess obedience to the will of a foreign sovereign, as the Catholics do; for there is nothing their preachers insist upon so much as this, that a good Catholic must nurture in himself the firm resolve to be ready, for the preservation of his faith, to attack the life and the government of his natural sovereign. This is a pernicious doctrine, and we shall never admit it here; nay, we shall do all we can to root it out, and we will punish severely all those who go about to impress such teaching on the minds of good subjects." (Signor, mi rispose egli, non si può far altro; vi sono le leggi, bisogna osservarle, le quali hanno per fine, non ha dubbio, di estinguer la Cattolica Religione in questo Regno; poiche non stimiamo a proposito in una monarchia ben governata di augumento di persone che professano di pender dalla volontà d'altri principi come fanno li Cattolici; non predicando li preti nissuna cosa più constantemente di questa, che il buon Cattolico bisogna che habbia questa ferma rissolutione in se medesimo di esser per conservar la Religione pronto a solevarsi etiam contra la vita et il stato del suo prencipe naturale. Questa è una dotrina molto pericolosa, et qui certo non l'admetteremo mai, anzi procureremo con tutto il spirito di spiantaria affatto, et castigaremo anco severissimamente quelli che la vano insegnando et imprimendo nelli animi de buoni suditi.) I answered that I could not believe that priests taught any such doctrines, for in fact the Popes did not meddle with such affairs. Cecil replied, "Read history and you will find it full of examples. Your own Republic, was she not excommunicated more than once and her subjects freed from their allegiance?" "I said that it was true, but our subjects had never risen against the government for all that; for their hearts and wills are bound to us by good government and the good treatment they receive; and that this is so, we have the proofs, in the fact that our people have served the Republic in war against the very Popes that had excommunicated us." "That is true enough," said Cecil, "but it does not alter the fact that the Popes claim this unjustifiable right, and exercise it, too, whenever it pleases them, though always on the plea of religion. In short if a way be found to restrict this claim of the Papal authority, which they have usurped,—I know not by what right,—and if the world can be assured that Papal superiority will be confined exclusively to affairs spiritual—this point once established, I assure you that the next day the King would concede liberty of conscience and permit the exercise of the Catholic religion,

1605.

but on no other terms can it be thought of." This idea Cecil repeated several times. I thought it best to make no reply to it. (Mi soggionse egli leggete le historie, che le trovarete piene de casi simili. La vostra Republica non fù ella più volte escommunicata et assoluti et liberati li sudditi dal giuramento. Le dissi io che era vero, ma che per questo li sudditi non si solevorno mai contra la Republica, perchè in effetto li animi et volovtà loro sono conservate con il buon governo et buon trattamento che le viene fatto, che ciò sia vero, li popoli servivano in guerra la Republica fedelmente contra li medesimi papi che l'havevano escommunicati. E vero, disse egli, ma non é per questo che li papi non habbino questa ingiusta pretentione et che ad ogni loro beneplacito, se ben sempre con il pretesto della Religione, non l'esercitino; in somma se si troverà modo di restringere alli papi questa auttorità che si sono usurpati non so con che fondamento, et che il mondo possa restar certo che la la superiorità del papa non si estendi in altro che nelle cose spirituali, fermato et stabilito che sia questo punto, vi assicuro che il giorno seguente sua Maestà concederà la libertà di conscienza, et permetterà la Religione Cattolica. Ma di altra maniera non occorre pensarvi." Questo concetto mi fu replicato più volte da Sua Signoria, alla quale non stimai bene replicar altro.) I merely said that your Serenity would be glad to know that the Catholics were treated with all the gentleness possible; that I had instructions to address his Majesty on the subject, but I had not done so because I thought the Catholics might rely on his Majesty's word, that he did not desire either blood or property of any man for religion's sake. Cecil said, "Your Lordship has heard what I said about blood; you may rest assured no one will be punished without serious cause; as to property the laws must be observed; but they will be enforced very dexterously, as I have explained." *

London (date illegible). On docquet, "17 March."

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

354. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News has arrived that, far earlier than he was expected, the High Admiral of England has landed at Corunna. The King has sent to delay his journey till preparations are complete.

Valladolid, 25th March, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

355. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Monday evening the King came to Greenwich to be present at the . . . . which is to take place on Sunday, Accession day. It is not thought that he will go far away again, as the Queen is so near her confinement.

The Puritans are more than ever troublesome and annoying to the King. They do all they can to disuade the King from enforcing conformity. [They] have recently compiled a book entitled "The Errors of the King of Great Britain,"† *in which they recount all his*

* On July 30th, 1604, arrears of recusancy fines were remitted to the thirteen gentlemen who were fined £20 a month. The fines were enforced again on Nov. 28, 1604. *See* Gardiner I., 203, 224. For Lindsay's missions, *see* Gardiner I., 97, 224.

† Written by Thomas Bywater, and presented to the King at Ware. Cf. Cal. S.P. Dom. March 5, 12, 24.

1605.

Majesty's actions, which seem to them blameworthy; but more especially the persecution of the Puritans, which they endeavour to demonstrate as unjust and injudicious, while they praise to the skies the virtues of the late Queen, who, though a woman, never let herself be drawn to persecution, but attended herself to the affairs of her kingdom, and knew quite well that the Puritans were most faithful subjects, and that she might rely on them; whereas the King thinks of nothing but the chase and his own pleasures, neglecting his affairs and leaving them entirely in the hands of his Council; and so on. The King and the Council are excessively annoyed. The author has been committed to the Tower and examined. It seems that he is one of the principal gentlemen of this country.

. . . . . .

Articles have been drawn up, and the Puritan ministers are called upon to sign them or to lose their benefices. There are many gentlemen who administer justice in their various counties and towns, and it is intended to make them sign these articles, and to promise to put down the Puritans within their various jurisdictions; if they refuse they will be removed from the Commission of the Peace. Many ministers and many justices refused to subscribe, in the hope that the King would mitigate his orders, but seeing that he stands firm they have finally yielded and obeyed. On the other hand the persecution of the Catholics is vigorously conducted, all suspect houses are searched, and if crosses or anything indicating the Catholic religion is found the owner is imprisoned. The search for priests is also keen, and all that are found are imprisoned and threatened with execution; as happened recently at Oxford when a priest was actually taken up to the gallows to terrify him and the others, and to induce them to leave the country. On all sides one hears nothing but complaints and laments.

The Marquis of Doncla (?) has come to Court spontaneously to justify himself. He says he has never been disloyal; that his Majesty is master of the property and lives of his subjects, but not of their minds; and besides he relies on the repeated assurance of the King, that he desired no man's goods nor blood for conscience' sake .

This gentleman is of royal blood and of great power in Scotland, and the King treated him with great gentleness, saying that if he wished to exercise the Catholic religion he ought to do so quietly, so as to avoid a scandal. Finally the King said he would tell the Council to find out some way of settling the business.

An Ambassador from the Archduke is expected.

London, 30th March, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 2. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

356. The English Ambassador presents his compliments on the recall of Ambassador Molin and the appointment of Ambassador Giustinian.

Asks leave for Giustinian to frequent his company before leaving for England, in order to discuss the common interests of the two countries.

Asks that before Giustinian leaves the government should state its grievances on the subject of trade.

Doge replies that as to Giustinian frequenting his company that is not necessary, as absolute secresy is secured in the Cabinet,

1605.

and the Ambassador can speak freely there. As to the formulating of grievances that shall be done.

The Ambassador then presented a note on the case of the "Angelo," begging that it should be concluded, for it was monstrous that, when a ship had been taken into harbour in all good faith, two per cent. should be charged on its cargo as if for salvage.

The Ambassador then said that Lord Erskine (*Baron di Esbins*), son of the Earl of Mar, had arrived in Venice; as heir of so illustrious a house and of so intimate a councillor of the King the Ambassador begged the Doge to receive him; he was waiting outside the door, and was introduced; as he approached the steps the Ambassador rose, and taking him by the arm presented him to the Doge, who received him graciously, and ended by saying that his good looks showed his nobility. This the Ambassador interpreted, and both bowed and took their leave.

After they had retired Francesco Moresini rose and said that it was not true that two per cent. had been claimed on the cargo of the "Angelo."

[*Italian.*]

April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

357. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier who has come from London in ten days, brings news of the great levies raised in that country for the Dutch, the preparation of the fleet, *and the King's annoyance with the Dunquerquers. The ministers have not come to any decision; they await the arrival of the High Admiral.* They are going to send to meet him at Corunna; and are preparing large presents for him. Sixty thousand crowns have already been assigned for his entertainment.

Valladolid, 6th April, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Undated. Private Archive of the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople. Files 307 and 311.

358. Undated documents referring to English pirates in the Levant.

[*Turkish.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

359. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English cloth, which was seized in Rouen, has been restored at length, after many sharp letters from the King of England.

Paris, 12th April, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

360. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and Court remain at Greenwich, nor will he move far, as the Queen's confinement is expected hourly, and everyone is amazed that is it delayed so long.

1605.

The tournament was very magnificent, and was conducted by the Duke of Holstein. No Ambassadors were invited. *The French Ambassador requested that the Spanish Ambassador shquld not be invited. This he did on orders from his master, who, after the episode of the masque, this carnival, has enjoined his representative never to appear in public unless he is sure of having precedence over Spain; if he cannot secure that he is to keep away himself, and to request that Spain be not invited; when the Spanish Ambassador heard that he presented a similar request, and so the King resolved to ask no one.*

The Admiral left for Spain on Wednesday in Holy Week, but I hear he is still at the sea side, the weather having prevented him from sailing. He goes with great pomp, and has upwards of five hundred persons in his suite, among them many Earls and Barons, and Sir (Thomas) Cornwallis (*Cornovalles*), who is to remain in Spain as Ambassador in Ordinary. His commission is, besides the ceremony of swearing the peace, to use every art to induce his Catholic Majesty to believe that the English intend to observe the peace strictly, and that they will deal with the States as the treaty obliges them to deal. *The Ambassador is to insist on this, for it is known that the Spanish Ambassador here reports very differently, and declares that the Dutch are assisted now just as they were before the conclusion of the peace. As a matter of fact that is not far from the truth, for every hour fresh levies of troops are made to take service in Holland. And although the English affirm that the Archduke is free to do the same, and in appearance he is so, still should anyone entertain the idea of leading troops to his service, they whisper in his ear that he will be noted in the King's black books, and so he abstains. Thus not a soul, or at least very few, take service with the Archduke, while on the other hand great numbers enter the Dutch service (il che non è molto lontano dal vero, perchè qui ogn' hora si fa levata di gente per servitio de olandesi, et se bene dicono questi che il medesimo si permetterà anco di fare al Serenissimo Arciduca, et che in apparenza sia, nondimeno se vi è alcuno che voglia condur gente al suo servitio le viene fatto saper nell' orrechio, che egli sarà notato nel libro de quelli che sono in disgratia di Sua Maestà, onde quello per non incorrer in questo prejudicio se ne astiene et per cio si vede che al servitio di sua Altezza non ne va alcuno o molto pochi, si come all' incontro in servitio de olandesi ne passa ordinariamente numero grandissimo).*

The Earl of Hertford . . . . . Edmondes, who is to remain as Ambassador in Ordinary. The Ambassador of their Highnesses, Ordinary or Extraordinary is not yet known, has arrived at Dover. His mission is to prevent help being given so freely to the Dutch.

On Easter Day there was some noise at Court, for his Majesty let it be known that he desired each of his Councillors and his gentlemen to take Communion with him; and had ordered a list of those who abstained to be drawn up. *There are many about the Court who are Catholics at heart, but who, to avoid ruining themselves, attend Protestant preachings, but they were unwilling to commit this further sin, and so absented themselves from Court that day. The list was drawn up, but we don't know what will result as yet.*

1605.

The second son of the Duke of Neuberg, who belongs to the family of the Palatines of the Rhine, is here. He says he comes for his pleasure and to see the country, but in reality he is seeking some support from the King if the Duke of Cleves, who has not nor can have any children, should die. But the King, who hates taking trouble, will hardly do this to please someone else.

London, 14th April, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

14 April. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

361. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When the French Ambassador found out that the King and the whole Court were greatly disgusted with what has taken place at Rome, as the result of Sir James Lindsay's mission, he took the opportunity to remark to the King and to two ministers that the whole affair was due to the Spanish who, for many years, have had Lindsay in their pay, and have made use of him to make the Pope believe that they alone have zeal for the faith, and they alone have been able to induce the King to send a gentleman to treat of that subject in Rome. Lindsay has no other instructions than those I have reported, but here they hold it for certain that he has far exceeded his orders. This they think is proved by the fact that his Holiness has appointed a congregation of Cardinals to deal with English affairs; and now that it has been named the honour of the Holy See requires that it should do something; he says that if any trouble, such as excommunication comes from that quarter, all must be attributed to Spain. The King was well pleased with these observations of the Ambassador, which seemed to him to be based on sound considerations, although the Pope's death has suspended everything, and we must wait to see what is the nature of the new Pontiff, still they very freely declare that they hope the next Pope will have the same policy as the last, which was entirely directed to the maintenance of peace in Christendom. They praise his conduct, and display great sorrow for his demise. They watch with anxiety the coming election, for though they outwardly profess small regard for the Pope and laugh at excommunication, yet really in their hearts they would take it for very bad news if the future Pontiff proved hostile to them and proceeded to excommunication, for they know very well that there are a great many Catholics in the kingdom, whose disaffection is daily increasing on account of the extortions practised upon them. They live quietly just now because they are supported by no foreign sovereign, and because the Pope has forbidden them, under pain of excommunication, to conspire or in any way to take part in any action hostile to their sovereign or his kingdom. It is the opinion here that as long as matters continue on this footing and the Pope is friendly, they can live in peace and security; but, should the Pope prove hostile, fulminate his excommunication, give liberty to, nay incite, the Catholics to conspiracy and revolution, they think that, considering the ill-humour of the Puritans, who are still more numerous than the Catholics, there would be great danger of some widespread rising in the kingdom. The Catholics are subject to very cruel laws, which deprive them of life and property unless they are willing to abandon

1605.

their faith. Although these laws have been administered with gentleness up to the present, still they begin now to use rigour and severity against recusants. The prisons are full of Catholics, whose lives are menaced for every slight offence, as was the case a few days ago, when a Catholic was accused of theft, but sufficient evidence was not forthcoming; he was asked if he would abandon his religion; he refused, and was condemned to death and hanged the following day. They have also a priest condemned to be hung and quartered; but as he is of noble family and related to many great personages, who are doing all they can to help him, and as no other crime is charged upon him save that of being a priest, which here is interpreted as læsa majestas, *his execution is postponed; but they fear greatly that he will be put to death after all. Accordingly these poor Catholics expect that the persecution against them is going to be most severe, as it was in the reign of the late Queen, and they are in the depths of despair, for they are now deprived of the hope they once nourished, that a change of sovereign might mean an amelioration of their lot.*

London, 14th April, 1605.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

362. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish are so suspicious about the attitude of the King of England that they don't know what to do to confirm his good will. Now they try intimidation, now blandishments. On learning about the order he has recently made, that foreign ships may not leave his ports until they have lain there for three *tides, they have ordered most of the militia in Corunna to sail to England. This will serve to sound his Majesty's feelings and also to impress him with the resources of Spain. They will wait till they have the High Admiral in Spain, as a hostage for the good treatment of the ships.*

Valladolid, 15th April, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

363. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday, at two o'clock in the morning, the Queen gave birth to a daughter, contrary to the expectation and desire of the King, who showed a great longing for a son. His Majesty, as is the custom, has come here for ten or twelve days.

The Ambassador of the Archduke reached London on Sunday. It is not certain whether he comes as Ambassador in Ordinary or Extraordinary; his mission is to induce the King *to urge the Dutch to accept a reasonable composition with the Archduke, who thinks that the Spanish Ambassador has handled this matter in a way that is not consistent with his interests.*

The Duke of Holstein is still here; he is living a life of pleasure.

The Earl of Hertford took his leave yesterday to go to Flanders. He has many nobles in his suite.

London, 20th April, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deviphered.*]

1605.
May 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

364. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Council,—perceiving that the Levant trade is almost entirely ruined, and that the Ambassador in Constantinople has not the wherewithal to maintain himself, as the company no longer pays him his salary as it used to do; and considering that it is necessary to keep a public representative there for the sake of trade as well as for other reasons,—has summoned the directors of the company, and told them, on the King's orders, that in concert they are to study how to keep the business alive and to maintain an Ambassador in Constantinople, as that is his Majesty's firm resolve. The Council then privately offered to restore to the company its patent to levy the new impost if it would pay the same price that the Chamberlain is now paying. The directors called a meeting of the principal members and discussed the question at length, but always without reaching any decision, as there is great difference of opinion among them; and some have embarked on other business, and do not wish to abandon their profitable trade in order to resume this possibly losing business, which many hold to be of little or no value at all. For when the trade was started from two-hundred-and-twenty up to two-hundred-and-fifty thousand crowns of capital were yearly engaged in it, whereas it would seem that in these last years not more than thirty or forty thousand have been turned over, the rest being appropriated to the pay of the Ambassador and other necessary expenses, which have to come out of profits. As long as these expenses were spread over a capital of two-hundred-and-fifty thousand crowns everyone paid his share willingly, but now that the burden falls on a capital of only forty thousand it has become insupportable. They, therefore, wish to wind up the company, affirming that the trade is a loss instead of a gain. I have endeavoured to discover the cause of this falling off in the traffic, and I am assured that it depends on the ease with which the English and Dutch can now go to the East Indies, from which they transport at less cost and outlay all kinds of spices and quantities of silk, which they used to ship from the Levant. I am assured that it costs those who ship from the Indies a third less and even more, than it costs those who ship in Turkey: and the shops and warehouses of England and Holland are full of such goods *(poiche si come da principio che fu introdotto questo viaggio, ogn' anno andava in Levante per* 220 *sin* $\frac{m}{250}$ *scudi di capitali parc che in questi ultimi anni non ve ne andasse più di* 30 *o* $\frac{m}{40}$ *scudi, dovendosi cavar il danaro per sostentar l'ambasciatore et far le altre spese che son necessarie in quelle parti, dalla medesima mercantia; mentre la gravezza era divisa sopra il capital di* $\frac{m}{250}$ *scudi ogn' uno contribuiva volentieri, ma dovendosi hora cavar da* $\frac{m}{40}$ *la gravezza si fa cosi grande che li mercanti non la possano sopportar et pero non vogliono intender che si habbia a continuare, affermando che di questa maniera il negotio è più tosto di danno che di utile alcuno. Ho procurato anco di intendere la causa perche il negotio si sia*

1605.

tanto diminuito di quello che soleva essere al principio, et mi viene affermato ciò procedere dalla facilità con la quale al presente cosi l'Inglesi come l'olandesi vanno all' Indie orientali, dalle quali trasportano con molto manco spese et interessi tutte le sorti di spetiarie et molte sede che si solevano havere da quest'altra parte; essendomi affermato che a quelli che le pigliano all' Indie le costano un terzo meno, et fosse d'avantaggio, che a quelli che le comprano in Turchia; onde cosi in questo Regno, come in olanda li magazini et le case sono piene delle sodette mercantie). The affair is now at a standstill, though the Council continues to urge the company to oblige his Majesty in the matter. But the more it is discussed the greater are the difficulties that arise.

Don Giovanni de' Medici is expected in eight days; they say he is coming to amuse himself, and that he will be very well received, as the brother of the Grand Duke, who won the favour of the sovereigns and of the Court by his presents, though they were no great things, consisting of wine, cheese, Genoese vermicelli (*paste*), cloth of gold, silk, and so on; but they are acceptable, as his Highness shows a disposition to make them every year.

In the City of Oxford, the chief University of this kingdom, there was a man * about forty-five years old, who it seems has been studying medicine all his life. Recently it was found out that at night, while sleeping, he holds debate upon the most abstruse points of theology, to the amazement of everyone who hears him, for they marvel how a man can talk so profoundly in his sleep upon a subject which he has never studied. This rumour reached the King's ears, and he sent for him to Greenwich, where he heard the man twice, to his vast astonishment, for when awake the man seems a very ordinary person, rather below than above the average in education, but in his sleep he talks wonderfully well. If it is a trick, as is generally supposed, he is very clever at deceiving. The King himself is in doubt, and has handed the person over to some very learned persons to find out what it means. The discourses are in favour of this religion, and that is why they take so much notice of it all, perhaps.

London, 4th May, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

365. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of the Archduke, along with the Spanish Ambassador, has asked his Majesty's leave to raise two thousand English, two thousand Scottish, and two thousand Irish, and they beg his Majesty to name the colonels and to give orders that the levy be made to tuck of drum. It seems that his Majesty has given permission for a levy of four thousand, but without tuck of drum or the royal commission to the colonels. M. de Caron feels no little displeasure, for he thinks the King is acting in opposition to the spirit of his promises. He believes that this action is not the outcome of the King's own will, *but is the result of the presents made by the Ambassadors,*

* Richard Haydock, of New College, "the sleeping preacher." Cf. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1605, pp. 212, 213.

1605.

by means of which they overcome all difficulties. The Ambassador of the Archduke has brought a present of eight or ten thousand crowns for the five who were the English Commissioners for arranging the peace, and has given it to them in a most public manner; and this leads everyone to conjecture that what is done in secret is far greater. By such means, beyond a doubt, they will obtain all they may desire. This greatly alarms de Caron, who knows that his masters are quite unable to compete in making presents. He does his best; and his chief card is to cause his Majesty and the Council to observe that if the Dutch are abandoned here they must seek the protection of some other Prince, meaning France, a thing which the English do not like to hear. This is the basis of all his hopes, but whether it will produce the desired effect I do not know.*

These Ambassadors have made many suggestions as to the means for keeping the Flemish trade open.

On St. George's Day, old style, a Chapter of the Garter was held. The French Ambassador was summoned because his master is a Knight of the Order. The Ambassador of the Archduke was also present, as he has never seen the ceremony, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine. *I am informed from a sure quarter that when the Archduke's Ambassador was invited, he enquired if I was to be present; on hearing that I was not, as I had already seen the ceremony last year, the Ambassador said, "I am glad to hear it; for when I left Brussels I received strict orders, under severe penalties, that I was not to yield precedence to the Venetian Ambassador, and I am to inform his Majesty of these orders." I believe the Court has determined to deal with this question as it deals with that between France and Spain, that is to say, never to invite the Ambassadors except apart.*

London, 4th May, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

366. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of England is expected on the 20th of this month. He is accompanied by five hundred persons on horse, and two hundred pack horses. All at the charges of the King, and is exempt from all customs dues.

Valladolid, 7th May, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Collegio, Secreta Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

367. The English Ambassador announces the birth of a Princess.

Presents a memorial in favour of Thomas Seget, a poor Scot, condemned to prison by the Council of Ten. The evil machinations of his adversaries, in suborning two youths, Lorenzo and Giosepho, to bear false witness against him, have just come to light. Seget now implores your Serenity and your Excellencies to cause an inquiry to be instituted.

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* Dorset, Nottingham, Devonshire, Northampton, and Cecil. Gardiner 1, 208.

1605.

The Ambassador said, "This is the Scottish gentleman, of whom I spoke to you in my first audience. I had a courteous answer, but the Council of Ten condemned Seget to three years' imprisonment and subsequent expulsion. This was a severe sentence, but I resolved to let justice run her course. When, however, the subornation came to light I felt compelled to appeal to your Serenity, and I now demand that Giacomo Piemontese or da Isola be secretly arrested and examined."

The Vice-Doge replied, promising due attention to the case.

The Ambassador then presented another memorandum on the case of the English merchants against the Government of Zante.

The Vice-Doge promised attention to this also.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

368. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

At the last Chapter of the Garter the Duke of Holstein and the Earl of Northampton were invested, which brings the number of Knights up to the full twenty-four.

On Saturday the King created three Earls, one of them, the brother of Cecil, took the title of Exeter, Cecil himself took the title of Salisbury. The third was Philip Herbert (*Arber*), a youth of twenty, who has acquired this title of Earl, which is highly prized here, by the mere will and grace of his Sovereign; he has received the title of Montgomery and property to the value of eight thousand crowns a year, in addition to the six thousand crowns the King gave him a year ago. Besides this the King created one Viscount, the Queen's Chamberlain, and four Barons.*

Don Giovanni de' Medici has not arrived yet; the Secretary of the Grand Duke went to meet him, but returned without any news of him except that he was still at Brussels waiting till the Earl of Hertford should arrive. On Sunday the Princess was baptized, the sponsors were the Duke of Holstein, Lady Arabella and the Countess of Northumberland. She was called Mary after the King's mother.

An English gentleman, who has been for some years resident in Italy, has recently published a book in English, in which he discussed the Italian Princes and their government. It is full of lies and vanity, and he must have been very badly informed. *In specially he says all the ill he can of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, declares he is hated and predicts a revolution. When the Tuscan Secretary heard it he complained to Cecil.* Cecil sent for the printer and made him surrender all the copies, and all those that are already sold have been called in, so that the book will be suppressed.

After that Oxford preacher (Haydock) had been some days in the hands of the doctors and ministers named by the King to find out if he were a charlatan or not, the King saw that opinion was divided among them, and resolved to summons the man to his presence; that done, he told him that he knew all, would pardon him if he confessed, but would punish him if he denied. The man, after a little hesitation, confessed that it was all a sham, suggested to him

* Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle, and Sir George Carew, of Clopton; William Cavendish, of Hardwicke; Sir John Stanhope, of Harrington; Thomas Arundel, of Wardour. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1605. May 4.

1605.

by the Puritans; that when at Oxford he had read the manuscript studies of some persons, which he committed to memory and repeated, feigning to sleep, but being really awake. The astonishment of the King and everyone else is thus dispelled. The man will be pardoned.

London, 18th May, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

369. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors of Spain and Flanders have been to the Council several times. They have dealt mainly with two points, *an open trade route to Flanders, which the Dutch blockade more closely than ever. The Ambassadors claim that the treaty obliges the King to keep the passage open, by force of arms if not by persuasion. They insist that the advantage to England would be great. The Council replies in his Majesty's name that he has done all that is possible by way of persuasion, which is all he is bound to do by the clauses of the treaty. He says he certainly is not bound to maintain a fleet of forty or fifty ships—which is what keeping the passage open by force would mean—at a cost of six hundred thousand crowns a year. The Ambassadors replied that they did not ask that his Majesty should go to war with the Dutch, only that he should make vigorous representations and employ threats if need were. The Council answered that the King had done all he was bound to do.*

Meantime the Dutch have about eighty well armed ships in these waters, and with this fleet they intend not only to blockade Flanders but to attack the Spanish fleet, which they say is on its way from Spain.

The second point is that, when his Majesty declined to commission Colonels for the levies, they finally selected a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and made all arrangements with him for the command of the English regiment to be raised. But when the King and Council heard this they informed the Earl's brother that he must renounce his post, and this intimation was conveyed in very sharp language, pointing out that no great personage had any right to take service with a foreign prince without the King's permission, and that he deserved not merely rebuke but punishment. He accordingly went to the Ambassadors and told them that on account of certain private business he was obliged to resign his commission. The truth, however, reached the Ambassadors' ears, and they made loud complaints to the Council; the Council could not deny the facts, and so they said that if that gentleman had asked for permission it would have been granted him. Meantime the King, in order to pacify the Ambassadors, has appointed Stanley, a man of no birth and less experience, to raise this regiment. All sorts of difficulties occur, and the Flemish Ambassador said to me one day that he did not believe the troops would ever be raised.

London, 18th May, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

370. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The father of the Marquise de Verneuil has had his prison changed to one of his country houses. The Englishman who acted

1605.

as go-between in this business with the Spanish Ambassador, has been exiled in perpetuity.

Four thousand Spanish troops are on their way to England; they are embarked on eighteen English ships with an escort of eighteen galleys. They have reached Brittany.

The King of England sent to thank the King of France for releasing the English cloth, but in order that such things should not happen again he begged the King to send a Commissioner to England. His most Christian Majesty replied that the King of England ought to send his Commissioner to France; he further complained of the Lord High Admiral's embassy to Spain, and the use that was made of English ships to convey Spanish troops. The English Ambassador endeavoured to satisfy his Majesty, but he could not induce him to send a Commissioner to England.

Paris, 24th May, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

371. The English Ambassador renders thanks for the steps taken to conclude the case pending now for five years between the English merchants and the Government of Zante.

He would have been still more obliged had his petition in favour of the Scot, Thomas Seget, been granted. This morning the two boys, Lorenzo and Gioseppe, have confessed to him that they had received money to bear false witness against Seget.

Passing to public matters, the Ambassador announces that he has just received the King's answer as to the conduct of English ships in Venetian waters. All English ships in future, on meeting Venetian galleys in Venetian waters, are to strike their topsails and send their boat on board the flag-ship. Any disobedience to these orders will expose the ship to be taken for a pirate.

Begs that a certain Alessandro Alessandre, sailor on board the "Moresina," at four ducats a month and now creditor for seven months, may be paid his due by the Moresini, who say his pay is suspended, owing to a sentence of the Ten.

Touches on the case of Nicolo Balbi, represented by the Advocate Finetti. Accuses directly Nicolo Balbi of being the author of the murder of Nicolas Pert, Englishman, and claims that the cause should be heard by the Cabinet.

Doge replies, asking the Ambassador to present a memorandum on the case of Alessandro Alessandre, and declaring that the case of Balbi belongs to the Council of Ten, and not to the Cabinet.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

372. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of England arrived on the 26th of this month. The entry was very fine, but ruined by rain.

To-day he will have private audience, and will present the lieger.

Valladolid, 31st May, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

1605.
June 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

373. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Easter Sunday the Queen went to church. The King is to go to Windsor soon. It is customary here to have a jail delivery (*spedire tutti li prigioni*) each term. There are four terms. This time, however, when the judges went circuit, they found many Catholics, who are in prison for religious opinions, among them some priests, two of whom are under sentence of death. The judges being unwilling to come to any decision without consulting the King, Cecil went to his Majesty and informed him that the judges desired to know his will in the matter, whether the laws were to be put in force or suspended. The King replied that he did not know what course to adopt, for he had declared publicly and also to Ambassadors of foreign Sovereigns that for questions of conscience he would never touch the property or life of any man; but the great pressure brought to bear upon him by some of his Councillors had forced him against his will and his word to allow the laws regarding the property of recusants to be put in force; now, however, that they desired to carry out the capital sentences he could not give his consent; and as regards the property he was determined that not a penny of the money should come into his pockets; he intends to bestow it all upon his servants and those who deserved well of him. This answer gives a sort of open indication of his Majesty's goodwill to the Catholics, but it also renders them more anxious, because they would far rather pay their fines to the King than to private individuals, for they would be sure of easier terms, the Crown money being exacted in this kingdom with far greater leniency than private debts (*le disse il Rè non saper in che rissolversi, poiche egli haveva detto assai publicamente et alli Ambasciatori de Principi ancora, che per conto di Religione non haverebbe mai voluto ne robba ne sangue di alcuno, che con tutto cio le instantie et persuasioni grandi, che le erano state fatte da diversi suoi consiglieri lo havevano violentato contra la propria volontà et la parola data, di assentire che le leggi contra a Cattolici toccanti la robba siano esseguite; che hora mo si voglia esseguire anco quelle del sangue egli non lo poteva approvare; che quanto alla robba anco era rissoluto di non voler che di essa venisse un soldo nella sua borsa ma che più tosto donerà questi utili alli suoi servitori et benemeriti. Questa risposta ancorche dia certo et manifesto segno a Cattolici della buona volontà della Maestà sua verso di loro, tuttavia restano maggiormente afflitti desiderando più tosto dover pagar al Rè che a particolari, poiche senza dubbio haveriano conditioni assai migliori non riscotendosi li danari del Principe, et in questo paese massime, con tanta severità come si fanno quelli da particolari*). The larger part of the petitions presented to his Majesty come from the four, six and eight Catholics, more or less according to their merits and desserts; and the poor Catholics are, one may say, put up to auction (*onde hora la maggior parte delle gratie che vengono dimandate alla Maestà sua è de' 4, de' 6, de' 8 Cattolici più et meno conforme al proprio merito et pretensioni loro, onde li poveri Cattolici sono hora venduti si può dir, all'incanto*) * and their sufferings are insupportable. They

* I do not understand this passage. Does it mean "from the Catholics who are fined 4, 6, and 8 pounds"?

1605.

have resolved to petition the King, setting forth their misfortunes and imploring some relief. Beyond a doubt if the King chose to take the matter into his own hands they might hope for some good result; but as he entrusts everything to his Council, the majority of which is bitterly hostile to the Catholics, we cannot reasonably look for aught but misfortune. The whole question is undecided as yet.*

The Earl of Hertford, Ambassador in Flanders, returned on Monday. Yesterday he had audience. He says he was the recipient of extraordinary honours. From Flanders he went to Flushing to embark. He found the Dutch bent on attempting Antwerp, in spite of the failure of their first effort to effect a landing and to cut the Flemish dyke. Their object was to flood the country and to prevent succour reaching the city. But the enemy is warned, and so the design will prove abortive, it is thought.

News that Don Giovanni de' Medici has landed at Dover. He is expected in London to-night.

London, the first of June, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

374. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassadors of Spain and Flanders, on receiving news of Count Maurice's unsuccessful attack on Antwerp, are giving all their attention to raising the four thousand infantry, for which they have the King's permission. They have begun to pay out a considerable sum of money, but they encounter great difficulty, for they wish all the troops they enroll to be Catholic. This would present no real obstacle, for the country is overflowing with Catholics, were it not that these men shrink from declaring themselves as such, for fear of falling under the legal penalties, which are most severe. And so although they are implored and large promises are made them they refuse to enlist. Those who are heretics of course refuse and complain loudly of the King and Council for having granted leave; while many of them take service with the Dutch. Then again there is this other difficulty, *that the King has let it be known that although as a friendly neutral he could not refuse the same permission to Spain and the Archduke as he had granted to the Dutch, still he will never love nor reckon as a faithful subject anyone who serves a sovereign whose religion is different from his own. These two reasons, fear of the penal laws and fear of the King's displeasure, are sufficient to detain those who would otherwise have taken service with the Archduke.*

The levy is, therefore, a matter of difficulty, and many think either that it will not be carried out or will yield a far smaller force than was expected. The Ambassadors do not relax their efforts, however, all the more as they have heard that the Dutch have captured a block-house (*casa forte*) close to Antwerp, where the Archduke kept two hundred men to overrun the country. This will facilitate the siege of Antwerp.

* For the whole question of the enforcement of the recusancy fines, *see* Gardiner I., 227-230.

1605.

The Duke of Holstein's visit has cost, they say, eighty thousand crowns for the six months he has been here. The King has made him a Knight of the Garter and assigned him three thousand pounds a year.

The Council has ordered all copies of that book on the Italian States to be burned, and this was publicly carried out at St. Paul's. The author has been confined to his house till the Grand Duke's pleasure be known.

London, the first of June, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

375. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Owing to the suspicion roused by the conduct of the King of England in giving free access to Spanish ships with troops for Flanders, his Majesty *has ordered the immediate payment of the Scottish men-at-arms, which are commanded by the second son of the King of England. Very secretly, too, he has sent about ten thousand crowns by private hands. The object only can be to win over some one of importance, who will support French interests.*

Paris, 7th June, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 7. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

376. That the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be summoned and the following read to him:—

We are deeply obliged by the information conveyed to us that his Majesty has given orders that all his ships, when they meet our galleys, shall strike their fore-topsail (*trinchetto di chebba*) and send their boat aboard with their papers. But in order to put an end to the mutual complaints of our respective subjects, we must point out that these two regulations are not sufficient, because a pirate could quite well conform to them; we, therefore, hope that the King will add these further orders that after striking their fore-topsail and sending their boat aboard, they shall follow the custom in our mercantile marine, which is to hoist the jib* (*issar i carnali*) and let go the main sheet (*lasciar le scotte in bando delle vele maistre*). We beg your Lordship to second the representations which will be made by our Ambassador in England.

As to the case of Alexander, son of Alexander the Scot, in order to give you every satisfaction we have issued orders that he shall be paid at once.

As to the other two criminal cases we can only say that the Council of Ten has them in hand, and will deal with them according to the rules which govern its procedure, and they do not allow the

* Carnale, idiot. per Quarnale. Quarnali, nel cinquecento vele di flocchi (the jibs and fore staysails) nei galeoni e nelle navi, perche issavansi colla quarnale. *See* Guglielmotti, *Vocabolario Marino e Militare*. Roma, 1889. *See* also s.v. Flocco. La quarnale was a rope rove through the mast, and used either for hoisting weights or the yards or the jibs. *See* Stratico, *Vocabolario di Marina*. Milano, 1813, s.v. *Carnara*, vol. 1. and *Carnal* vol. 2. *See* also Tommaseo, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*. Torino 1865. *Carnali*—stays, and then the sails that are hoisted by the stays.

1605.

accused to be defended by advocates. We have begged the Council to proceed as quickly as possible.

Ayes	44.	Ayes	24.
Noes	18.	Noes	13.
Neutrals	103.	Neutrals	147.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

377. To AMBASSADOR MOLIN, in England.

The English Ambassador here resident has informed us that the King of England has ordered his ships to strike their fore-topsail when they meet our galleys as they do when they meet his Majesty's ships, and further that they are to send their papers on board.

You are to point out to his Majesty and urge upon his consideration the subjects which we have just submitted to his Ambassador.

Ayes	44.	Ayes	24.
Noes	18.	Noes	13.
Neutrals	103.	Neutrals	147.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

378. To AMBASSADOR MOLIN, in England.

We should have been annoyed to learn that the Ambassador of their Highnesses the Archduke and Duchess claim precedence of our Ambassador had not the King's attitude shown that he thought the claim unwarranted. You are to make all due representations to him on the subject.

Ayes	155.
Noes	0.
Neutrals	7.

June 9. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

379. The English Ambassador returns thanks for the resolution of the Senate of June 7th.

Withdraws request that the Cabinet should hear the case of Balbi.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

380. That the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be summoned and the following read to him:—

Thanks to the King for his orders to his ships to strike fore-topsail and send boat on board. The Ambassador is requested to press for the sufficient publication of these orders and to promise that our ships shall use all regard for the English ships which they may meet.

Ayes	153.
Noes	1.
Neutrals	3.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

381. To AMBASSADOR MOLIN, in England.

You will take care that the orders issued to all English ships are sufficiently published.

Ayes	153.
Noes	1.
Neutrals	3.

1605.
June 13.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

382. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sir Anthony Sherley, the Englishman, lately expelled from your Serenity's dominions, has come to Court. I hear the Emperor sent for him, and yesterday he had audience. I do not as yet know the object of his visit.

Prague, 13th June, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

383. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English and Spanish have been quarrelling over the place in which the peace is to be sworn. The Spanish do not wish to swear in Church, the English insist. On the afternoon of Corpus Domini it was signed in a room in the palace. The Ambassadors-in-ordinary were not present.

After the ceremony the King with his own hand gave the Admiral a diamond worth four thousand crowns.

Valladolid, 14th June, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

June 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

384. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago a Catholic lady died in Wales.* As that part of the country is very Catholic she was borne by priests and followed to the Church by a large body of people. The incumbent, who is a Protestant, would not receive them, and refused to bury the body. The Catholics said if he would not, they would; and they did so. The incumbent went to the Bishop of Hereford† and reported to him. The Bishop informed the Justices. The Justices summoned the *posse* (*fecero mettere insieme molti bargelli et sbiri*) and sent it to arrest all who had taken part in the funeral. This they very easily did, for the meeting had already separated. About twenty arrests were made. Then all their friends flew to arms and fell upon the constables, threatening to cut them to bits if they did not let their prisoners go. The constables were in the minority, and were forced to yield.

In the same county there is a Church on a hill, where Mass was celebrated and attended by a great concourse of people. The Justices sent fifty or sixty men to arrest the priest and as many of his congregation as possible. But the congregation, suspecting that something of this sort might happen, came armed, and made so vigorous a resistance that they drove the officers away. The Catholics then sent one of their number to the Sheriff to say that they were good and obedient subjects of his Majesty; that for the service of him and of his kingdom they were ready to expose life and property to every danger; but that on the other hand they would shed the last drop of their blood for their religion in which they had been brought up; that as long as they were left undisturbed in their religion they would prove to the world that his Majesty has no more faithful subjects than themselves; but if

* Cf. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1605. June 22. The lady was Alice Wellington, of Allensmore. Her funeral took place March 21, 1605. † Robert Bennet.

1605.

persecuted on this score they would do everything they could to defend themselves.

The rumour of this having reached the ears of the King and Council has caused them a very great anxiety; they do not know what steps to take, for that country is full of Catholics, bold men of tried courage, and they fear if they employ force the whole countryside may fly to arms. It is thought that they will dissemble until they can get ten or twelve of the leaders into their hands.

The Duke of Holstein left on Friday, very unwillingly; for, as I have already reported, this country pleases him much. *On the other hand he has disgusted everybody, and especially the Queen, his sister, who for two months has refused to speak to him. The King has frequently endeavoured to induce her to see him, but in vain; finally one day he took the Duke into the Queen's apartments, and some words of affection were exchanged. All the same the Queen is not mollified. The cause, it seems, was that the Duke claimed to go into the Queen's rooms whenever he chose; she did not like this. He would not take the hint, and the Queen gave orders that he was not to be admitted without being announced. One day he went as usual, but when he was informed of these orders he broke out into impertinences. Whereupon the Queen declined to see him again, and he fell into disgrace with the King and Court. One day he said to his Majesty that he had attended the King all through the winter in his hunting of the hare, and proposed to attend him in his stag-hunts, which are beginning now and will go on till Christmas. The King remained silent, and so the Duke knew that his presence was unwelcome.* He has at last made up his mind to leave, giving out that he is going to take six thousand horse to Hungary. Before departing he visited all the Ambassadors except myself. The sole cause of this was the question of precedence which arose at the marriage of the Earl of Montgomery. He thought he was revenging himself by this act of discourtesy. At an audience I had of the King I informed him that, owing to the death of my two brothers, I had been obliged to ask your Serenity to name my successor, and that the illustrious Giorgio Giustinian had been chosen. The King addressed a few words of regard to me, and then began to talk of the chase, for which he was bound after dinner; and presently I took my leave.

London, 15th June, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

385. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors of Spain and Flanders have so worked upon the King that he has at last consented that the Earl of Home (*Conte di Hun*), a great Scottish gentleman, should raise a regiment of Scottish for service with the Archduke. This has caused much comment, *for only a few days ago the King ordered the Earl of Northumberland's brother to resign the commission he had accepted to raise English troops. Lord Home has the order under the King's sign-manual, and no one knows what to make of it, nor what may be the real intention of the King. I hear that his Majesty has said*

1605.

that though he has granted leave the troops will not go, though some have already begun to cross the water. It is true that the Dutch are on the watch, and capture almost all, as they go in divisions of forty or fifty in boats or on merchantmen, and cannot make any resistance. They are all captured, and part are drowned. The King and Council raise no complaint; and this leads people to think that the Dutch have his Majesty's permission to pursue all who take service with the Archduke. All the same it is a strange thing that the King should allow his subjects to go as it were to the slaughter. News has just arrived that the Dutch have sunk a boat with sixty soldiers in it; and these proceedings strike such terror into the hearts of everyone that the Ambassadors do all they can to induce his Majesty to lend them his ships of war for the transport of the troops, in the hope that the Dutch will respect the English ships as in duty bound, or if they should attack, which is most improbable, that they would meet such a welcome as would make them repent having done so. *But the Dutch stand firm, and M. de Caron promises himself much from the support of Cecil. De Caron told me two days ago that he was sure the King would not grant the use of his ships; but as this depends entirely on the King's pleasure, de Caron may not be so sure as he thinks.*

When Count Maurice, after his vain attempt on Antwerp, retired, the Marquis Spinola followed him up, but was so delayed by the refusal of Antwerp to allow passage through the city to his troops, that he lost considerable time, and Count Maurice was able to take up a strong position and fortify himself. The armies are a league away from each other; but the Marquis, who is inferior in numbers, will wait reinforcements from Italy.

Don Giovanni de' Medici arrived in this city on the third of this month. I am just this moment informed that news has reached his Majesty, who is here in London passing through, that some ships on their way from Spain with troops for Flanders have been met by the Dutch in the Channel, defeated and destroyed.* Particulars are wanting, but they will soon be to hand.

London, 15th June, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

386. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

They have promised the Admiral twelve and his son four thousand crowns if they succeed in persuading the King of England to restore Flushing to the Archduke.

Valladolid, 21st June, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

387. The English Ambassador addresses the Cabinet on the case of Nicolo Balbi. He declares that but for the orders of his master he would not move in the matter; he is bidden to thank the Cabinet for its prompt procedure in arresting the said Nicolo Balbi; and to express a hope that the conclusion will resemble the opening of the affair.

* For the destruction of the Spanish fleet under Sarmiento, by the Dutch under Haultain off Dover, *see* Motley. Op. cit. iv., 213-214.

1605.

The memorandum he first presented showed that there was in this case fraud and *malice prepense,* as is proved by the linen bag, in which Balbi told Nicholas Pert that three hundred and fifty dollars had been stitched, whereas there were only one hundred and fifty. Pert was found dead in the morning; mouth, nose and ears charged with blood and a chest on his head. Pert's lad was at once shut out of the chamber, so that he could not see the body of his master, and all the papers and everything else were carried off. Then there is the caressing conduct of Signor Nicolo Balbi to the lad, when he said to him, "Listen, my dear John, you are to say that your master left nothing or only very little." "But," said the boy, "I have already told everything; all the sailors know it." "You are young," replied Balbi, "and ignorant of the ways of the world. You give ten ducats to so-and-so and ten to so-and-so and they wont accuse us. I'll take you with me to Venice and keep you in my house. I'll love you like a son and get you a wife." "I beg your Lordships," said the Ambassador, "to note this, Signor Balbi was bound for Zante, yet he talks of coming to Venice, as if he had come in for some large gain. I do not reject the evidence about the gathering from which Pert was suffering, and his ill-health before he came on board, and other miserable pleas, which I know will have no weight with the grave Senators and Judges before whom the case will come. I am here now in the name of the King of Great Britain to demand civil and criminal justice against Signor Nicolo Balbi; civil to-day, for the criminal I will speak another day. On the civil side I demand the restitution of all effects, papers, clothes, plate, and of three particular sums, namely, one hundred and fifty sequins, lent to Balbi at Ragusa; one thousand five hundred dollars taken out of the strong box of Nicolas Pert, and one thousand one hundred and sixty sequins, deposited in the custody of Signor Nicolo Balbi. These are ascertained sums, in part even acknowledged. But I ask more, though some might say, 'Take care what you are about, for *qui plus petit cadit à causa,*' I do not shrink, however; I affirm that Signor Nicolo Balbi holds more than we know of. Read this letter written from Ragusa by an honourable merchant." He handed in the letter, which was read slowly. Then the Ambassador proceeded, "I could produce other letters written in English to Pert's correspondents, which talk of larger sums. They have been sent to me. But this letter I have put in proves that Pert left Ragusa with six thousand ducats, a far larger sum than the three thousand stated above. To conceal all this Signor Nicolo Balbi, the evening before the murder, took all the papers out of the safe. It may be said, 'How can you prove that he has these papers and this money, supposing he denies it?' I reply that the facts narrated are proof sufficient, but God has not wished to leave us without further evidence. Signor Lorenzo Zanoli, who lived in the same street as I did do, and is at present in Verona, was chosen to deal with me about this business, as being well acquainted with the English. Balbi's friends sent him to me on Good Friday—a day that appeals to compassion—and also, as he told me, to anticipate the departure of that evening's post. This Zanoli confessed to me that Signor Balbi had the papers and everything else.

1605.

He implored me to doctor the affair, and discussed with me the way to restore the papers by the agency of some priest or friar or confessor, as a sort of amends and discharge of his conscience, but at the same time securing the personal safety of Signor Balbi. It may be said that all that was put forward to tempt me, and that I am not to be believed; but it is not so, for I withdrew on purpose to the country, and wrote thence to an honourable English merchant, Geoffrey Lutario, begging him in my absence to re-open the question with Zanoli, who was his neighbour, and to bring it to a close. Signor Zanoli confessed all to this merchant, and added that Signor Balbi had more than we know of, and again went into the method by which the property was to be restored. He said that, seeing me well disposed, he was determined that both papers and money should be restored, otherwise he himself would give evidence against Signor Balbi. But perhaps, after what has happened to Zanoli, to be sent off almost like a prisoner on account of his pleasures and his loves, of which I know the whole history, he may have forgotten all about what he said, for worry destroys the memory and the judgment? Not at all, my Lords; he has written to his eldest son, who brought me the letter, and on his father's orders came to renew all his offers. I don't know if the said Zanoli is being fraudulently kept out of Venice, so that we may not make use of him as a witness, for this I rely on your Excellencies, who will recognise the clearness of the case, and I rest assured that I shall receive justice."

The Vice-Doge, Lorenzo Loredan, replied that they had sent to Corfu for papers necessary in the trial, and when they came all that justice required should be done.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in the files of the preceding.

388. Letter from Ragusa, written by VINCENZO HOLBINI to "GEOFFREY LUTARIO, English merchant in Venice."

"I should not have failed to salute your master Nicolas, the Englishman, but that he had left for the Levant on board the ship of Messer Balbi, and we heard that on the journey he passed from this life, and only a little money was found upon him, while from here he took 6,000 ducats."

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Consiglio Dieci. Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

389. That Thomas Seget, Scotchman, be called upon to put in his defence within ten days.

Ayes	5.	2nd ballot. Ayes	5.
Noes	6.	Noes	6.
Neutrals	3.	Neutrals	3.
No decision.			

That Thomas Seget, Scotchman, at present in prison, on the charge of writing a libel on Ser Thomà Malipiero, which libel was found on the Broglio at San Marco, be considered a criminal in the power of this Council, and his person handed over to the Chiefs and the Advocate Fiscal Foscari.

Ayes	6.	2nd ballot. Ayes	6.
Noes	1.	Noes	1.
Neutrals	7.	Neutrals	7.
No decision.			

1605.
June 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

390. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After long discussion about the recent events in Wales, the Council came to the conclusion that to use force of arms in a country so full of Catholics and men of mettle was to run the obvious risk of something more serious, and resolved to refer the whole question to the magistrates of the county, with orders to use all dexterous means for having the chiefs of the movement in their hands, and punishing them severely, and this they are to do as in virtue of the authority they hold, but not on the orders of the King or Council; and this so as to avoid compromising the royal authority, for they hold that if execution were ordered on the royal warrant it would have to be carried out with greater severity. *When the magistrates received this commission, being bitterly hostile to the Catholics, they failed to carry out their orders with that dexterity, which was contemplated by the King and Council; but they proceeded with rigorous fury to arrest hundreds of persons. When the Catholics saw what was going on perhaps a thousand of them banded together in arms and took up a strong position. The constables sent by the Justices were compelled to retire; the Catholics declaring that they would not permit any of their number to be harassed on the score of his religion, while in all that pertained to the King's service they offered to spend their fortune and their blood. This news arrived in Court on Sunday. Many, and above all the King, felt that they must take up arms in earnest and repress the audacity of these persons before the evil spread further roots; but in the end the opinion of the majority prevailed that it is better to proceed cautiously; and to lay the blame for what had occurred upon the magistrates, who either could not or would not execute their orders in the proper spirit, and who had thrown the whole country into revolt by their harshness. There is the further consideration that by the use of force they would not only imperil the royal reputation, but unless that policy succeeded, which it certainly would not in a country so full of Catholics and men of mettle, they would encourage the other Catholics in the country to join the rebels and to produce some really serious revolution; and for this they are all ripe, thanks to the despair to which the insupportable cruelty and extortions have driven them. His Majesty and Council are in perplexity, and know not what course to pursue. Council meets every day, and contrary to his practice the King is present. As far as I am informed no resolution has as yet been taken, but we must soon hear something.* (Doppo haver questi Signori del Consiglio discorso lungamente sopra le cose successe questi giorni passati nel paese di Gales tra Cattolici et protestanti si come scrisse alla Vostra Serenità con le ultime mie, et conoscendo loro molto ben che il voler loro metter mano alle armi et usar la forza in quel paese pieno di Cattolici et di huomini molto corraggiosi era un cader in manifesto pericolo de incorrer in qualche inconveniente assai maggiore delli passati, determinorono finalmente di rimetter la causa in tutto et per tutto alli giusdicenti del paese, con ordine che destramente procurassino di haver li capi di quei motivi nelle mani, et quelli severamente castigare, mostrando però di far tutto ciò per*

* This whole episode is briefly recorded in Gardiner i., 242. *cf.* R. O. Trans. Borghese. T. 966. Avvisi 1605, "dalle spese prediche fatte dalli sacerdoti Catholici ne monti di do. Principato di Vualiia, alle quali sono intervenuti auditori a migliaia."

1605.

l' auttorità che hanno ma senza ordine o commandamento ne del Rè ne del consiglio, et ciò per non interessar la suprema auttorità Regia, parendo a loro che quando l'esecutione dovesse esser fatta di ordine del Rè dovesse per riputatione farsi con maggior rissolutione et ardore. Li giusdicenti ricevuta questa commissione essendo loro acerimi nemici de Cattolici non hanno potuto, o saputo. eseguirla con quella destrezza che dovevano, il che era intentione di Sua Maestà et del consiglio, ma hanno voluto procedere con molto furore et rigore, procurando di far prendere centenara di persone; onde questi aveduti della cosa si sono messi insieme forse mille et con le armi si sono impatroniti di un sito forte dove essendo andate le genti mandate dalli giudici per far l'esecutione soldetta, hanno havuto di gratia di ritirarsi lasciandosi intendere liberamente di non voler permetter che alcuno de suoi sia travagliato per conto di religione, cosi come all' incontro in tutte le cose che saranno di servitio di Sua Maestà si offerivano di spender la robba et il sangue. Quest' aviso fu portato domenica alla Corte dove si trovava il Rè et il consiglio, et fu inteso con gran alteratione. Molti, fra quali la Maestà Sua principalmente, sentivano che si dovesse metter mano all' armi da dovero per reprimer l'audacia di quelli avanti che il male acresesse (sic) più la sua radice; ma in fine l'opinione di più ha prevalso che è che si debba procedere con ogni destrezza; attribuendo la causa di questo disordine principalmente a quei giusdicenti li quali non hanno saputo o voluto esequir la commissione di quella maniera che dovevano, havendo con il loro rigore messo in rivolta tutta quella Provincia; considerando di più che il voler usar la forza oltre il pericolo in che si mette la riputatione Regia. che riuscendo la cosa come indubitamente non riusceria per esser come si è detto la provincia piena de Cattolici et de huomeni molto rissoluti, et arditi, ciò darebbe quest 'animo et ardire alli altri Cattolici che son sparsi per il Regno in gran numero di unirsi con questi et far qualche gagliarda rivolutione a che grandemente pare siano inclinati per la disperatione in che si trovano, non potendo più soportar la crudeltà et estortioni grandissime che le sono usate per conto della Religione. Onde resta la Maestà Sua et il consiglio molto perplessi, ne sano a che partito apprendersi; ogni giorno il consiglio si riduce nel quale vuole la Maestà Sua oltre il suo solito intervenire, dove per quanto intendo non hanno sin hora fatto alcuna risolutione, ma presto si doverà intendere qualche cosa.)

Don Giovanni de' Medici on Thursday last, the twenty-third, left for France. He was little pleased with this country, where he had not received the honours he looked for. He saw the King three times, but was never bidden to cover except once, the day he went hunting. He is annoyed, for the King of Spain used to make him cover. He has received no compliments except the use of a royal ship to convey him to Calais.

Some months ago there was a Scot * here who could imitate the King's hand so well, the seals also, and other marks which are employed in patents, privileges, licences, etc., that it was impossible to say whether they were forgeries or not. He has deceived a number of simpletons promising to present petitions; but stipulating first how much he was to receive if he should obtain the

* Thomas Douglas, *alias* Gray. The Palatine Frederick sent him over to England in charge of the Burgrave of Frankendall. Douglas was hanged. *See* Cal. S.P. Dom. 1603-1610. pp. 206, 224, 226.

1605.

grace they sought; after a few days he would bring them the patent drawn up with all due formality. In this way he made heaps and heaps of money; but the fraud was discovered, and he, seeing that he was in danger of arrest and punishment, fled the kingdom and went to Germany, where he gave himself out as the Ambassador of the King. He displayed forged credentials to various sovereigns, and carried on important negotiations with them, as well as receiving many presents. To colour his procedure he declared that he was travelling thus privately because the King, who had trusted him with important affairs, thought it better, in order to avoid gossip, that he should not bear publicly the title of Ambassador. However, the affair could not go on so secretly but that it presently reached his Majesty's ears. The King was extremely angry, and wrote to all the courts of Germany, begging them to place no confidence in this man, but to arrest him and send information of the arrest, so that the King might have him brought to England and punished as his offence deserved. The King's letter reached the Count Palatine just at the moment that the Scot was about to open negotiations; whereupon, he was arrested, and sent over here under escort. On Saturday last he was sent to the Tower, and they are now examining him before giving him the punishment he merits.

I have just heard that the Council have decided to send to Wales the Earl of Worcester (*Huster*), a great Lord and member of the Council, favourably inclined to the Catholics; he is to pacify the revolt, but if he can arrest the leaders he is to bring them here.

The Secretary of Florence just returned from Dover, tells me that Don Giovanni de' Medici did not find the royal ship awaiting him, and had to ask one of the Dutch Captains for an escort.

London, 29th June, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

391. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I informed your Serenity that certain vessels on their way from Spain, with troops to be disembarked in Flanders, had been met and destroyed by the Dutch; but I could not at the moment send particulars. The affair happened thus: The Spanish determined to send some companies of Italian, Irish and Spanish infantry, which were in Lisbon, over to Flanders by sea. In the port of Lisbon were some English, Scottish and Dunquerque ships. The infantry, to the number of one thousand two hundred men, were put on board, and the ships were chartered for England, with orders to touch at Corunna, where other ships were being put together and also troops. The object was the more securely to convey the troops to Flanders. The ships, to the number of eight, left Lisbon, and sailing to Corunna, as by instructions, they met a boat sent out by the Admiral with orders that they were to push on, and that he would follow with the rest of the fleet. It seems, however, that the Lord High Admiral, who has just been sent to Spain as Ambassador, had touched at Corunna, and while there, had pointed out to the Spanish commander and other officers that they would be exposing themselves to an obvious risk if they went

1605.

to Flanders with that fleet; for the Dutch were in the Channel, to the number of eighty sail and upwards, with no other object than that of fighting the Spanish. The Spanish officers determined not to sail, but to let the eight ships from Lisbon go on alone, which they did. When they reached the Channel they were attacked with great fury by the Dutch, and in order to save themselves they attempted to enter Dover harbour; but they were followed up by the Dutch, and four of them were sunk or burned, and four, with about half the people on board, took refuge in Dover. The battle at the harbour mouth was very severe, so much so that a cannon ball killed a woman in the town of Dover, and the guns of the castle had to fire many shots, in order to terrify them into ending the conflict. Four ships, as I said, escaped, but they are in the greatest danger, for the Dutch fleet is lying off the harbour mouth determined to give battle if they attempt to come out. The officers of the Spanish levies have come up to London to consult with the Spanish Ambassador as to what should be done. The Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors have been to the King; they complain loudly of the Dutch, and tell his Majesty that he is in honour bound to make representations to them for having had the audacity to fight inside his very harbours and to kill his very subjects. They assert that by the treaty of peace he is bound to protect the ships of the King of Spain in the harbours of this kingdom, and also to secure them free egress from those ports. The King replied briefly that he was sorry for what had taken place; he gave his word that as long as the Spanish lay in Dover nothing should happen to them; if they went out he would not be responsible. He said he would instruct the Council to see what could be done. The Ambassadors accordingly have often been present at Council; their object is to secure a safe passage to Flanders for this remnant of troops; and for that purpose they insist that the King ought to lend them the royal ships, for they are convinced that the Dutch would never have the audacity to attack them. At first it seemed that opinion was divided on this subject; the majority held that to grant the use of the royal ships would be a violation of the neutrality they profess; others, relying on a certain phrase in the treaty whereby the King was bound to "procure" an open passage to Flanders, argue that the King is obliged to secure free passage for these troops, either by means of his own ships or by any other means. *Those who held the contrary opinion accordingly went to M. de Caron and persuaded him to go to the Council and to say, as in fact he has done, that he had heard a certain rumour that the royal ships would be lent for the transport of Spanish troops into Flanders, and although he could not believe it, for this would virtually be a declaration of open hostility to his masters, who had never given the King cause to treat them in this way, still he would not omit to take all necessary steps in an affair of such moment, and he begged and implored them in the name of his masters not to do such a wrong to those who had always professed friendship and shown respect for his Majesty and this kingdom; he added, however, that should the fleet of his masters find the enemy on board his Majesty's ships he would not answer for their abstention from attacking or pursuing them (ma che non voleva restar anco da dirle che se l'armata de suoi signori trovasse nemici nelle propirie (sic*

1605.

? proprie) navi di S. Maestà non sà se si potesse astenere di offenderli et perseguitarli). He accordingly begged most earnestly that for such a trifle the English would not force his masters to take a step which would possibly offend his Majesty. These representations were held to be of considerable weight by those who were opposed to the Spanish request, and they begot a serious doubt in the minds of those favourable to the request. After many and various consultations it was resolved to reply to the Ambassadors that his Majesty had no intention of taking offence at what the Dutch had recently done at Dover, and had, therefore, no ground for complaining of the Dutch, but that he had abundant ground for complaining of the Spanish, who had hired Scottish and English vessels to convey troops, although quite well aware that his Majesty desired to remain neutral in this war; and what was worse the ships were chartered for England, and this was a hostile act, for the introduction of troops into the kingdom of another Sovereign without informing him beforehand was an action of a suspicious nature and calculated to arouse alarm; and so if his Majesty were to announce that by this act the Spanish had broken the peace he would not be very wide of the truth, but as he really desired to preserve friendly relations with his Catholic Majesty he would not consider the effect, but only the intention, while beging him to abstain from such errors for the future, for it would be impossible for his Majesty to endure them for long. As for securing the passage to Flanders for the Spanish troops in Dover his Majesty did not feel himself in the least bound to do so, nay, if he did he recognised that he would be wronging the Dutch, who had never done him the smallest injury. However, to prove to the King of Spain his good will he offered to intercede with the Dutch and induce them to promise not to molest these troops if they should return to Spain; but for passage to Flanders he would never intercede, and still less would he lend his own ships for that purpose. The Ambassadors are highly ill-pleased and disgusted at this reply. The troops meantime, to the number of about six hundred, are in Dover, and something must soon be done about them.

London, 29th June, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

392. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All the time that the English Admiral was here affairs have been at such a standstill that even those who are in actual touch with the Crown have been unable to conduct any business.

Valladolid, 3rd July, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

393. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish ministers continue *to press the English Ambassador (Cornwallis) for the restitution of Flushing to the Archduke. He considers the request impossible, and refuses to enter on the subject, affirming that the despatches from his master, which have arrived since the Admiral reached England, clearly show the results of any*

1605.

such negotiation, and declining to take any steps out of regard for the Admiral. But to me he has hinted that he only abstains, in order that the Spanish may see that they have not got England in their pocket, though the Admiral is back there. He hopes that this will both damage the Admiral in the eyes of his master and mortify the Spanish. In the hope of attaining their object the Spanish have offered large sums to himself and his suite, two hundred crowns a month to the Earl of Perth. The Ambassador also told me that they propose a matrimonial alliance between the Infanta and the Prince of Wales, and to give it greater importance they declare that the King of France is desirous of a match. But this assertion he found to be baseless, and so he doubts that the original proposal is merely a ruse, more especially as they make vigorous representations against the Dutch levies in England. He does not think that his master will assent, especially as, to please the Spanish, he has allowed all the officers commanding the Archduke's levies to be Catholics, known as such to himself. He is not afraid that they will make a revolution, even though armed; and indeed, in order to encourage the departure along with these officers of all who are hostile to the Calvinists, he has published rigorous edicts against the Catholics.* In this way he thinks to rid himself of a part of his useless subjects.

Valladolid, 3rd July, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 4. Consiglio Dieci, Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

394. That Thomas Seget, Scotchman, who for other crimes has been condemned to three years' imprisonment, be, on the charges just read, held a prisoner of the Chiefs of the Ten and the Advocate Fiscal.

Ayes 11.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 2.

Messer Zuanne Malipiero withdrew from the sitting on account of relationship.†

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

395. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French are suspicious about the splendid reception of the Lord High Admiral in Spain, and the way in which he and many other nobles with him have been won over by large presents. The Spanish Ambassador in England is also winning over many to his side. The English are deserting Count Maurice's camp on account of the bad treatment, and are going over to the Archduke and the Marquis Spinola.

Paris, 5th July, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

* James, 4th Lord Drummond, 1st Earl of Perth.

† The charge was libel against one of the Malipiero family, Ser Thoma.

1605.
July 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

396. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Their Majesties returned to London with all the Court on Tuesday week, the fifth inst. The King left the following day for Richmond, and three days later he went to Oatlands, where when out stag hunting he was thrown with his horse under him, and might have suffered a great injury. But by God's grace he took no other harm than a blow on the knee, which has kept him in bed two days. He is all right again, and goes a-hunting more than ever. He is expected back on Saturday, and the next week he will begin his Progress, which will last about two months. The Queen has been kept in town by a toothache, which caused great pain, but she is better now.

On Wednesday the Scot (Thomas Douglas),* who was sent a prisoner here by the Count Palatine, was condemned to death. He was to be quartered and his limbs exposed in the usual places; the sentence was carried out on Thursday, to the universal grief of the Scots, who could not believe that a man of such noble blood as his would be put to death with every mark of infamy. The Scotch complain all the more that it is not the custom to execute a sentence against a noble so rapidly, but an interval of eight days at least is always interposed between the sentence and the execution. In that interval the Scotch would have implored his Majesty's grace. They say that the English, out of hatred for their nation, have far exceeded the proper limits; and considerable noise has been caused at Court by this affair.

The High Admiral has returned from his mission to Spain, and ought to be received to-day by the King at Oatlands. He is said to have been highly honoured by his Catholic Majesty; but one point is greatly commented on here, the Ambassador never dined with the King. The Spanish say it is the custom of their Kings to dine alone, but still it is thought extraordinary that while the King of England entertained the Extraordinary and Ordinary Ambassadors of Spain at his own table, the King of Spain should not have used a like courtesy to the English Ambassador. Don Pedro de Zuniga is coming here as lieger; the Count of Villa Mediana will leave.

The Imperial Ambassador is said to be at Calais. Two royal ships have been sent to accompany him to England. His mission is said to be to ask for help in Hungary. He will be given leave to raise troops, but if he asks for money it will be refused.

I have received two despatches from your Serenity on the subject of the precedence of the Ambassadors of the Archduke and of your Serenity. I will obey your instructions.

London, 13th July, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

July 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

397. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassadors of Spain and Flanders, after long labour and the employment of all means to obtain the use of the King's ships

* *See* Cal. S. P. Dom., June 21, 1605, also page 245 of this volume.

1605.

for the transport of the Spanish troops to Flanders, have got nothing from the King, but promises that he would beg the Dutch to allow the troops to go back to Spain unmolested. They have finally resolved to write to the King of Spain for instructions, for they hold that the affair concerns not merely the service of Flanders, but the reputation of his Catholic Majesty. The courier has left express. The troops meanwhile remain at Dover. The Dutch fleet is lying off the harbour mouth. Their ships in the Channel number upwards of a hundred, and in a way England is blockaded as well as the Flemish ports, and none can enter or leave this kingdom without being reconnoitred by the Dutch. This causes the greatest annoyance to these Ambassadors, not only on account of the troops arrived from Spain, but of the troops raised here, who are almost all ready, but dare not embark. It is true that some make the passage every day, under the guise of merchants or passengers, but they are very few. If no other means for carrying them over be discovered the winter will be upon us before a third has got across. The Ambassadors regret having embarked on this enterprise, and had they not already spent a considerable sum of money they would give it up. The expense is certain and is great, the benefit doubtful and precarious. They do not omit to point out to the King of England that the action of the Dutch is damaging to his honour and to the reputation of England, whose Kings used to claim sovereignty in these seas, and have frequently engaged the French, the Spanish and the Flemish to prevent them traversing these waters, but now the Dutch have usurped that dominion for which the English often fought. They point out that it would be to his Majesty's reputation, as well as of great use to the nation, to keep fifteen or twenty men-of-war in these seas. But these arguments have borne no fruit, for the Dutch are looked on as the most faithful of allies, and their fleet so far from hurting is held to add lustre to and confer safety upon this kingdom (*essendo li olandesi tenuti qui per confidentissimi et pare che la loro armata non solo non apporti pregiuditio, ma riputatione et sicurtà a questo Regno*).

The Earl of Worcester (*Huster*), whose mission to Wales to put down the Catholic rising I have already reported, has left at last. Nothing new is announced except that when the Catholics heard of this mission and of the displeasure of King and Council they resolved to despatch three of their number to explain how all these events came about, and to prove to his Majesty that the cause was neither a rebellious spirit nor seditious intentions, but the absolute need for their own salvation. However, not only were they not heard, but no sooner had they arrived than they were clapped into prison and condemned to death. The gibbet was kept up for a couple of days, and then it was settled that they would wait for Lord Worcester's report; and there are hopes that the matter will quiet down.*

London, 13th July, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

* Father Garnet writes, July 14th, to the General of the Jesuits that he has hindered four tumults, and will restrain the Catholics of his own Province from taking arms; but fears an outbreak elsewhere. They deny the Pope's right to prohibit them from arming in self-defence. George Blackwell, archpriest, wrote, July 22nd, to the priests, Shaw, Standish, Stanford, Clenok, and others, enjoining obedience to the Pope's mandate, that Catholics shall not attempt to procure liberty of conscience by unlawful means. Cal. S. P. Dom.

1605.
July 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

398. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has presented claims for restitution of goods to the value of eighty thousand crowns, which he says were wrongfully seized by the Spanish after the declaration of peace.

Valladolid, 17th July, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

July 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

399. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

That Scottish Knight (Lindsay), who some months ago went to Rome and claimed that he had been sent there by the King of England, is now here. He has received a pension of two thousand crowns a year from the King. The English Ambassador is greatly surprised at this, and he himself told me that he had written to his master to tell him that in Spain they make profession of welcoming all who leave the kingdoms of England, Scotland or Ireland. He has also informed his master that his dominions are full of Spanish pensioners, especially among the Privy Councillors, and these he has named explicitly. In this way he claims to have discharged his conscience, for his Majesty's prudence will teach him how to act; but for himself he cannot help feeling anxious, all the more that he has discovered *that the Spanish are not acting loyally; for while they were pressing upon him the marriage of the Infanta and the Prince of Wales and asserting that the King of France is urging the same through Rome, he found out for certain that not only was this statement false, but that they were resolved not to give the Infanta in marriage unless the Prince is well furnished with brothers, or is in a fit state to beget heirs to the succession, as was done in the case of the Infanta of Flanders. He added that it was only the desire to curtail the support furnished to the Dutch and to re-open Spanish trade with England that brought about the conclusion of peace, but this did not cause the Spanish to renounce the designs that they have had upon England in the past. Nay, they hope to further their interests by holding France in doubt; and they say that as the late Queen put the crown on the head of Henry IV. because of the identity of their religions, so on the same reasoning the King of England may snatch it from the Dauphine's head by supporting the party opposed to his legitimation, on the ground that the Papal dispensation for the second marriage was invalid, according to the precedent of Henry VIII. of England, and so to foment those hostile sentiments which religious considerations alone do not permit them to foster. In this way they hope to prepare the ground, so that on the death of his most Christian Majesty they may reap some advantage. The Ambassador, however, declares that his master made peace in order to enjoy universal quiet, and will never have any ideas in opposition to this intent; nay, anyone who suggests them will lose credit with the King, who professes to be a simple-minded Prince and lover of the public weal.*

Valladolid, 17th July, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1605.
July 19. Consiglio Dieci, Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

400. As there is a doubt in the minds of the Committee of Council appointed to try the case of the death of Nicolas Pert, English merchant, which took place on board the ship of Ser Nicolo Balbi, whether they shall proceed to torture or call on Balbi to plead, the question be now put to the ballot; white balls mean torture, green mean summons to put in his defence, red, neutral.

White 3.
Green 8.
Red 4.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Consiglio Dieci, Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

401. As the judicial Committee of the Council appointed to try the case of Thomas Seget, Scotchman, are in doubt whether they shall proceed to the torture of the cord or call upon him for his defence, the question is now put to the vote. White balls mean torture, green mean call for defence, red, neutral.

White 4.
Green 9.
Red 2.

Green has it. Messer Zuanne Malipiero retires on account of relationship.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

402. ANZOLO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador asked for audience in a great hurry. It was granted him, and the sole subject dealt with was a request that the King would oblige his master by sending over to England M. de Vitry, a famous sportsman, in order to teach the English his art. The King granted his request, but when the Ambassador was gone he remarked to his suite that he was amazed that in such troublous times his Majesty of England should think of nothing but the chase.

Paris, 19th July, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

403. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I waited on Cecil and told him that your Serenity was well satisfied with the arrangement suggested for the reconnoitring of English ships by the galleys of the Republic, namely, that they are to take in their foretopsail and send their boat and papers on board. Cecil replied that the King would issue orders in this sense, that the boat should be sent aboard, but as to the taking in the foretopsail that was an act which recognised superiority, and could not be observed towards the Republic outside the Adriatic,

1605.

where other Sovereigns claimed that it was open sea. "But," he added, "your Lordship may rest assured that the English ships will be forced by circumstances to take in sail if they are obliged to send their boat to the Venetian flagship and to wait her return; and thus the Republic will obtain what she wants, and we shall not compromise the dignity of the King, nor of the kingdom nor the freedom which every Prince enjoys upon the high seas; and your Lordship may inform the Republic that the order will be issued in the form I have stated."

I answered that the order had been represented by the English Ambassador as stated by me, and that it could in no way compromise the dignity of this crown that it should be so issued. Cecil replied that the order would be issued as he had explained it, and not otherwise. He then went on to say that he had frequently interceded on behalf of Paul Pinder, who had obtained a judgement in his favour, but after two years had not succeeded in securing execution. I promised to write, but said that there ought to be some advocate for Pinder in Venice.

The Lord High Admiral and other members of the Council have earnestly begged me to implore your Serenity to remove the ban imposed on Captain John King (*Chin*) by the Governor of Cephalonia, or at least to grant him a safe conduct for two years. They assure me that the ban was pronounced against him on false charges brought against him in his absence by others who wished to free themselves; moreover, they urge that, as many of the Governors know, this Captain King has frequently in times of famine brought corn to the islands; he offers to establish all this. If your Serenity thinks that this man deserves your grace I am sure that these gentlemen will take it as an act of singular favour, for Captain King is one of the best seamen in this kingdom and much loved by all.

London, 27th July, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

404. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King came back to London on Friday at two in the afternoon. At Oatlands he received the High Admiral on his return from Spain; he reports that he was the recipient of all sorts of honours, and finally was presented with sixty thousand crowns worth of jewels and pearls, besides the twenty thousand crowns worth distributed among his retinue. *It is further asserted most positively that his Catholic Majesty has assigned forty thousand crowns a year as pensions to the Admiral and certain other gentlemen of this kingdom. This will not be made public, for they wish first to find out what may be the King's desire on that point. But it is held for certain that they will give such a colour to this offer that they will finally persuade his Majesty to allow them to accept it; or if he objects to the Privy Councillors receiving it in person it will be assigned to their brothers, sons, nephews.*

1605.

On Saturday his Majesty received the Landgrave of Litemberg, Imperial Ambassador; he had arrived eight days earlier in London. At Gravesend he was met by three Earls, four Barons and many gentlemen. He was conducted to London, where a house was provided for him, but it was empty and unfurnished with any of the necessaries; and he was, moreover, informed that he would have to bargain with the proprietor about the rent. The Ambassador showed his amazement, and said that as he was to be here for eight or ten days only he would put up in some tavern, as he did, declining the arrangements made for him, and complaining bitterly of being so meanly received, and he did so to me also on the occasion of my paying him a visit. The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Pembroke and other gentlemen conducted him to audience, which was confined to compliments, and very brief.

On Sunday the King received Don Pedro de Zuniga, the new Spanish Ambassador; he was conducted to audience by the Earl of Northampton and the Earl of Pembroke. The Imperial Ambassador had another audience on Monday, which lasted an hour and a half. He dined with their Majesties and the Prince, went to the chase, and afterwards took leave; yesterday he was in Council for three hours. I will find out what business was handled there. Yesterday the King left for Avrin, and to-morrow he will go to Theobalds to await the Queen. They will start on their Progress, which is to last about six weeks, from Theobalds. I will go there to audience on Tuesday, partly to pay my respects before he leaves, partly to touch on the question of the orders to English ships on meeting Venetian galleys. Cecil tells me that I will find more reason to return thanks than to lodge complaints, for when he reported my last conversation with him to the King his Majesty gave orders to the Admiral to issue the instructions as I reported them to you in my last. The King will take no Ambassadors nor members of the Council with him. They are all to go home and to meet him again at Oxford, where the Progress will terminate.

The levies raised by the Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors for service in the war are progressing very slowly, partly because the Dutch keep such a diligent outlook to prevent them from crossing the seas, *partly on account of his Majesty's words, often repeated, which make it clear that he does not approve of his subjects taking service with the Spanish. Two days ago, when talking about some prisoners made by the Dutch, he took occasion to say quite openly, "I am not only not sorry that they have been captured, but if the Dutch put them to death I will not complain; nay! I would be glad, for it would serve as a warning to the rest, who ought to know by this time that I do not approve of their going to the wars, although I do not intend to expressly forbid them" (havendo doi dì fà havuto a dire assai publicamente, ragionandosi che olandesi havevano fatto prigioni alcuni che havevano tentato di passare, Io non solo non ho dispiacere che siano fatti prigioni, ma se li facessero anco morire non me ne dolerò et l'haverò più tosto caro, accioche questi servino per essempio a gli altri li quali doveriano pur hormai intenderla che io non ho per bene che vadino a quella guerra, anchorche publicamente non voglio prohibirglielo).*

1605.

These and similar observations prevent many who are ready to go from going, and cause others who have promised to go to draw back. This year the Archduke will receive little service or rather none from this quarter.

A few days ago an order was issued forbidding any subject of his Majesty to serve on board any foreign man-of-war, on pain of death if caught, and confiscation of the ship should he enter an English port. Various reasons are assigned, but it is generally stated that the order was issued because many Spanish ships have been captured by Dutch and English, about which questions as to whether they are fair prize or not have arisen. It is impossible to satisfy all parties; and so they have ordered that no Englishmen shall serve on foreign men-of-war.

London, 27th July, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

405. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The method of conducting business at this Court is so distasteful to the English Ambassador (Cornwallis) that one day he said to me, "Before the peace the Spanish treated my master like a mistress, now they treat him like a wife; then they did all they could to please him, now they neglect him altogether." He complains that he cannot get answers. Lately his master wrote, instructing him to apply for the restitution of goods plundered by a Sicilian from an English galleon. For this purpose he sent his Secretary to Court, but there are no signs of his return. The Ambassador says that this neglect and contumely may rapidly lead to a breach of the peace, which was never popular in England. But before he finished his remarks he let slip that there were two reasons for the peace, one that the King of England was no soldier, the other that he hoped if at peace with Spain to be able to recover, during the tumults in France, those fortresses to which the English Crown lays claim. And one sees that it is not likely that a peace which has such deep roots will be broken.

Valladolid, 6th August, 1605.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, to Capi Dieci. Venetian Archives.

406. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Chiefs of the Ten.

I have received your Serenity's orders as to the secret papers and their consignment to my successor.

London, 10th August, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

1605.
Aug. 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

407. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On last Tuesday week, the second of August, I went to his Majesty at Theobalds, as ordered. After some few words of compliment I said that your Serenity had received with great satisfaction the communication made by his Majesty's Ambassador on the subject of English ships meeting Venetian galleys. I assured him in your Serenity's name that if these ships would allow themselves to be searched and if they were found to be really merchantmen, not pirates, not only would they not be molested but would receive all assistance. Nothing, therefore, remained but for his Majesty to give orders that English ships, on meeting Venetian galleys, shall strike their foretopsail and send their boat to the Venetian Commander's galley. The King said that details would be settled by the Council, and that I ought to see the Earl of Salisbury on the subject, to whom he would give orders to satisfy the Republic in every possible way. I returned abundant thanks, and assured his Majesty of the friendly sentiments which animated the Republic. The King begged that the Republic would see to it that her ministers did not overstep the limits intended by their government.

The King then proceeded to speak to me about his Progress, and invited me to Oxford. The University (*studio*), the masters and scholars are preparing many disputants and comedies to entertain the King, who, as he has never been to Oxford, desires to be received *en fête*. I promised to wait on him at Oxford during the first days of September. I then took leave, and his Majesty went to hear the sermon, as is his wont.

After dinner I saw Cecil, who told me that orders had been issued, and would be obeyed; but he begged me to request the Republic to order its servants not to ill-treat the English.

London, 10th August, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

408. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday week the Imperial Ambassador left; he was very ill-content with his reception, but highly satisfied with the noble present of eight-thousand crowns worth of silver. I hear he asked the King for six thousand troops for service in Hungary. The King said that when he saw the other Christian Sovereigns acting he would not fail to take his share, as he earnestly desired to see the common enemy crushed and overcome, but he could not take up this burden all alone. The Ambassador then begged that the troops at least might be raised, the King naming the officers, and advancing the money till he could return to Germany. But here, too, he failed. The King said he had no money.

The subject of the Hansa next came up. The Hanseatic towns used to enjoy certain privileges of buying cloth in this kingdom; but in the late Queen's reign they were abolished.* Last year the Hanse towns sent their Ambassadors, but nothing was concluded,

* The suppression of the Stillyard was ordered on Jan. 13. 1598. *See* Cal. S.P. Dom.

1605.

as the Emperor wrote to the King of England, begging him to hear the question in the presence of an Ambassador, who was coming from the Emperor to treat of other matters, upon which the Hansa Ambassadors declined to wait, saying that the Imperial Ambassador had nothing to do with the case. The situation is just the same now, for without the presence of the Hanseatic Ambassadors it is impossible to do anything.

The Earl of Worcester, who was sent to put down the Catholic rising in Wales, has returned. He reports that he found the movement far inferior in importance to what had been represented. He put a few fellows of the baser sort into prison, more to show that he had done something than because they deserved punishment. And so that affair is over far more easily than was expected. *(Il Conte d' Huster, che fù espedito nel paese di Gales per le sollevationi de' Cattolici è ritornato, rifferendo non haver trovato le cose di gran lungo in tanta commotione come fù rapresentato; ha fatto metter prigioni doi o tre huomini miserabili più per mostrar di haver fatto qualche cosa, che perche meritassero questo castigo; onde resta quel negotio terminato con molto maggior facilità di quello che si credeva.)*

The Spanish Ambassador (Taxis), who ought to have left, still lingers on as he wishes to return to Spain with the glory of having secured the passage of the Spanish troops into Flanders. These troops number about six hundred and are at Dover. He makes most vigorous representations to the King that as six or eight hundred Spaniards have been slain, one might say, in the very ports of England without the King making any remonstrance with the Dutch, as he really was bound to do by the clauses of the treaty, he ought at least to give the Spanish this satisfaction; all the more so as it was a mere handful of men, who could have little or no effect upon the issue of the war. Moreover there was the reputation of his master to be considered. The King replied that the Spaniards were killed and the ships captured on the open seas, where he was under no obligation. That when the rest took refuge in Dover the castle fired many pieces against the Dutch to cover the Spanish; and thus he considered that he had satisfied his obligations and his debt of friendship. However, as an act of courtesy towards the King, he would make representations to the Dutch. This he has done, but so coldly, as I am assured, that M. de Caron, the Dutch agent, easily understood that his Majesty had no real interest in the matter, but was only yielding to the insistance of the Spanish Ambassador. Although it is fifteen days since the King told de Caron to write to his masters no answer has been received as yet. There are some who think that as it is such a mere handful of men the Dutch will allow them to cross over, just to please the King.

London, 10th August, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 11. Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

409. The English Ambassador says, "I have come this morning to introduce no new subject, but merely to touch upon three questions still pending: The case of Thomas Seget, the case of the English merchant, for whom judges extraordinary were appointed, and the bad case of Signor Balbi.

1605.

In the first case I hear that while I was in Villegiatura that unhappy man was examined, and in the course of his examination he cited me as a witness. He did well, for I affirm what I have previously stated, that the two lads, Lorenzo and Guiseppe, who are servants in the prisons, came to my house, and declared that Giacomo Piamontese, *alias* dall' Isola, in the service of Signor Leonardo Malipiero, had dealt with them to bear false witness against this said Thomas Seget. I, therefore, commend the case of this Thomas to the grace of your Serenity; he is young, poor, learned, and bred in the arts, has suffered much, and lastly is a subject of my master. And should it please your Serenity to grant him his liberty I undertake that he shall go away, and never return; there is no fear that he will stay on here at my house to plot against his enemies.

As to the second point, permit me to ask what use it is for Envoys to present themselves in the Council if what the Council orders is not done? As has happened in this case; for, in spite of the appointment of a special court to conclude the case, it has been adjourned from day to day, from week to week. As after your Serenity's promise I wrote to inform my master, I beg you to put your promise into effect, in order that my information to my master may be verified.

On the third point, it grieves me to have to speak again, but the looseness of certain tongues compels me. Throughout the town it is said, 'What is the English Ambassador about? Is he going to vilify the Venetian nobility?' I reply that they are in error, and know not the true definitition of Venetian nobility; for he is the true Venetian noble whose actions are in the right. I will say no more. Only I must inform you that the parties interested in the estate of the Englishman (Pert), who died on board ship, have induced the Earl of Salisbury to write out here that the 1,150 (errors excepted) sequins and personal effects left in deposit at Corfu are to be recovered."

The Doge replied: "As to the Scot, justice shall be done.

As to the merchant we will renew orders for the conclusion of the suit.

As to the remarks made in the city, you know that no one can stop that, and great personages must just be content to do right, and leave comment to others. In England and elsewhere there is no lack of those who say just what they choose. For the rest be assured that the case of Balbi will be justly dealt with, and justice will be done in the matter of the sequins and of the effects."

The Ambassador, after warmly advocating the cause of the English merchant against the Government of Zanthe, expressed himself satisfied and took his leave.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

410. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and all the Court continue the Progress. He is about a hundred miles off. His presence causes the greatest inconveniences, for harvest is just coming on, and yet the peasants are bound to serve the Court with waggons and animals. The Court is very

1605.

numerous, and never stays in one place more than a day or two. Moreover those who follow the Court, either to take short cuts or else when hunting, pass over the fields and trample everything down. Complaints are daily presented to the King, who returns soft answers, but the matter will go on like this up to the end.

They are beginning to talk about the next Parliament, which is summoned for Michaelmas. The elections to fill vacancies caused by death have begun. The King desires to order fresh elections in the case of certain turbulent spirits, who are little to his taste. He is well aware how much his neglect of the elections cost him last year. It is thought that he may quite easily affect the bye-elections, but that it is difficult, not to say impossible, for him to unseat members already elected.

Taxis has had an answer at last; the King told him that the Dutch excused themselves from compliance with his request, on the ground that though it was true that such a mere handful of men could have no effect on the issue of the war, still the precedent was dangerous in this way, that the Spaniards, seeing themselves safe in England and then assisted in their passage of the sea, might repeat the same game; and further such an act would lead the world to suppose a close understanding between Spain and England to the damage of the States. This answer pleases the Spanish Ambassador but little, and he is preparing to leave.

London, 25th August, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

411. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Sir Charles Cirnwallis, who went as lieger to Spain, in company of the High Admiral, was very much annoyed because the Admiral insisted that all Peers in his train should take precedence of Sir Charles on the score that he had not the rank of Ambassador till he had presented his credentials to his Catholic Majesty and been received as such. Cornwallis now writes home many complaints of the Admiral's conduct while in Spain, with the result that he has to live a retired life far from Court. The chief charges are that the Admiral took two ministers of religion with him in his train, but after landing he would never permit them to preach to the suite; he compelled them to dress in coloured clothes more fit for Court jesters or mountebanks than for men of their profession; that one day in the streets of Valladolid the Admiral met the Host, and not only went down on his knees himself but ordered all his suite to do the same; that he had gone beyond the limits of his commission, more especially dealing with the question of a match between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta; that he had held out the certainty of an offensive as well as defensive alliance, and had led the King and his ministers to believe that the King of England would not merely withdraw his help from the States, but would declare himself openly their foe, and would give the Archduke every assistance in his power. All this induced the King of Spain to give the Admiral enormous presents, and what is more, a pension as well for himself and his sons. The King and Council are very angry,

1605.

although there are some who try to defend or at least to excuse the Admiral, and who say one should not so lightly lend an ear to Sir Charles, because of the well-known quarrel between him and the Admiral, which exposes these statements to the suspicion If not of falsehood, at least of exaggeration. The Admiral, on the other hand, omits no effort to excuse himself, and as he is a great personage with many relations in the Council he may very likely succeed, especially as the King is of such clemency and benignity that he would not do an injury to any man. The King resents most of all the statement that he would abandon the States.

London, 25th August, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

412. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The General of the Jesuits endeavoured to expel from the company the two brothers Cigàla, who under Clement urged the Pope to suppress the order in Spain, and who carried out many negotiations for Cardinal Aldobrandino. The support of the Spanish Ambassador and of the Cardinal has saved them. The Pope means to send them to Spain or, as others say, to England to look after Catholic interests.

Rome, 27th August, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

413. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The friendship of England is held of such account by the ministers—*for reasons already explained*—that, in spite of great complaints of the introduction by English merchants of a large quantity of false coin, instead of protesting they have passed over the fact and endeavoured to correct the mischief by recalling coin of those denominations. The Spanish Ambassador in London has been instructed to take steps to avert the mischief and to call everyone's attention to the importance of Spanish good will, for there is not an Englishman comes here but in some way or other he draws great profits from the King. *When the English Ambassador heard this he wrote to the King of England, declaring that it would be more profitable for the English to apply directly to the Crown for the despatch of their business than to make use of anyone else, however favourably regarded.*

Valladolid, 3rd September, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 6. Consiglio Dieci, Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

414. That Zuan Battista Torricella, supercargo on board the galleon "Balbi," in absence, be condemned to banishment for ten years.

Ayes 13.
Noes 2.

1605.

Motion made to proceed against Ser Nicolo Balbi.

Ayes	4.	2nd ballot.	Ayes	4.
Noes	6.		Noes	9.
Neutrals	5.		Neutrals	2.

Absolved.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

415. NICOLO MOLIN. Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have just been to Oxford on his Majesty's invitation. The King, Queen, Prince and Court made their entry with great pomp on Tuesday, the 6th inst. They stayed three days, which were entirely taken up with comedies in the evenings after supper and disputations during the day; for that city is one of the great Universities of the kingdom; it has sixteen colleges, so richly endowed that they can not only support the professors and public readers, but can give lodging, food and clothing to a large number of students. They number about three thousand five hundred. The King attended morning and afternoon at all the disputations, which were held by each of the faculties, and not only did he take a share in the debate, but filled the *rôle* of "moderator" with such elegance and finish that he proved himself no mere superficial smatterer, but a profound student of these matters. At the conclusion of the debates the King said a hundred words in Latin, praising the skill and ability of the disputants, exhorting them to study, and concluded that if they applied themselves to their studies, as he was sure they would do, he would, as their King, be constrained to grant them his support. He gave them this piece of advice, to live with the fear of God before them and to keep his holy word, as preached to them by the Church, *flying and loathing above all things the perfidious and cursed superstition of Rome. These words caused great surprise in the audience, who were amazed that his Majesty should burst out like that without rhyme or reason, especially as he had near him two representatives of foreign powers, both professed Catholics, the French Ambassador and myself.*

On Friday afternoon his Majesty and the Court left Oxford, and on Saturday they came to Windsor. They will return here some day this week, and will then continue their Progress through Essex.

Parliament, which was summoned for Michaelmas, has been prorogued till All Saints; some think it may be still further prorogued, for the King desires to weed out certain turbulent and seditious spirits, who right willingly thwart all his Majesty's schemes, the chief of which are first, to obtain a subsidy to pay off the debts contracted by these bonds under the Privy Seal, which I have explained to your Serenity, to this there is great opposition; and secondly, to effect the Union of England and Scotland. The King will not summon Parliament till he is sure of carrying his two points.

London, 14th September, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1605.

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

416. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen's Chamberlain, called Lord Sydney, imagining that his services would not be required during the Progress, determined to ask leave of absence, in order to visit Flushing, of which place he had been made Governor during the late Queen's reign, though he had not seen it since her death. He easily obtained leave, and, with two of his sons, he took ship for those parts. A great storm drove him into Gravelines, a place held by the Archduke. He continued his journey by Flanders and Brabant, and so reached Zealand. His enemies, who are many and great, *have suggested to M. de Caron that Lord Sydney's landing in Flanders was not a mere accident, but that before leaving England he had resolved to touch Flanders, in order to have an interview with some Spanish minister, and that he had cunningly availed himself of the storm as a pretext. Sydney's enemies hint that he intended to offer to give Flushing to the Spanish. De Caron took alarm and reported all to the King, and his Majesty was convinced that the affair really stood as it was represented to him. He flew into a rage, and ordered the Council to write to Sydney, commanding him on pain of death, confiscation of estates, and proclamation as a traitor to return without a moment's delay. He obeyed at once, and I am told he arrived yesterday evening.* Meantime the poor gentleman has lost his chance of being named of the Council; his place has been filled by the Vice-Chamberlain.*

The Spanish Ambassador Taxis, when he failed to obtain leave to transport the Spanish troops into Flanders, resolved to take over with him Lord Arundel, the man who had raised two thousand English troops for service in this war, as well as other officers. His idea is that if the leaders get across the troops will follow. They were accordingly told to wait for the Ambassador at Dover. But M. de Caron found out what was going on, and went to the King and said *that he could not believe that his Majesty, after refusing to allow the passage of the troops, would now permit the leaders to be conveyed to Flanders on board the royal ships; the King answered that he had not the smallest intention of helping Spain; and that orders would be sent to Sir Lewis Lewkenor, who was attending the Ambassador, that he is to inform the Ambassador of the King's wishes that these officers should not go with him. The Ambassador professed himself amazed, and showed every intention of pursuing his course. Lewkenor then wrote to the King, and while waiting an answer he managed to retard the Ambassador's progress. The King sent express orders to Arundel, and the others to return to London at once, and to the captains of his ship that they were to take no one on board except the Ambassador and his suite.*

The Ambassador has not embarked yet, but the Spanish troops, after being in Dover for four months, will be sent home to Spain.

London, 14th September, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Sir John Stanhope, created Lord Stanhope, May 4, 1605.

1605.
Sept. 15.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

417. The English Ambassador having taken his seat the Vice-Doge, Constantin Renier, said, "The resolution of the Council of Ten will now be read to you."

September 6, 1605. In the Council of Ten. That the money belonging to the late Nicolas Pert, which was deposited in the Mint by the factor for the noble Nicolo Balbi, be consigned to the heirs of the said Pert or their assigns; so, too, all the money, plate and effects of the said Pert, now lying in the Chancery at Corfu. The Council desire to know from the English Ambassador where it will be most convenient for the said heirs to receive the property, which is to be consigned free of all cost.

The Ambassador replied, "I understand that Signor Nicolo Balbi is absolved. I am glad, and I shall be able to report to my master that in the opinion of so grave a tribunal as the Council of Ten Nicolas Pert died a natural death. I am glad, too, for my own sake, for my nature delights much more in the dance, the festival, the comedy, than in tragic and terrible spectacles. I regret that the friends of this gentleman should go about saying in public that what I have done I have done of my own accord, and not on orders from my master. That is not true. Three times have I received orders, as the Ambassador Molin must very well know. I regret this, as damaging to my position as Ambassador. But no more of that. Signor Balbi is acquitted, and acquitted be it, and there's an end on it. But the charge was a double one, criminal and civil. On the criminal charge he is absolved; but on the civil I must say that the evening before Pert's death his money was seen in his safe, but after his death it was no longer there. I ask what became of that money, and press for an answer; for I can and do most positively affirm that Balbi took it. It may be said, 'How do you know this; and how can we believe you unless you prove it?' I reply I know it's true, and I prove it by Balbi himself; for Lorenzo Zanoli, sent by Balbi's friends, stated that the money and the papers which belonged to Pert were in possession of Balbi. There is no doubt on the point, and I ask your Serenity to come to judgment on this second count, as a civil suit only."

The Ambassador then communicates the royal orders as to the behaviour of English ships in Venetian waters, and the Lord High Admiral's proclamation thereon. He asks for orders to Venetian commanders to treat English ships well,

He further informs the Council that that morning a gentleman had arrived from England on purpose to press a suit very well known to the Serene Republic from the days when Secretary Scaramelli was at the English Court. The Ambassador presents a memorandum, setting forth the grounds of the suit, and adds that he has positive orders from the Earl of Salisbury to complain, in the King's name, both on private and public grounds, for the matter touches the honour of his crown, and is based on a maxim of international law that *capta ab hostibus sint capientis*. The Ambassador begs for the decision in the suit.

The Vice-Doge, Constantin Renier, replied, "As regards this suit about the corn landed at Zanthe the Council will deliberate."

[*Italian.*]

1605.
Files of the preceding.

418. Memorandum on the case of Hugh Whitbrook of London and the ship "Thomas," which off the coast of Sicily captured two ships, one from Messina, the other from Trapani; one had a cargo of wood, the other of grain. On coming into Zanthe the grain was bought by the Governor. But while it was being unladed six Venetian galleys sailed in. The Spanish Consul appealed to the Commander, but after one examination he held the grain ship was fair prize. Next day, however, he and the Governor resolved to take all the corn. This they did. Whitbrook sues. The ship and its cargo are valued at 2,000 sterling, that is about 10,000 ducats.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

419. The English Ambassador said, "Most Serene Prince, this morning I am here upon four or five points; but first I would know whether we are quite agreed upon the question of the conduct of English ships in Venetian waters, and whether Ambassador Molin understands the arrangement in the same sense as I do. I ask because I do not speak this tongue quite freely and, in expressing myself not without some difficulty, I would not wish that my defect should injure the course of the negotiations." As the Doge was absent at the last audience he declared that he could not say, but he was sure that if any doubt existed in the minds of the Council they would speak now for their entire satisfaction. "Quite so," said the Ambassador. Then the Savio for the week, Marco Quirini, in the name of the other Savii, replied that the two points agreed on were that when English ships met the galleys of the Republic they were to strike their foretopsail and send their boat aboard. "Yes," said the Ambassador, "those are precisely the terms of the agreement which came into force on the 26th July last."

The Ambassador then asked whether the Council of Ten, in their judgment in the case of Nicolas Pert, had taken into account the money advanced to Balbi by Pert before they sailed from Ragusa; and begged for a reply before proceeding further.

The Doge replied that the Council of Ten had done all, and more than all their duty, and no question as to their judgment could be raised. The councillors Sagredo and Zane assured the Ambassador that the money deposited in the Mint covered the loan from Pert to Balbi. The Ambassador declared himself satisfied, and again put in a word for Thomas Seget.

The Doge promised a speedy termination, even if the new Council should have been appointed for the year, which would happen in the course of eight days.

The Ambassador presented two petitions, one from Captain John King, the other from Captain Robert Brazzo, both banished from Venetian territory, on the charge of lading goods at Zanthe without paying the customs.

The answer was that a safe conduct had already been issued for John King, and the other Captain's case would be taken into consideration.

The Ambassador then touched upon the question of burdens upon English merchants. The Doge promised that the papers

1605.

should be examined, and everything done in favour of reciprocal benefits.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

420. That the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be summoned to attend the Cabinet and hear what follows:

Express satisfaction on orders issued by the King, commanding all English ships to submit to examination by galleys of the Republic. The Republic promises all good offices.

As to the grain landed in 1597 by Hugh Whitebrook (*Vutbroot*) we have given orders to arrange all papers concerning the affair, and will take steps.

We have granted John King a new safe conduct for two years.

In the instructions to be given to our beloved noble Georgio Giustinian—Ambassador Elect to England—we shall bear in mind your recommendations.

Ayes 124.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 5.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

421. The English Ambassador expressed satisfaction at the way in which the Republic had received the orders issued by the King, as regards English shipping in Venetian waters. Assures the Cabinet that the merchant Giosepo (*Geoffrey?*) Luterio is fully authorized to act for the heirs of Nicolas Pert, and to receive all moneys due to them. Begs that the existing Council of Ten should conclude the trial of Thomas Seget, and that it should not be put off till the new Council is elected at the beginning of next month.

The Doge promised that he himself would see to it.

The Ambassador retired; and a Secretary was sent to the Chiefs of the Ten to press for the immediate conclusion of the trial, which they promised, in spite of urgent public affairs.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Minutes of the Senate. Venetian Archives.

422. To AMBASSADOR MOLIN, in England.

You are to take occasion to thank his Majesty for the orders given about English ships in these waters meeting Venetian galleys.

We have granted a new safe conduct to John King for two years.

Ayes 166.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 5.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Consiglio Dieci Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

423. Motion made to pass sentence on Thomas Seget.

		2nd ballot.	
Ayes	7.	Ayes	7.
Noes	4.	Noes	5.
Neutrals	4.	Neutrals	4.

1605.
Sept. 27. **424.** Same motion.

Ayes	7.	2nd ballot. Ayes	7.
Noes	6.	Noes	8.
Neutrals	3.	Neutrals	1.

Neither carried.

Sept. 28. **425.** Same motion. Resolved to ballot once only, and not to count neutral votes.

Ayes 7.
Noes 9.
The "noes" had it, and Seget was acquitted.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. **426.** NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Several weeks ago a gentleman arrived here from the Emperor. To the surprise of everyone he stays on, though his business is not known. He has had several interviews with the King and with Cecil, but all is kept a profound secret. This gentleman is known to be of the Imperial Council, in high favour, discreet and able. He frequents the Spanish and French embassies but little, and is more with the Ambassador of the Archduke, but comes most to this Embassy. He hears Mass here, and often stays to dine with me. He is devoted to the Republic, and was for long at the University of Padua, where he received great kindness. I have often sounded him, but he professes to be here for his private affairs. *I am informed, however, from a very sure source that his business refers to the election of the King of the Romans. The electors are said to intend a meeting on St. Bartholomew's Day, and the Emperor is afraid that they may then discuss the subject; he, accordingly, solicits the King's interest with the electors, who are joined to his Majesty by ties of blood and of religion, upon which point his Majesty has great influence, so that the choice may fall upon some member of the House of Austria. The assembly has been postponed, however, or even put off altogether, and the gentleman now begins to talk of leaving, which confirms the conjecture as to his mission.*

The Ambassador of Spain, Taxis, has left.* As he was going on board, he said these words, "Is it possible that I can submit to it that my master, before whom the whole world quakes should receive this insult from four Dutch fishermen, who are so bold as to prevent these troops from crossing over to Flanders, and to compel them to return to Spain? I won't let them move from here. *I will go to Spain and report to my master the ill-will, not of the King, who is only too good, but of those who rule him. I was the author and the mediator of the peace, but now I see they do not intend to observe it, save in appearance, and it may be that I shall be the cause of my master making reprisals in kind,*" *and much else. He is indignant because Lord Arundel has been refused leave to accompany him to Flanders, and because he has failed to obtain from the King that the Dutch shall allow free passage to Spanish subjects; he is convinced that had his Majesty seriously approached the Dutch they would not have refused him.*

* He sailed on Sept. 1st. Cal. S.P. Dom., Sept. 2, 1605.

1605.

He has written letters of a similar tenour to friends of his, with the intent that they should be shown about, as has happened. But here they only laugh, and remain firm in their resolution.

The Spanish meantime will still remain at Dover till orders come from Spain or until the long nights will let them pass over to Dunquerque, which they can easily do in seven or eight hours.

The Lord High Admiral is exculpating himself from the charges brought against him by the lieger in Spain. All will be accommodated.

The Scottish gentleman sent by the King to the Emperor to beg grace for a German gentleman, favourite of the Duke of Holstein, has returned. The Emperor's answer is that he cannot grant it at once.

London, 28th September, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

427. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Danish Ambassador has arrived. His mission is to receive, in his master's name, the robes of the Garter; the Order had been conferred some considerable time ago. The Ambassador went to Windsor, where, as usual, the ceremony was held. As a mark of regard the King himself was present. The Ambassador is also instructed to touch upon the question of trade between the two countries, which used to be flourishing, but was almost extinct in the late Queen's reign. The relationship between these two Sovereigns makes it possible that it may now be revived, though there are some who think otherwise, for the English will do all they can to prevent the recovery of their ancient privileges by the Danish. Formerly foreign merchants were willingly admitted in England, and very few English traded abroad; now they apply all their attention to traffic, and all trade and all gain is concentrated in their hands. They will do all they can to thwart this Ambassador. He has had a long interview with the Council.

The question of the Levant Company has also been settled. They are not only going to keep up the company and its Consul at Constantinople, but they are going to enlarge its numbers, and extend the field of its operations; Italy is now included. There has been some talk of forming a French Company, but a slight opposition from the French Ambassador has caused it to be abandoned.

The Queen's Chamberlain, Lord Sydney, has almost succeeded in clearing himself. *He has shown that it was sheer necessity that caused him to land in Flanders, nor did he see or speak to any Spanish minister, but continued his journey straight to Flushing. Everyone now says that M. de Caron was too easily alarmed, and induced to suspect a gentleman who has always been friendly to the Dutch and hostile to Spain, as is easily proved, for everyone of the Council and of the Court, except Sydney and three or four others, received presents from Spain.*

When Lord Arundel received the royal commands he asked Sir Lewis Lewkenor if they meant he was not to go to Flanders at all or only not upon royal ships. Lewkenor replied that the letter of the Council said, "Not upon the royal ships conveying the

1605.

Ambassador," then Arundel hired a merchantman, put on a false beard and went aboard. He crossed over in company with the Ambassador.* Any way he is in Flanders, has seen the Archduke, and will go to join Spinola.

London, 28th September, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

428. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The disturbances in France caused great satisfaction here, especially on account of the relations which the King of England gave it to be understood that he held with heretics; but when everything quieted down upon his Most Christian Majesty's making a move, they understood that this was not the time to look for much. I am told that in the Council of State it was said the other day that the King of England was doing his best to delude everybody, and first and foremost the King of Spain. The chief proof of which is that he will not allow the Spanish, who have taken shelter in his ports from the Dutch fleet, to cross over to Flanders on the royal snips, but keeps them prisoners on board their own vessels. They say that while thus professing to remain on terms of friendship with all he will lose it with all, and deserted abroad and not beloved at home he will be exposed to the risks of rebellion, especially as he lacks the courage to make himself feared. I will endeavour to find out more when Don Juan de Taxis arrives; but the profound silence of this government makes it almost impossible for me to arrive at any certain information.

Valladolid, the first of October, 1605.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 5. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

429. The English Ambassador, introduced to the Cabinet, said, "Most Serene Prince, I do not know how the ministers of other Princes fare in this august chamber, wherein resides the Majesty of the Republic; all I know is that from my own experience I may adopt the phrase of Tacitus, 'Ours is a thankless and inglorious task.' I am always coming here to complain; that is the natural result of so many years of interrupted relations. But since my King has chosen me as an humble instrument to repair past ills, I must say that just as the object of war is not war but peace, so the best way to come to a thorough understanding is to complain freely one of another wherever the complaints are just. Contrary to my wont, which leans to brevity, I have ventured to preface my remarks this morning with a few words, for it is just a year since I took up my duties here, and I am not only desirous but ambitious to crown the year with some good result, for which the very occasion itself seems propitious.

"Three English ships have lately arrived in this port, and others will soon follow. The English community here have of their common accord waited on me, and begged me to approach your Serenity for the repeal of the anchorage tax. That tax is at the rate of four and a half per cent. on the value of the cargo. I told the deputation that this was one of the points especially commended

* See Birch's "Historical View." London, 1749, p. 226.

1605.

to me by his Majesty, but I ventured to ask the reason for such hurry. They replied that within a few days the said tax was to be farmed out, and then it would be too late. This seemed to me a good reason for hurrying, but I pointed out to the deputation that the Cabinet was not like the Piazza San Marco or Rialto, and that before approaching it one must have solid foundations. I, therefore, asked them what persuasions and arguments they would advance, in order to induce your Serenity to grant their request.

"They replied that I was bound to intervene for two strong reasons, first, for the honour of my Sovereign, as no other subjects, French, Spanish nor Flemish, pay this tax, and that the English should have to was an insult to our Sovereign; second, that Venetian subjects in England pay only a ducatoon for anchorage, and it was only right that our subjects should be treated on a similar footing. These just and reasonable arguments have brought me here this morning."

The Doge replied, "My Lord Ambassador, we little looked for the opening phrases of your speech, as we have always endeavoured to meet your wishes; witness the cases of Balbi and the Scotchman, who has been acquitted. As to the repeal of the anchorage tax we will examine the papers, and reply as soon as possible."

The Ambassador said, "I do not, most Serene Prince, deny that I have found a promptness in the Republic to meet my demands, for which I render thanks. As for Thomas Seget I intended to thank you this morning, and I would pray that he be set free altogether and banished, as is usually the case when a foreign prisoner has served half his time.

"I must point out a danger which may arise over these new orders to English vessels meeting your galleys. Some of the English may have sailed before the publication of the orders, and may refuse compliance. I beg your Serenity to issue instructions for the careful treatment of our ships in such a case."

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

430. Instructions to GEORGIO GIUSTINIANO, Ambassador-Elect to the King of "Great Britain."

You are to present your credentials to the King; to visit the King, Queen, Princes, Princesses and Ambassadors; to report fully to us; to live as near the Court as possible. When we sent Ambassadors Duodo and Molin to that Court, Pope Clement VIII. of blessed memory begged us to instruct them to support the Catholics wherever possible, though exercising great caution. The actual Pontiff, Paul V., has renewed the request, and we commission you to assist the Catholics where possible, but you are to do so cautiously and only when you are sure of obtaining a good result.

The English Ambassador here resident has often raised the question of lightening customs dues on both sides. You are to see the instructions we sent on the 30th December and the 5th February last, and follow them.

You are to have two hundred crowns a month, for which you are not called on to furnish any account. We have ordered payment

1605.

for four months in advance, and a donative of one thousand crowns in accordance with the order of the Senate 2nd June, 1561; also three hundred ducats to buy horses and trappings, and another three hundred for extraordinary expenses, for which you must present accounts on your return.

Ayes 134.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

431. Letters of recall to AMBASSADOR MOLIN in England.

Orders to hand over to his successor, Georgio Giustinian, all necessary papers.

Ayes 134.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 1.

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

432. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is at last quite certain that Lord Arundel passed over to Flanders on board the royal ships. In this way he has transgressed his Majesty's orders both in not presenting himself in London and in having embarked on board the royal ships. M. de Caron, the Dutch agent, has made loud complaints, declaring that his masters, relying on the King's word, repeatedly given, that no one but the Ambassador and his suite would be taken on board the royal ships, abstained from even approaching or searching those vessels, as they most surely would have done had they imagined that his Majesty's orders would not meet with due respect. But now that Lord Arundel's disobedience was manifest they begged that he should receive such punishment as should serve as a warning. His Majesty was enraged when he heard this, and promised to recall Lord Arundel, as he has in fact done. But the Ambassador of the Archduke and the party in Council favourable to Spain have made such representations that his Majesty is calmed down, and if Lord Arundel comes over voluntarily to explain his conduct he may look for a favourable issue.

There were many priests lying in prison here, and it seemed certain that, in execution of the law, they would be put to death; but the King, who has frequently declared that he will touch neither goods nor blood of any for religious opinions,—*although the goods have for some time past been seized quite as rapaciously as ever in the late Queen's time*,—has adopted instead another plan, to send them all to a place about sixty miles away, where they are so closely guarded and so badly treated, that they die of want. Two or three are already gone, and the rest will follow unless God aid them. In this way they claim that they do not proceed to the blood penalty, but the execution takes place all the same, and perhaps with even greater cruelty. A few days ago two Catholics were put to a sharp and cruel death in York, one for having written a letter to a friend, exhorting him to embrace the Catholic faith,

1605.

the other because he would not acknowledge the King as head of the Church. *And so these poor Catholics are driven to despair, all the more so as they see that Rome and his Holiness do not lend that assistance which they think they ought to receive from the Pope. His Holiness has written to the Archpriest and other clergy that he is greatly displeased at the Welsh rising, as he is firmly resolved to deal very gently and cautiously with this question of religion. With this object in view he has issued orders to them to exhort, and warn all Catholics to live quietly and without sedition or tumult; praying God to enlighten the King's mind and the minds of his ministers that they may learn the truth and justice of his cause; and announcing that at least for some time to come his Holiness will not adopt any other attitude than this. Although this resolve of his Holiness is recognised and praised by the wiser heads as very prudent, still those who are touched in their property and person, torn by cruel rage, and wounded by the government, cry aloud to heaven that they are abandoned. And so all about us are groans, and complaints and tears of blood. They live in a perpetual dread of losing their property to-day, their liberty to-morrow, their life the day after, as has happened to many.*

London, 12th October, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

433. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King came to London on Monday, and yesterday morning he went to Royston. He will stay there for his hunting, as usual, till the middle of next month, when Parliament will meet. The question of the Union will, I am assured, be dropped; for his Majesty is now well aware that nothing can be effected, both sides displaying such obstinacy that an accommodation is impossible; and so his Majesty is resolved to abandon the question for the present, in the hope that time may consume the ill-humours. The only subject before Parliament will be that of subsidies, which the King desires, but difficulties are expected here also. Perhaps the abandonment of the Union and the King's vigorous representations may avail to gain him his desire.

Before his departure for Royston the King had a most troublesome business to arrange between Bishops and ministers, or preachers, as they are called, in Scotland. The ministers refuse positively to submit to the Bishops even on the smallest points. The Council in Scotland, in order to end the struggle and avoid a scandal, put some of the preachers in prison, though they allowed them to send a deputation to his Majesty, as also did the Bishops. After hearing them his Majesty ordered the ministers to obey the Bishops, as he was resolved to have only one religion in his kingdoms. The preachers are mighty ill-pleased, and this may breed some trouble in Scotland, where the people are attached to their ministers.*

The Danish Ambassador has returned home without having concluded anything. He was told that it was necessary to examine the

* *See* Cal. S.P. Dom., Oct. 23, 1605.

1605.

causes which induced the late Queen to revoke the Hanseatic privileges, in order to see whether they still exist. That was only an excuse to get rid of him, for they knew he could not stay long here. The Ambassador was very ill-pleased, and so were the King and Council; for he raised that troublesome question of the Orkneys, which, the Danish say, were pledged to England as security for the dower of a Danish Princess married to a King of Scotland. Denmark now proposes to pay the dower and recover the islands. No answer was given on the matter.

The Irish Parliament is to meet soon. The matter dealt with will be religion. Almost all the Irish are Catholics, except a few descendants of the English whom the late Queen sent there as colonists, on purpose to spread the Protestant religion. In the hands of these all the chief offices are concentrated. The King now sends the best preachers to advocate Protestantism.

London, 12th October, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

434. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador (Cornwallis) complains loudly of the way business is conducted here; but they pay little heed, relying upon English ministers nearer the Crown, who are in the pay of Spain.

Valladolid, 14th October, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

435. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is in the country at the chase; the Queen at Hampton Court. But they are beginning to get the royal apartments ready, for the time for the meeting of Parliament is coming on. That is settled for the fifteenth (fifth O.S.) of next month. There has been some question of proroguing Parliament, on account of a renewal of the plague during these last two weeks, but that has now been recognised not as plague, but as small-pox, which is very common here. Things are better now; only twenty-two died last week, so Parliament will not be prorogued.

I am told that were it not for the King's great desire to obtain a subsidy the Parliament might quite easily be dissolved, for various troublesome and pungent (*aromatiche*) subjects are to be raised; among others both foreign and native merchants—who had hitherto been well-treated by the customs—intend to call the attention of Parliament to the fact that the King, having farmed out the customs at a rise of one hundred and twelve thousand crowns (£28,000) a year, this augmentation is not effected by the care and diligence of the customs officers, but by the imposition of increased dues. The great Lords of Council, who have a deep interest in the customs, are ill-pleased at the prospect of this question being raised, and would be glad to hear that Parliament was dissolved. The King, however, is bent on getting his subsidy, and stands firm for the meeting. Further there are many

1605.

monopolies in London, wherein these Lords have an interest. Beyond a doubt they are illegal, though permitted by grace of the late Queen. Parliament wishes to abolish them.

I have received your instructions, and will tender thanks to the King for his orders to his ships as soon as his Majesty returns from the country; he does not like to be disturbed when there. I tender my humblest thanks for the honour done me in naming me of the Senate. Though it is not unusual to bestow this honour on Ambassadors to Crowned heads, yet the terms in which it has been voted and my own merits so inferior to many other Ambassadors render this honour all the more conspicuous. It is all the greater comfort to me, as I can assure your Serenity that from the day I left your feet, now twenty-six months ago, I have had nothing but misfortune and bad news from home, loss of relations, friends, property. But now that I see your Serenity's favour and benevolence are still mine my consolation is very great; for this I hold to be the greatest of earthly blessings after the grace of God, whom I pray to grant me strength, equal to the will and desire I have to spend my life in your service.

London, 26th October, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

436. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Strong representations have been made to his Majesty in favour of Lord Arundel by his friends. They beg the King to pardon the error he committed by crossing over to Flanders against his Majesty's wishes and orders. The Ambassadors of Spain and of the Archduke also intercede for him. They say that they are sure his Majesty does not mean to recall Lord Arundel, but that he has only issued these orders with a view to pacifying M. de Caron. In fact Lord Arundel cannot return just now, as he has the charge of about two thousand English troops, raised with his Majesty's consent. On the other hand M. de Caron and his friends, who are powerful, urge upon his Majesty that, unless he takes vigorous steps against Lord Arundel, all the others will venture to follow his example, to the ruin of that obedience due from subjects to Sovereign. Moreover, they urge that it is not desirable that a Prince should have his subjects dependent on another Prince for their pay. As matters stand his Majesty seems inclined to chastisement, and the fact that Lord Arundel is very rich is prejudicial to him, for there are always people on the look-out when some rich person is to be deprived of his property or fined in some large sum to beg the King to grant them the confiscated property, and this is a very common way of rewarding services in this country.

Meantime the King has sent orders, through his Ambassador in Flanders, that the Baron is to return at once. The Captain of the ship* that took him to Dunquerque has been arrested, cashiered, and may receive a heavier punishment.

* Captain Broadgate of the "Adventure." Birch "Historical View," loc. cit.

1605.

Count Maurice, on the 16th, attacked and slew Count Teodoro Trivulzio; but the Marchese Spinola arrived to visit the Count; attacked Count Maurice and defeated him, slaying about six hundred, mostly English.

London, 26th October, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

437. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An English berton of five hundred tons has been brought in here as a pirate. The English Ambassador declares it to be a merchantman. If he succeeds in establishing this he will have achieved something that no one believes possible, for the English are hated here and held for pirates.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th November, 1605.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

438. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Sevile announce the death of Sig. Charles Elman * (*Helmano*).

Valladolid, 8th November, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

439. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have had occasion recently to speak to the Earl of Salisbury, and I told him that I had orders to present your Serenity's thanks to his Majesty for the orders he had given as to the conduct of English ships when they meet the galleys of the Republic. Lord Salisbury said there was still some slight difficulty on the point, not enough to cancel the orders issued however. The difficulty is this that the English may mistake Turkish for Venetian galleys and send their boat aboard, when the men would be made prisoners. I replied that Venetian galleys can easily be distinguished from all others, more especially by their ensign. "That is true," he said. "But if the Turk chose he might run up a false ensign and take our sailors in; and once prisoners there would be great difficulty in liberating them. However," he added, "I do not wish to insist on this point here; for the English Ambassador resident in Venice writes that the sagacity of the Venetian Government will find out a remedy. I will pass on to another point, that is, the sentence recently issued in favour of a gentleman named Balbi. One cannot say that it is unjust, but one may affirm that it came as a surprise to everyone, including Sig. Balbi himself; for if he knew himself innocent and able to prove it, why should he have sent his relations more than once to our Ambassador to beg him not to make representations to the Doge nor to take any further steps in the matter, and offering to make a suitable recompense to the relations of the dead man." I replied that I knew nothing about the visits paid by Balbi's relations to the English Ambassador,

* *See* Cal. S.P. Ven., Vol. IX., under "Charles Elman."

1605.

but that as far as the sentence was concerned he might take it for certain that it was as just and sound as any that could emanate from whatsoever judge in this world. It was passed by the Council of Ten, of which the Doge and the most honourable gentlemen in Venice form a part; and as it would be both very improper and indecent to say that a sentence pronounced by the King of Great Britain (*Rè della gran Bretagna*) was unjust, it would be precisely the same to use that epithet of a sentence pronounced by the Council of Ten. "I do not," he said, "nor will I ever say that the sentence was unjust, but I do say it was unexpected." "That often happens," I replied, "to those who judge by the canon of interests, not of duty, and who let their passions persuade them that anything contrary to their desire must be unjust and unreasonable." "Well," said he, still holding the Ambassador's letters in his hand, "let us pass on to another point; our merchants complain of being very badly treated in all places subject to the dominion of the Republic; they say they are oppressed by new taxes, and they particularly object to two, the tax on anchorage and the cottimo.* Our Ambassador writes that he has frequently petitioned for the removal of these burdens, but as yet without avail." I replied that if the Ambassador had taken the trouble to inform himself of the nature of these taxes and whether they were ancient imposts applied to all alike or new ones falling on the English alone, he probably would not have made such representations to your Serenity; but that he had taken his information from English merchants only, who, in their own interests and in order to grow rich the quicker, wish to be relieved of all burdens. It is, therefore, no wonder if he has met with no success as yet, and, may be, he will not in the future, unless the question is dealt with from the point of view of pure justice; for if his Majesty considers it right to support and favour his own subjects and merchants, it is clear that the Republic is entitled to do the same by her merchants, who, beyond doubt, are more heavily burdened here than the English in Venice. I reminded him that a year ago he had told me that a Commissioner would be named by the Council to deal with me on this subject. Some accommodation might have easily been reached, but no one had ever presented himself to me, although in previous conversations I had dropped hints to recall the matter to his mind. "My Lord," he replied, "this is all most true; the fault is ours, but it has arisen thus; the idea of naming a Commissioner was the result of the vigorous complaints addressed by merchants to the Council; when they ceased the matter was forgotten. Now it seems they have been approaching our Ambassador in Venice with a view to raising the question there." I said they were quite right; the business could be settled far more speedily in Venice; but meantime I wished to inform him that the two imposts complained of were neither new nor levied on the English only. "Your Lordship,"

* A tax of two per cent. levied by Venetian Consuls in the Levant, in London and Bruges, on goods exported by Venetian merchants; levied also, in Constantinople, on goods imported from the Levant, Bruges or London. The proceeds went to support Venetian Consulates, and to the benefit of Venetian merchants, for whom an exchange house, church, chaplain, barber-surgeon, beadle, expert samplers, interpreters, were maintained. The fund also supplied relief to indigent, deserving Venetians. It was administered at first by the Consuls and their Council of XII., but in the 16th century, owing to corruption, this management was transferred to Venice.—Rezasco. Diz. Storio ed Amministrativo. Firenze. 1881.

1605.

he said, "assures me then that this is so?" "Certainly it is so," I replied. "Then," he rejoined, "we will leave the matter to be settled in Venice. I only wish to assure you that, though the King does not communicate all the affairs he entrusts to his Ambassador, the Ambassador takes no steps without the King's orders, and all his despatches, usually addressed to me, are shown to the King. I say this to secure absolute credence for our Ambassador such as we here repose in your Lordship." I told him that it was superfluous for me to write or represent this, as absolute credence was given to their Ambassador as well as to all others. Soon after I took my leave.

London, 9th November, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

440. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King would have remained longer in the country at the chase had it not been that the time for the meeting of Parliament is approaching. That will take place on Tuesday, and so his Majesty is expected here to-night without fail. Many people say that he will leave again after six or eight days. The Queen, who is expected to-day week, will remain till spring with all the Court. The principal business before Parliament is the granting a subsidy, which the King greatly desires, but it is generally supposed that he will meet with serious difficulties, and that it will be refused; for many members openly declare *that as there is no war with Spain, no war in Holland, no army on the Scottish border—which they say cost the late Queen upwards of a million a year in gold—they cannot understand why the King, who has the revenues of Scotland, should want money. They add that the people are far more heavily burdened than under the late Queen, for the King stays so continually and so long in the country, where the peasants are obliged to furnish beasts and waggons for transporting the Court from place to place, and whenever he goes a-hunting the crops are mostly ruined. Further the Court is far larger than in the late Queen's time, and the peasants are forced to supply provisions at low prices, which is an intolerable burden. The late Queen insisted that her officers should take care not to requisition more than was necessary, but now no attention is paid to this, and the officers exact twice as much as is required and sell the surplus at high prices, thus enriching themselves and ruining the peasants. All this is put about by those who have little wish to satisfy the King; and the issue is extremely doubtful.**

The other point is the question of the Catholics. Parliament is full of Puritans, who desire new laws against the Catholics. *The King is said to share this desire;* and so, unless the good God stretch out his holy hand, we must look for great calamity.

Taxis, the Spanish Ambassador, before his departure had, with the King's leave, come to terms with certain officers for a levy of two thousand Irish for service in Holland. He has even paid out a small sum of money for this purpose. It was agreed that

* As to the abuses of cart-takers and purveyors, *see* Gardiner, op. cit. 1, 171-174. Hallam, Constit. History, cap. VI.

1605.

these troops were to pass straight from Ireland to Holland without touching England. When the troops had been raised they were embarked, but falling in with the Dutch fleet they were forced to put back to England, and the officers, who had no more money, came on to London to endeavour to raise some from Taxis' successor, the present Ambassador (Zuniga). He, however, replied that the agreement had been made with his predecessor; that he was ignorant of its terms, and that he would do nothing. The Ambassador of the Archduke gave them a similar answer, and the King, in order to save them from starvation, sent them back to Ireland with injunctions that on no account were they to go over to Flanders, and has issued a proclamation, forbidding any levies at all in Ireland. This whole affair has caused astonishment that the Ambassadors, for such a trifle, should have lost the services of so large a body of ferocious soldiers, admirably adapted to carry the horrors of war over the country, and have sacrificed their credit and reputation not only in Ireland but in England as well.

The deputation of Scottish ministers returned home and reported that the King's will was that they should obey the Bishops. At this the Puritans flew into a rage, and summoned one of their usual assemblies, but without summoning the Bishops, who are wont to attend. They then discussed the way to resist the royal orders, and made use of many troublesome and scandalous expressions. When these came to the ears of the Scottish Council they reported all to the King, who ordered the imprisonment of the leaders, which was done, and all assemblies were forbidden. But the people, who actively support their ministers, insisted on continuing their assemblies, and took care that all their proceedings should be forwarded to the twenty imprisoned ministers. Matters came to such a pass that they feared an outbreak of rebellion. The King is seriously alarmed, and intends to go to Scotland in the spring, as it is thought that nothing but the royal authority can settle the business. Many think he will be dissuaded from risking his royal prestige among that fierce and fiery people, who are ever ready to rebel.

London, 9th November, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 10. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

441. The English Ambassador says that he hears that since his last audience the Government has farmed out the anchorage tax, in spite of his representations. "This is," said he, "a vilipending of my master. What would the Republic say if, to take an example, he invited to Court all the Ambassadors of small states, but left out yours? And it is not true, as some foolish persons maintain, that matters of state are to be conducted coldly, phlegmatically. No! when one's master's reputation is at stake one must cry aloud, and grow warm, for the chilliness of a servant in such a circumstance is, as it were, a treason to his lord.

This tax, as far as we are concerned, cannot yield more than five hundred ducats a year, and for this small sum is such a difference to be made between the subjects of my master and those of other Sovereigns?

1605.

Again, it seems to me that in continuing this tax, after my most just request for its abolition, the Serene Republic has abandoned her fundamental ideas, for in equality was she founded, in equality has she grown up, by equality is her present glory and greatness assured; and this equality, of which I speak, resides not merely in a certain equal and balanced distribution of honours and offices, but also in the observation of an equal conduct towards all Princes of equal rank. It is, therefore, manifest that by imposing this tax on the English alone, after my remonstrances, the Republic has departed from its usual practice.

There is a third consideration more important than all others, and I beg your Excellencies graciously to hear me. The orders given by his Majesty to his ships are still fresh in the memory; well just let us draw a comparison; the King of Great Britain, as a proof of his special regard towards the Republic, has ordered his ships to show more honour to the gallevs of the Republic than they are called on to show to any other flag; and in return the Republic says, 'I desire that the King's subjects shall pay a tax of four per cent. on the value of all cargoes, while no other Christian state is so taxed;' I pray you what is this but an abuse and a wresting of my master's good nature? I can use no milder terms. I recall the expressions of esteem which have been employed in this place when speaking of my master; where is that esteem now? where that regard? And although my master has taken me from the study, and sent me here, all unskilled as I am in worldly matters, yet Aristotle teaches me *quod veritas est in verbis*, and when the substance is hostile what faith can I bestow upon appearances? The readiness with which my master embraced the proposal to re-open friendly relations is well known: and I came here with the full intent to serve this noble Republic and each one of its members as truly as I serve the subjects of my King. I hold myself honoured far above my merits by this office, but I am not so puffed up with the title of 'Ambassador' that I should place my own interests and ambitions above the honour of my King. For myself, seeing the small store your Serenity sets by my words, though spoken in due season, that is before this tax was farmed out, I would advise, were I worthy to advise my King, either to send here another of more weight and experience or to save himself the charges of an Ambassador, who is, after all, of no more moment than a mere statue. Meantime I appeal to your Excellencies not merely as judges of what I have said, but as witnesses this morning that I have done my duty as a servant jealous of his master's honour. For the rest the Republic will act as she considers fit in justice and in prudence, my King will protect his honour as may seem him best."

Alvise Sanudo, Vice-Doge, replied, "The anchorage tax is a very ancient impost. It is impossible to meddle with it until the matter shall have been fully examined, as shall certainly be done."

Andrea Moresini, Savio for the week, added that the remarks of the Ambassador had both hurt and surprised the Cabinet: and it is obvious that, as the Ambassador admitted at the beginning of his speech, he was transported by passion. The question of the anchorage tax belongs to a special magistracy, not to the

1605.

Cabinet. If it has been renewed that was merely in accordance with ancient custom. However, every effort would be made to content the Ambassador. At this answer the Ambassador turned pale and remained silent for a while, then he said, "I am glad to learn that the new contract does not preclude the possibility of satisfaction to my King, and that the affair is not so serious as I was led to believe it. I sincerely trust some good results may follow both for the question in itself and also in order that his Majesty may see that he has here a servant who is able to preserve his honour."

He then complained that an English ship laden with grain from Ancona had come into Venice, and the Five Savii alla Mercentia claim that she may not lade there; but as the said ship went into Ancona in ballast the law does not apply.

The Vice-Doge said that the Savii were aware of the intention of the Republic to favour the English, and the Savii themselves asked for a memorandum, which the Ambassador promised.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

442. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King came to London on Thursday evening, the 10th of this month, and made all preparations for opening Parliament on Tuesday, the 15th. This would have taken place had not a most grave and important event upset the arrangement. About six months ago a gentleman, named Thomas Percy, relation of the Earl of Northumberland and pensioner of the King, hired, by means of a trusty servant, some wine cellars under the place where Parliament meets, and stored in them some barrels of beer, the usual drink of this country, as well as wood and coal. He said he meant to open a tavern for the use of servants who attended their masters to Parliament. But among this beer, wood, and coals he introduced thirty-three barrels of gunpowder, besides four tuns, the size of Cretan hogsheads, intending to make use of it at the right moment. About two months ago Lord Salisbury received anonymous letters from France, warning him to be on his guard, for a great conspiracy was being hatched by priests and Jesuits; but, as similar information had been sent about a year ago by the English lieger in France, no great attention was paid to these letters, and they were attributed to the empty-headed vanity of persons who wished to seem more conversant with affairs than became them. Finally, on Monday last, a letter was brought by an unknown person, for it was dark, about two o'clock of the night, to a servant of Lord Monteagle, who was standing at the door. The unknown said, "Please give this to your master; and tell him to reply at once, as I will come back in half an hour for the answer to carry to my master." The servant took the letter, and went upstairs and gave it to his master, who opened it and found it was anonymous, nor did he recognise the hand. The substance of the letter was this, that the writer, in return for the favours received at various times from Lord Monteagle, had resolved to warn him by letter that he should on no account attend Parlia-

1605.

ment the following morning, as he valued his life, for the good party in England had resolved to execute the will of God, which was to punish the King . . . . and the Ministers for their bitter persecution employed against the poor [Catholics] . . . . . in such brief space . . . he could burn the letter, which he earnestly begged him to do. Lord Monteagle read the letter, and in great astonishment took it to the Earl of Salisbury, who at once carried it to the King, and under various pretexts ordered a search of all the neighbouring houses to see if arms or anything of that sort, which might furnish a clue, were hidden there. Meantime the King read the letter, and in terrified amaze he said, "I remember that my father died by gunpowder. I see the letter says the blow is to be struck on a sudden. Search the basements of the meeting place." The Chamberlain, with three or four attendants, went straightway to carry out this order. First he enquired who had hired the basements; then he caused the door to be opened and went in. He saw nothing but beer barrels, faggots and coal. Meantime those who had searched the neighbouring houses came back and reported that they had found nothing of any importance, and when the Chamberlain returned and reported that he, too, had seen nothing but the barrels, faggots and coal this increased the alarm and suspicions of the King, who said, " I don't like these faggots and coal. Go back and shift all the wood and all the coal and see what is underneath, and use all diligence to come to certainty in the matter." The Chamberlain went back, and after shifting the wood he found underneath some barrels of powder, and after shifting the coal he found more barrels. In confusion he returned to the King and told him; and orders were at once given to a certain knight to take a company with him and to set sentinels in various posts to watch who approached the door of the cellars. About two in the morning they saw a man approaching with a dark lantern, but not so well closed as to hide the light completely. The guards cunningly drew back and left him free passage to the cellars, the door of which had been securely fastened as it was at first. The man went in, laid a train of powder and fitted a slow match, the powder and the tinder reached the powder barrels. His intention was to fire the train in the morning. When he had finished his business, as he was coming out, he was surprised by the guard, who asked what [he was doing] at that hour at that place. [He replied] that he had come there, as he had a fancy to see his property. They saw a bag in his hand, and found in it little bits of slow match, and when they turned on the light they saw the train of powder. Thereupon they bound him and took him to the Palace, where some of the Council were awake, waiting the issue of this affair. The man was brought into their presence, and at once confessed that he was servant to Thomas Percy, who had left the evening before, he knew not where for, and was quite ignorant of these facts. He further confessed that it was his firm resolve to have set fire to the mine that morning while the King, Queen, Princes, Clergy, Nobility, and Judges were met in Parliament, and thus to purge the kingdom of perfidious heresies. His only regret was that the discovery of the plot had frustrated its due execution, though it was certain that God would not for

1605.

long endure such injustice and iniquity. The rest in my next despatch.

London, 16th November, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

443. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the Lords of the Council had briefly examined the prisoner, they informed the Lord Mayor, who is like our Podestà, so that he might place the whole City under arms, and keep a sharp look-out. This was done, and not only that night, but all next day, which was Tuesday, the citizens were kept under arms. The other Lords of the Council, who had gone home, were summoned, and two hours before dawn they all met at the Palace. The prisoner was then introduced under strict guard. When questioned he replied, "My Lords, I cannot and will not say more than I have already said, namely that I was resolved to obey the will of God, who wishes to punish severely in every way the King and the Ministers for the persecutions they employed and still employ against the poor afflicted Catholics. I am deeply pained that I have failed to carry out so pious and holy a work." Asked if there were many who were aware of this design, he replied that there were very many, but that he would never name them. That he knew quite well that he would suffer a martyrdom of most cruel torments, which he was resolved and ready to endure, but from his lips nothing should ever issue that might hurt or injure another. That he was guilty he confessed, but no further confession need be looked for from him. He was remanded under strict guard, and the Council went to report to the King. His Majesty was amazed that so vast and so audacious a scheme should have been hatched in the mind of a man of such low and abject estate. "Let us go," he said, "not to Parliament, but to Church to thank God, who has saved me, my family, all you nobles and the whole kingdom from a great and terrible disaster. For, beyond a doubt, had the plot succeeded the kingdom would have been in such confusion that God only knows when it would have recovered. The city would have fallen a prey to these wild people, and all strangers, who are hated, would have been put to the sword. In short, had it been successful, it would have been the most stupendous and amazing event that ever was heard of" *(interrogatolo risp: Sigri. io non posso ne voglio dirvi più di quello che ho detto cioè che io ero rissoluto di obbedir alla volontà di Dio, che vuole in ogni maniera castigar severissimamente il Rè, et li ministri per le persecutioni usate et che tuttavia usano contra li poveri et afflitti Cattolici, et io ho grandissimo dolor di non haver potuto esseguir cosi pia et santa opra; li fu dimandato se vi erano molti consapevoli di questo trattato, risp: egli che si che erano moltissimi ma che egli non era per nominarli mai, che conosceva molto bene di dover 'esser martirizato con tormenti crudelissimi, li quali egli era rissolutissimo et prontissimo a sopportar, ma che della sua bocca non uscirebbe giamai cosa che possa apportar danno ne pregiudicio ad alcuno; in somma che egli era reo lo confessava ma che da lui non aspettassero di intender altro; però fattolo di nuovo metter sotto diligentissima custodia andorono a trovar la Maestà*

1605.

sua per rifferirgli tutto quello che havevano fatto et inteso dal priggione, la quale restando meravigliatissima che attione cosi grande et magnanima potesse cader in animo d' un huomo vile et abietto, disse, in luogo di andar in parlamento anderemo in chiesa a render gratie a Dio che habbia liberato mi, la mia famiglia, tutti voi altri nobili et tutto il Regno insieme da sciagura cosi grande et horribile, poiche non ha dubbio se il dissegno riusciva il Regno sarebbe stato in tanta confusione che Dio sa quando havesse potuto più rimettersi; questa Città era tutta messa a sacco da questo popolo fiero et indomito, et tutti li forestieri odiati . . . . . da loro messi a fil di spada, in somma se il caso succedeva er . . . . . pendo et ammirabile che si fosse sentito giamai).

The Lords of Council sent out [that] night upwards of one hundred men in various directions and chiefly to the coast to prevent Percy from escaping over the water, and if possible to arrest him, but the result is not known yet. Yesterday the prisoner was taken to the Tower, where almost all the Council went to examine him under every conceivable torture (*per esaminarlo con tutti li tormenti possibili*), in order to discover the accomplices in this plot; but as yet there is no report that he has confessed nor named anyone, and men's judgments remain undecided.

Yesterday, about dinner time, on the orders of his Majesty and Council, a secretary of the Council visited me, and to say that in a matter of such importance and of such serious consequence his Majesty and Council thought it right to inform me how the facts really stood, in order that I might more readily send the news to your Serenity. The secretary then related all that I have reported above. *(Heri (sic) circa l'hora del dissnar venne a trovarmi di ordine di Sua Maestà et del consiglio un segretario del medesimo consiglio dicendomi che in cosa tanta importante et di tanta conseguenza haveva Sua Maestà et il consiglio stimato bene di informarmi veracemente come la cosa era passata, affine che dandone io conto a Vostra Serenità possa più facilmente farlo; raccontandomi tutto il negotio nel modo che è scritto.)* I said that I returned my most hearty thanks to his Majesty and to the Council for this favour, which I highly appreciated, for it would allow me to report the truth. I could assure his Majesty that the Republic would learn the news with great displeasure, on account of the peril run by his Majesty, his family, and his realm, but it would also rejoice at his escape, which was a proof that the Lord God had his Majesty and his kingdom under His special care. The affair so far stands as above. I send this in duplicate, one by the ordinary route, the other *viâ* France.

I am in duty bound in such a grave affair to report the current opinion, though as yet it is very difficult to arrive at the truth. People say that this plot must have its roots high up, for it is not to be supposed that Percy, if guilty, embarked on this affair alone and without an object; for it was not a question of simply killing the King, but his sons and all the nobility as well. Had it succeeded upwards of thirty thousand persons, and those the most prominent, would have been slain. The first suspicion then falls on the disaffected nobility, among whom the chief is the Earl of Northumberland, a gentleman of a

1605.

most noble and ancient house, with a very large following and vast riches. While the King was still in Scotland Northumberland kept up secret relations with him, and claims to have had a large part in the King's succession. But he now considers himself inadequately rewarded. His family has always held for the Catholics, and Percy is a relation and an intimate of the Earl, and so suspicion reached such a pass that on Tuesday morning, after the prisoner was examined, the Council sent to warn the Earl to keep his rooms, in order to avoid attracting attention. He, however, derided the advice and declined to accept it, so that in the afternoon he was commanded to retire to his house,* and guards were placed round it to his great disgust. *There is also a grave suspicion that the Pope may be the source of the plot, for, as it is a question of religion, it seems impossible that he should not have assented, even if he took no active part in it. I know that one of the principal Ministers made use of these actual words: "We shall wait to see whether the Roman Church approves of such wicked actions;" and when he was assured that the Church did not approve, he said, "Well, the Pope ought to take some step to convince the world of his intentions." Finally they have a deep suspicion of France, whose Ambassador left eight days ago without awaiting his successor.† When they learned that on account of the weather he had not been able to cross the Channel the same night the plot was discovered, they sent orders to Dover that he was not to cross till further instructions. They have also chosen six persons, who, under the guise of merchants, are to go over to France to discover the doings of the King and to report the opinion there current, though their departure is postponed till they have wrung from the prisoner all the information they can get.* I am told that the prisoner remained obstinate and firm, and bore all the tortures with great constancy, refusing to name anyone; but at length he said that if they would send him a Catholic priest he would take his advice as to how he ought to act about revealing his accomplices. This makes them expect that he will yield at length to the torture and confess all.

London, 17th November, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 20. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

444. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador-Elect to England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I arrived in Paris to-day. I cannot have audience, as his Majesty is at St. Germains. The English Ambassador advises me to cross by Dieppe, as that passage, though longer, is less dangerous than by Calais.

Paris, 20th November, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

445. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The prisoner was taken to the Tower, as I informed your Serenity, and for two successive days he underwent the most excruciating torture without saying anything, except that the con-

* *See* Cal. S.P. Dom. John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, Nov. 7.
† Nov. 7, Chamberlain to Carleton, *ut sup.*

1605.

spirators were twelve in number, whose names he would not mention. But presently came news that Percy, with ten or twelve others, had broken open various stables, stolen the horses and endeavoured to raise as many men as they could, on the plea of fighting for freedom of conscience; thereupon it was surmised that these were the twelve conspirators referred to by the prisoner.

The King has issued the enclosed proclamation; he has also named a General to take command against the rebels, namely, the Earl of Devonshire (*Devincer*), who willingly undertook this office, as he hoped to gain the King's favour thereby. He was soon at the head of one thousand two hundred gentlemen, partly English, partly Scottish, but when it was found that the rebels numbered three hundred at most and that they were already deserting their leaders, it was thought undignified for the Crown to send into the field a gentleman of such importance as the Earl of Devonshire. *It was much noticed that all the Scots who had offered to follow the Earl presently withdrew. The King had let it be known that he wished to have the Scots about his person, as he has not much confidence in the English, who know this and are greatly annoyed. The King is in terror; he does not appear nor does he take his meals in public as usual. He lives in the innermost rooms, with only Scotchmen about him. The Lords of the Council also are alarmed and confused by the plot itself and the King's suspicions; the city is in great uncertainty; Catholics fear heretics, and vice-versa; both are armed; foreigners live in terror of their houses being sacked by the mob that is convinced that some, if not all, foreign Princes are at the bottom of the plot. The King and Council have very prudently thought it advisable to quiet the popular feeling by issuing a proclamation, in which they declare that no foreign Sovereign had any part in the conspiracy. God grant this be sufficient, but as it is everyone has his own share of alarm.*

The suspicion about the Earl of Northumberland goes on growing every day rather than diminishing, for it seems impossible that so vast a plot should have been hatched unless some great Lord were interested in it, and there is not the smallest indication against anyone except against this nobleman. Percy is his relation and his intimate, and as late as Monday last is known to have been in long conversation with him. The King has ordered the Earl to the Archbishop of Canterbury's house until the affair is cleared up, and there he is kept under strict guard.

The conduct of the French Ambassador is much criticised, not only on the ground of what I have already reported, but because he would not wait for the letters the Queen was writing to France. He insisted on crossing on Monday evening, though the weather was bad, and the French ship, which he was expecting, had not arrived. He embarked three hours before the King's orders to put off his departure reached Dover, and his passage was both troublesome and dangerous. They argue from this that the Ambassador, if he had not a share in the plot, at least had some knowledge of it; and there is no doubt but that these suspicions, though resting upon very weak evidence, may still produce a bad effect, especially if fomented, as they will be, by the Spanish, who never lose an opportunity to sow suspicions and diffidences between the English and the Crown of France. And unless

1605.

the Lord God guide tl em to a clear and certain knowledge of the facts it is likely that this event may work great wrath. (Si ragiona assai dell' Ambasciatore di Francia, perchè oltre le cause scritte si mette in molta considerazione che egli non habbia voluto aspettar le lettere che la Regina scriveva in Francia con occasione della sua partita, che egli habbia voluto passare il mare sebene di sera ancorche il tempo non fusse buono et la nave che di Francia aspettava non arrivata; ma imbarcatosi 3 hore inanti che arrivasse l'ordine del Ré di doversi fermare se ne passasse ancorche con tempo molto fastidioso et pericoloso; onde da questa et altre simili cose vano argomentando che l'Ambasciatore se non vi ha havuto la mano almeno ne havesse qualche notitia; et non ha dubio che queste sospittioni ancor che siano fondate sopra cose assai legere possono però causare molti mali effetti massime essendo aiutate come senza dubio saranno da Spagnoli, li quali stanno vigilantissimi ad ogni occasione che se le rappresenti di nutrir tra questi et la Corona di Francia diffidenze et gelosie; et se il Signor Dio non opera lui che qui possano venvir in certa et chiara† cognitione del fato si può dubitar che questo accidente habbia da causar qualche grande alteratione.)*

London, 21st November, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding despatch.

446. PROCLAMATION:—

Orders for the arrest of Percy and his accomplices, named at foot of the proclamation. Foreign Princes had no part in the plot, for all their representatives had applied for leave to attend the opening of Parliament.

Westminster, 17th November, third year of our reign.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

447. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Saturday last the King was in Parliament, where he made a long speech about the plot, beginning, "*Misericordia domini super omnia opera ejus,*" and went on to say that he was not aware that he had ever given cause to anyone to plot such infamous schemes against him. It is true that he might have bestowed more attention on affairs, but he trusted to his councillors, whom he held to be well-fitted to govern, thanks to their natural goodness and their long experience in the management of this kingdom. However, in future, he intended to devote more time to the affairs of State. Although it appeared that religion was the cause of the conspiracy, yet in reality it had another object. All the conspirators were gentlemen, though of broken estate, which they hoped to better under the cloak of conscience, as one frequently sees now-a-days, when every kind of iniquity is covered by the mantle of religion. He bore no ill-will against the Catholics as a body, for he knew very well that he had among them many faithful subjects.

After more in this vein he said that he was obliged to adjourn Parliament till the first of February, as he and his Council were deeply engaged in dealing with the plot, which he

* The decipher reads "non," but it should have been deciphered "che."

† Decipher reads "chiarara."

1605.

was resolved to probe to the bottom. He concluded with these words, "*Misericordias domini in eternum cantabo.*"

On Sunday morning, while the King and Council were discussing the advisability of sending out the Earl of Devonshire to put down the rising in the country, letters were brought from the Sheriff of Warwickshire, saying, that he had pursued and driven into a house all the conspirators, that he had first of all removed the horses, and then set fire to the four corners of the house. The conspirators, seeing themselves in evil straits, resolved to come out and to die fighting rather than be taken alive. This happened to three of them. Percy, head of the conspiracy, was wounded by a musket, and along with five others was taken alive. As soon as the King heard this he sent off two of the best surgeons and a doctor to attend the said Percy, and also a litter to convey him to London. His Majesty is extremely anxious to keep him alive, as he hopes to wring from him all the details of the plot, for up to now he has been considered the leader. But Robert Catesby, one of the conspirators, just as the fight with the Sheriff was beginning, came forward and said, "I know you want Percy, most of all, as you think him the leader; but you must know that he has only recently been initiated, and I had great difficulty in inducing him to join. The consequence is that he knows little or nothing of the origin and the details of the plot. And this I desire to announce to all before my death." The combat began, and Catesby was killed; this has caused profound satisfaction to the King and Council, for they think that there is no further cause for alarm, now that all the chiefs are either dead or prisoners. No other accomplices are discovered, though not a day passes but what some one is arrested or some Baron confined to his own house, or placed in the custody of others. This is merely a precautionary measure, because they are leading Catholics, and they arrest them till full light can be thrown on the whole affair. The Earl of Northumberland is clearing himself more and more completely every day. It is thought certain he will be set free.

On Monday I had audience of his Majesty to congratulate him on the special protection which God had bestowed on his person and his kingdom, by which they had been saved from such ruin and peril. I enlarged on this topic, and assured him of your Serenity's and your Excellencies' affection. His Majesty thanked me, declaring that he believed it would be impossible to find any Sovereign who did not heartily hate so abominable an action. He then went on to relate to me that the prisoner had eventually yielded to torture and confessed various things, most important among them the admission that it is now eighteen months since the conspiracy was set afoot; that he had been in the service of the Archduke in the wars in Flanders and at the siege of Ostend more especially; when that came to a close he said, "I wish to return to England, where I hope to carry out an enterprise that will bring me more renown and honour than I can acquire if I spend the whole of my life in the wars." From this his Majesty concludes that the plot was hatched on the other side of the water. Further the King told me that he had discovered the person who administered the Sacrament to all the conspirators when they pledged their faith and their honour not to name each other;

1605.

and although his Majesty did not tell me who this person is I hear from other quarters that it is thought he is a Jesuit, nay, they say that the prisoner himself is one, though not a priest. All this, however, is very uncertain, and may have been invented by those who hate the Catholic religion and intend to give it a deadly blow, and thus complete its ruin, as is only too likely to happen, unless the Lord God stretch out His holy hand. The King also added that about six months ago it was reported to him that there was a rumour that the Catholics intended to make a great effort when Parliament was sitting; but he and the whole Council took it that this would take place through supplications and petitions, and he could never have imagined such a thing as this. All the conspirators are gentlemen, but owing to their disordered lives they are poor and malcontent, though they assume the mantle of religion, the usual cloak of those who desire to cover their crimes. It is six months that they have been working in the mine, and never have they entrusted the smallest detail to others. The conveyance and arrangement of the powder, the transport of the earth, the breaking through certain walls, was all the work of their hands alone, unassisted by anybody. *(Passando a raccontarmi il fatto disse che il priggione finalmente haveva convenuto ceder alli tormenti et che haveva confessato diverse cose, fra le quali la prima era che sono hormai* 18 *mesi che la congiura è principiata; che lui haveva servito l'arciduca nella guerra di Fiandra et nell' impresa di Ostenden particolarmente; la quale finita disse io voglio voglio tornar' in Inghilterra dove spero di far un attione con la quale mi acquisterò maggior fama et honore che se io mi fermassi tutto il tempo di mia vita in questa guerra; da che venne a concluder Sua Maestà che di questa congiura se ne sia trattato di là del mare. Disse in oltre che haveva saputo la persona che haveva dato il sagramento a tutti li congiurati, dove si diedero la fede et la parola di non parlarsi l'uno l'altro; et se bene la Maestà sua non mi disse la persona intendo però da altra parte che si crede esser un gesuita, anzi vogliono che il medesimo priggione sia gesuita lui ancora ma non sacerdote; queste sono però cose assai incerte et che possono esser inventate da quelli che abhoriscono la Cattolica Religione per darli maggior crollo et finarla di rovinare, come grandemente si dubita sia per seguire se il Signor Dio non vi mette la sua santa mano; mi disse di più che erano circa sei mesi che le era stato detto che si intendeva da diverse parti Cattolici in tempo del Parlamento esser per fare gran tentativi, ma che però questo fu creduto da lui et da tutti li suoi consiglieri dovesse seguire per via di suppliche et di petitioni, ma che una cosa simile non se l'haverebbe giamai pensato; che tutti li congiurati erano gentil huomini ma molti di essi per la loro mala vita ridotti in povertà et però malcontenti per altro, ancora che havessero preso il pretesto della religione, mantello ordinario di quelli che vogliono coprir le loro sceleratezze; che sono sei mesi che questi lavorano nella mina, non havendosi voluto giamai fidare di alcuno in nessuna imaginabile cosa, intanto che il condur la polvere, l'accommodarlo, il cavar la terra, romper certi muri, tutto fu fatto per le loro mani sole senza partecipatione d' alcun 'altro.)*

At this moment the Duke of York, second son of his Majesty, about five years old, came into the chamber where we were. His Majesty turned to him and said, "This poor boy's innocence and

1605.

that of the Prince and of others has had more power with God than the perfidious malignity of men." I said that was very true, and that his Majesty must feel a singular satisfaction from the very evident protection of God. "Certainly," he replied, "I cannot imagine that God would favour such wickedness, which was not only planned, but nearly executed, for had the scheme been carried out thirty thousand persons would have perished at a stroke, the city would have been sacked, and the rich would have suffered more than the poor; in short, the world would have seen a spectacle so terrible and terrifying that its like has never been heard of." I asked if his Majesty had as yet discovered the real object of the conspirators, for it was probable they had made arrangements for governing the country when the King, Queen, Princes, nobles, judges had all been killed. His Majesty replied that their intention was to crown and proclaim as Queen his daughter, who is in the charge of a Baron,* who lives about ten miles out of London. The draft of the proclamation, which they intended to publish immediately after the explosion of the mine, has been found. It names her as Queen, and themselves as protectors and governors of her person and of the kingdom. To secure the populace the proclamation announced the abolition of certain burdens. Thus they hoped to make themselves masters of everything. He also told me that Percy was an old servant of his, who had been in his service while he was in Scotland before succeeding to this Crown. *(Le dimandai se la Maestà sua haveva per ancora penetrato qual fosse finalmente il dissegno di questi congiurati, perche morti che fossero le Maestà loro, li figli, tutta la nobiltà li guidici del Regno era cosa facile, che havessero pensato anco al modo di governare, mi disse lei che questi havevano dissegno di incoronar et publicar per Regina la sua figlia che è in governo di un Baron lontano da qui circa dieci miglia, et che si è trovata la minuta del proclama che intendevano di fare subito seguito l'effetto della mina, dichiarandola Regina et loro medesimi protettori et governatori di lei et del Regno, et che per guadagnar l'animo de' popoli dichiaravano che s' intendesse levate et annullate alcune gravezze che hora sopportano, et di questa maniera restar loro patroni di ogni cosa; mi disse in oltre che quel Perci era suo servitore antico poiche prima che succedeva a questa Corona egli era stato in Scotia.)* That he liked Percy and would have done him a benefit, that he liked to have him about his person, and that he had trusted him completely, and so on.

I saw that other councillors were waiting to transact business. I took my leave after thanking his Majesty in your Serenity's name for the orders given to his ships. He said he was always ready to oblige the Republic, but that he looked for a return; referring to a certain sentence, about which his Ambassador has sent in a report as being unjust;† also he says that English merchants are harshly treated in Venice, and recommends his subjects to your Excellencies, promising like treatment for Venetian merchants here. I wished to reply, but he said, "I am much occupied; speak to my secretary, he is better informed than I am, for I only know what is told me."

* Lord Harrington; Princess Elizabeth was then living at his house, Coombe Abbey, Coventry. Cal. S.P. Dom., Nov. 6, 1605. † The case of Nicolo Balbi and the death of Pert. *See* Nos. 387, 409, 417.

1605.

I see quite clearly that the English Ambassador in Venice is hostile, and shows himself very dissatisfied. I shall do what I can to have an interview with the Secretary, and will put forth all my powers to enlighten him fully about the case, though I know that he has a very bad impression on the subject. I will endeavour to disabuse his mind on the points where he has been misinformed by the English Ambassador.

London, 23rd November, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

448. Girolamo Corner, Governor in Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral, a few days ago off Clarentza, sighted an English *berton*, which had recently discharged grain in this port. He called the supercargo on board with his books, and saw that she had contraband currants in her cargo. The Admiral sent for the Captain to find out the names of the smugglers. The Captain absolutely refused to obey, and during the night set sail. He was followed up and attacked by the Admiral as far as Patras, where he found shelter.

The Admiral has sent me the supercargo and four sailors. I have found out nothing as to the smugglers from their depositions enclosed.

This contraband export of currants is very easy, for all the coast is open.

Zante, 28th November, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 3. Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

449. Secretary Valerio Antelmi reports that he has waited on the English Ambassador to communicate the resolution of the Senate as regards the ship "Davis." The Ambassador expressed himself well pleased.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

450. Piero Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador (Parry) has received news express from London with an account of the plot, and went straight to St. Germains to inform his Majesty. After much discussion as to the probable authors the King said that he was a good and loyal friend to the King of England and, laying his hand on his sword, he declared that at need he would willingly use it in his service.

The English Ambassador then came to see me, and gave me, as he says on his master's orders, a full account of what took place in that kingdom. They are in hopes that the confessions of the leaders will throw a full light on the matter.

The French ministers discuss the event, and are unanimously of opinion *that the plot must have been known to the Spaniards, though the sketch of the whole design more particularly belonged to Don Juan de Taxis, the Spanish Ambassador, who has already left the Court. The opportunity was suggested by the King of England's neglect of his business, and the fact that his councillors*

1605.

are suborned by Spanish gold. I gather that the French propose to send an Ambassador-Extraordinary to England to offer all assistance and to alter the King's attitude towards Spain. A courier from the Archduke has just passed through to Spain, *this increases the rumours flying about.*

M. de Beaumont, French lieger in England, has arrived, *and it is thought just as well that he was not in that kingdom when the conspiracy exploded. The Nuncio is disturbed at the report that the Pope may have given his consent. He came to visit me for the express purpose of persuading me by various arguments that these rumours are all inventions of the enemies of religion.* I begged him to waste no pains on me, for such an idea had never entered my mind; and I added that such justification may be necessary with others, but never with your Serenity's Ambassador.

Paris, 6th December, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

451. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty informed me *that the Spanish have been plotting to surprise Marseilles. The Secretary of the Spanish Ambassador has been arrested. "Just look at that," said the King, "and the Spanish intended to ruin England, too, at one blow, and to aggrandise themselves on the plea of protecting the Catholics."*

Paris, 6th December, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

452. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News of the plot in England has been received. The English Ambassador (Cornwallis) at once reported the fortunate failure of the conspiracy to the King, who, the following day, sent the Duke of Lerma to congratulate; the Council of State was summoned at once and sat till past midnight, and next morning again for upwards of four hours without arriving at any decision. All the Council called on the Ambassador. No courier has been openly sent to England as yet. The Count of Villa Mediana, who arrived from England six days ago, has been in lengthy consultation with the Duke of Lerma and Franquezza; and last night after Council Don Juan d' Idiaquez was a long time with the Count. *This induces people to think that under these outward signs of joy there is a secret annoyance, all the more so that* the Ambassador of England told me that he intended to celebrate the happy discovery of the plot by fireworks, fanfares of trumpets, roll of drums, distribution of food and money, and that it would be seen later on that he had not refrained from doing so without good cause, though out of regard for the company present he did not explain further.

Valladolid, 8th December, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1605.
Dec. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

453. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday the King went to Richmond, intending to go on to Hampton Court, where he proposes to stay six or eight days for his usual amusement of the chase. This journey is disapproved by the Queen and by all who have the King's interests at heart; for it seems unwise, in a time of such turbulence and commotion, that the King should go into the country attended by few persons and, as often happens, when lured on by the pleasure of the chase, should stay out late into the evening, thus offering an easy occasion for any who desires to injure him to do so. These and similar considerations have been laid before his Majesty, but he, though he recognises their truth, is resolved to rely on the divine mercy and to place his pleasure above his peril. Nay, he lets it be understood that when he comes back from the country he will only stay four or six days in London, and then will return to the country with the intention of going much further away than he has hitherto done.

Every day there is further confirmation that with the spring his Majesty will be forced to go to Scotland to arrange the differences between the Bishops and the Puritan ministers, differences which grow greater daily, so that the supreme authority of the King's presence is deemed necessary by everyone. All the same it is pointed out to him that it is possible that the accommodation might not be effected after all, in spite of his presence, and, therefore, that it would be better to deal with the subject by other hands, and so avoid risking the reputation of the Crown. Up to the present, however, it seems that the King is determined to go to Scotland, unless matters are settled in the meantime.

Uproar and riot in Ireland on the score of religion. The King wishes to reduce all his realms to a single creed, the Protestant, as it is called, which is really Calvinistic, or rather a mixture of all sects, for everyone interprets it after his own fashion. In truth there is only one object, that is, to extinguish the Catholic religion if possible. About three months ago they sent several of their best preachers over to Ireland, with orders to instruct that people, who are all Catholics, except the descendants of the colonists, planted there by the late Queen for the express purpose of introducing the Protestant faith; in this they did not succeed, for the Irish, both nobles and Commons alike, remained steadfast in the Catholic faith. The King has issued orders to his representatives that first by admonitions and then by threats they are to induce the Irish to attend the sermons of these preachers. In this they failed, and as the Irish Parliament is on the point of meeting the King intends to cause the recusancy laws, which exist in England, to be passed in Ireland. With this object in view he is endeavouring to prevent the return of any as members except those who are descended from the English, who, as I have already said, are Protestants. The Irish are quite aware of his Majesty's design, and do all they can to thwart it; hence the whole country is in commotion and violent wrath.

The Grand Duke, after having bought a lot of powder, is now securing cannon; and although the export of artillery is pro-

1605.

hibited, still his secretary, by means of presents to the officials, has managed to ship some, and more will follow.

At last I have news that the illustrious Ambassador Giustinian has arrived at Dieppe. I have arranged for a royal ship to meet him, and I hope if the weather permits he will be here in six or eight days.

London, 8th December, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

454. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has named seven Commissioners, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Mar, a Scot, the Earl of Worcester, and the High Admiral to attend at all the examinations, which may be made in regard to the plot; not only at the examination of the first prisoner, who has at length revealed his accomplices and given details about the conspiracy, but also of all other prisoners, who may be arrested from day to day. For already large numbers have been put in the Tower, among them three Barons, Montague, Mordaunt (*Morder*) and Stourton,* all professing Catholics. It is quite clear that none but Catholics had a hand in the plot. Yesterday, an hour before dinner-time, the Earl of Northumberland was lodged in the Tower. There are evil prognostications for him, first because it seems impossible that, in so vast a conspiracy, which had for object to overthrow the kingdom and to set it in a blaze, there should not be at the head of it some great nobleman, who aspired, if not to reign, at least to govern; as no one else has been discovered up to now, they think the Earl may be the man; that Percy was his relation gives a reasonable ground for suspicion, and it is considered a very lucky thing for the Earl that Percy is dead of the gun-wound. The second reason is that the Earl is known to be a malcontent, and has given frequent signs of his feelings. He professes to be especially hostile to Salisbury, who at present has the whole government in his hands, and who may fairly be styled the King, and it is not likely that Salisbury will let slip so good an opportunity of laying him by the heels. Further the house of Percy has always been Catholic and patron of Catholics, though the present Earl seems disposed to adapt himself to the times. All this makes people think he will be put to death, or at least will never leave the Tower; for it is a most remarkable fact in this country that if a nobleman is put in the Tower he either loses his life or ends his days there. The Council have summoned a secretary of the Earl, who a few days before the plot was discovered was [sent] by him into France. He has been examined, but as yet I know no particulars. The examination hitherto has revealed this fact, that the conspirators, *as far back as the time of the late Queen, had plotted with the King of Spain. The agreement was that the King should disburse one*

* Anthony Brown. Viscount Montague; Henry Lord Mordaunt; Waad writes to Salisbury from the Tower: "My Lord Mordaunt is fallen into an extreme pensiveness." Edward, Lord Stourton. These were the three Peers whom the Conspirators wished to save. Cal. S.P. Dom., Dec. 2, 1605.

1605.

hundred thousand crowns, in order that the conspirators might raise the Catholics and put together two thousand five hundred horse, while the King was to send ten thousand infantry into Flanders, who were to assist the Catholics in England, and thus throw the whole kingdom into disorder. The death of the Queen broke off the negotiations; but six months after the King came to the throne they were set on foot again, as it seemed to the conspirators that his Majesty was not going to keep any of the promises he made in Scotland that he would grant liberty of conscience, the King of Spain, however, then replied that he had no intention of injuring a great Prince, with whom he was in excellent relations, and with whom he desired a sure and lasting peace. It has also been discovered that the scheme for mining the Parliament House was devised in Flanders by an Englishman named Owen, who many years ago was in Spanish service in that war, and now, it would seem, is in special service with the Archduke. Owen, on representations by the English Ambassador-Resident, has been arrested, but the Archduke has not as yet promised to surrender him, and it is thought that before coming to any decision they desire to write to Spain to learn the wishes of his Catholic Majesty. They mention another man, Thomas Stanley, who has been a long time in Flanders, and is now a member of the Council of War, though an Englishman; but seeing that the indications against him are far from clear his Majesty has taken no steps in his regard except to ask his Highness to see that he does not escape; though it is thought that he will eventually be demanded.

I am assured on good authority that his Majesty intends to recall the English in service with the Archduke, but he wishes to do it cautiously, so that it shall not be perceived. The ground for this is that some of his advisers have pointed out to him that it is not desirable that his subjects should declare themselves Catholics, as all who take service with the Archduke do, and learn the art of war, which they can eventually use against his Majesty. Great attention is being paid to the examination of prisoners, whose number is increasing daily; many women, who had knowledge of the plot, have been arrested. This causes amazement that they were able to keep it hidden so long. Sentence is not expected at once; it is thought that the whole will be laid before Parliament and new regulations issued against the Catholics. On all hands one hears nothing in the mouth of the people and of the preachers except curses and insults against the Catholic religion, which, so they say, permits and approves such iniquitous and inhuman actions as to blow into the air thirty thousand persons at a single stroke. *Although this is the result of the ill-will of the people towards the Catholic religion it does not lack some secret encouragement from high quarters, with a view to increasing the hatred of Catholics and terrifying them, so that in despair they will be driven to embrace the Protestant religion; although every day shows the number of the Catholics to be so great and their temper so firm and constant that such an end is almost despaired of. I know that it has been pointed out to his Majesty that it is no wise policy, considering that the Catholics number a half and perhaps more of the population (essendo la metà et forse più del Regno Catholico), to press them so hard that*

1605.

they should be driven to band together and try their fortune to the utter ruin of one party and of the other. All the same the King and his ministers are greatly inclined to persecution, and openly discuss it. Nothing will be done till the meeting of Parliament, when we shall see what turn affairs take. It is to be hoped that as this is a matter affecting the Lord God his Divine Majesty will protect and favour his own.

London, 8th December, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

455. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador tells me that each of the conspirators had a key to a secret door in the house of the Arciducal Ambassador. He added that this was a great secret.

Paris, 20th December, 1605.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

456. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Every day something new about the plot comes to light, and produces great wrath and suspicion. The result is that both Court and City are more than ever in a bubbub, nor can they quiet down; everyone is armed and ready for any event. Lately among the prisoners' effects a paper has been found, containing the list of all houses inhabited by Scots. When asked as to the meaning of this the prisoners said that it was intended, after the explosion of the mine, to massacre all the Scottish in this country, for they could not submit to the share which their natural enemies now had in the government. The publication of this news has increased the hatred between the two nations, and rendered them quite irreconcilable. Many Scots are thinking of returning home, for they fear that some day a general massacre may take place. Among others who are already gone are the Earl of Mar, a great noble and member of the English Council, and the Earl of Dunbar, Treasurer of Scotland, member of Council, and a prime favourite with his Majesty, of whom he may be called the very breath and spirit. The first will probably not return, at least for a bit, the second told me that his Majesty had only granted him forty days' leave, and that is very likely, for the King cannot live without him. It is certain that the meeting of the Scottish Parliament is not the cause of their going, for that does not take place till the middle of February. Many reasons are assigned for their departure. *One is that when news of the plot reached Scotland many Scots appeared before the Council and offered to send fifty thousand men into England for the protection of his Majesty and his family and for the punishment of the criminals. His Majesty is now supposed to be desirous of thanking these gentlemen. He is also credited with a design to send the Prince to reside in Scotland; in this way he hopes to secure his family, for it is clear that there are many who hate not only his own person, but his whole race. There is a suspicion that the Marquis of Donall (?), a great Scottish gentleman,*

1605.

had some knowledge of this plot, and the Council are ordered to use all diligence to come at the truth. The mission of these gentlemen is very secret, and it is difficult to find out the facts. All this annoys the English, who cannot endure that his Majesty should show so much more confidence in the Scottish than in themselves. His Majesty is aware of this, and on this account he has not accepted a bodyguard of Scottish light horse. The King has ordered the re-administration of the Oath of Supremacy to all courtiers and ministers. Some Catholics, who refused to take the oath, have been expelled from Court and deprived of office. All the same his Majesty cannot refrain from going into the country, though he adopts some precautions more than usual. But those who wish him well do not approve, and they fear that some day some mischief will befall him.

The Spanish, who have been for six months in Dover, refusing to return to Spain and prevented by the Dutch from crossing to Flanders, put out at last, under cover of the long nights and a great storm. They hired several small boats, and in the face of great difficulties they made Dunquerque.

The Baron de Tour, French Ambassador, is expected here to convey congratulations on the King's escape. He is to return at once, and the Count de Crumaille* (*Gramaglio*) is expected as Ambassador in Ordinary. I am very anxious because the illustrious Giustinian has not arrived yet. It is twenty days since I heard from him. The weather is bad.

London, 22nd December, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

457. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Most Christian Majesty has, I hear, written an autograph letter to the King, congratulating him on his escape. At the close he says *that he understands that rumours are flying about to the effect that his Ambassador (de Beaumont), who has just left England, may have had knowledge of the plot. He says he cannot believe that any minister of his could ever be so iniquitous and perverted as to have a hand in such wickedness. No Prince is safe against traitors. He gave his word of honour that should he at any time discover the very smallest indication that his Ambassador had had the tiniest part in this plot, he would make such an example of him as that they should clearly see how he hated and abominated all such actions and their authors. But for all this the suspicion of the Ambassador does not diminish, nay, it grows daily; and especially on account of news arrived from France that the moment the Ambassador reached Calais, that was on Tuesday, the day the mine was to have been fired, he sent a courier to l 62 † (his Most Christian Majesty) with a letter, in which he said, "To-day a crushing blow against the King, his house, and all the nobility of England is to be delivered, but the issue is still uncertain." If that were true it would undoubtedly follow that he must have had knowledge of the*

* *See* Birch. "Court and Times of James I." Vol. 1, p. 34.

† Here the cipher reads l^{62}, which has not been deciphered in the original decipher, I presume, because of the serious nature of the news. l^{62}=Sua Maestà, Xma.

1605.

plot; but he is in such disgrace with the Court, the ministers, and even with the royal family that they will lend an ear to any charge against him.

A Dutchman has just told his Majesty that he has discovered another plot against the King's life, which is possibly no less serious than this last one, because the persons who have a hand in it are far more important, but he says he will speak to no one but to his Majesty in person. The King, accordingly, has sent to Amsterdam to have him brought here, under promise that no harm shall come to him, but that if his statements are verified he will be handsomely rewarded.

The business of the Earl of Northumberland stands where it did. As a matter of fact there is nothing . . . . . he will not answer the interrogatories addressed to him. [He says] that as an Earl he is not bound to answer; and that if there are any charges against him they ought to appoint a commission of his Peers, before whom he could very easily exculpate himself. Salisbury said to him, "My Lord, you ought not to refuse to do what others your Peers have done," naming the Earl of Essex, who submitted to interrogatories, and always replied. The Earl of Northumberland answered, "The Earl of Essex was a gallant gentleman, but towards the end of his career he went mad, that cost him his life. I do not intend to imitate another's madness, and claim my legal right to be tried by my Peers; if I am found guilty I shall deserve to be severely punished." On Sunday the Countess went to the King with a petition, praying not for grace, but for justice and a speedy trial. "If the Earl," she said, "has done wrong let him be severely punished, but do not allow him to be questioned and examined by other than by a legal tribunal." She begged that the trial should take place at once, and that his Majesty should not allow the ill-will of a certain great personage to ruin the Earl in fame, fortune, and life when he was innocent. The King treated her very gently, and the Countess has hopes that her husband's affair will pass off well, so have his relations and friends; but others, who judge the present by their recollection of the past, greatly doubt whether he will ever leave the Tower; for there is no instance of a great noble, who had once been committed to the Tower on political charges, ever being set free. Add to this the hostility of Salisbury, now patent to the whole world, which of itself would be sufficient to secure his imprisonment during Salisbury's lifetime.

A few days ago the Archduke's Ambassador held out hopes that his Highness might consign to the King a certain Englishman named Owen (Juen), who, as I reported, was one of the leaders of the plot. His Majesty, accordingly, sent men over to Flanders on purpose to receive him. It seems, however, that the Archduke excused himself, on the ground that Owen had served many years in the wars, and was enrolled among the pensioners of the King of Spain, and, therefore, his Highness considered that he could not surrender him without first reporting to Spain. The men, who had been sent to Flanders, returned and reported all to his Majesty, who showed little satisfaction at this answer. I hear that the King has given strict orders to his Ambassador at the Archduke's Court to inform all English, serving the Archduke, that his Majesty does not at all approve of his subjects fighting for a Prince who professes a religion

1605.

different from his Majesty's, and that they would please him by throwing up their commissions and returning to England, while on the other hand he will form a very bad opinion of those who continue there, nor will he ever consider them as good and faithful subjects. It seems, too, that his Majesty is about to fulminate a very severe sentence against the Earl of (sic) Arundel, head of the English in the Archduke's service, because, in defiance of orders, he crossed the sea on board the royal ships, and has not returned to England within the month of November, in compliance with the orders issued. They will, perhaps, charge him with knowledge of the plot, and all the more so as the Earl openly declares that he will not return on any account. There are not wanting persons to call his Majesty's attention to this disobedience, and to urge that it cannot have any other cause. The King is so angry with the Earl that it is thought he will soon be made to feel it.

London, 22nd December, 1605.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

458. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador-Elect to England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has been waiting at Dieppe for a royal ship, in order to cross the Channel. One was ordered to Dieppe, but the Captain put into Calais. Finds great difficulties in the way of getting a ship, and cannot say when he will be able to cross.

Dieppe, 23rd December, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

459. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Inquisitor of Venice has sent to the Congregation of the Index the King of England's book (the Basilikon Doron), containing instructions to his son. As it expresses many impious and detestable sentiments, entirely opposed to our fundamental dogmas, consultation was held as to what ought to be done. Some opined that one of the Cardinals should be deputed to refute it, but seeing that this would add to the importance of the work and would stimulate many heretics to a rejoinder, it has been resolved to place it on the Index.

In the house of the English Ambassador at Venice there has been for some months a Canon of Vicenza;* he professes to have credentials from the King, authorizing him to deal with certain questions of religion. He is the man who, in Pope Clement's days, went at his own charges to England. The Pope placed little confidence in him, though he produced the royal letters addressed to himself and to Anthony Sherley. The present Pontiff has dispensed him from residence to see what he can accomplish.

Rome, 24th December, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

* The Canon of Vicenza was Dr. Whorwelle. *See* "The Sherley Brothers," p. 46.

1605.
Dec. 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

460. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose the King of England's proclamation, exculpating foreign princes. They have printed and published it here, and sold it publicly in the streets, in order to counteract the accusation that they have had a hand in the plot. The Marquis of San Germano, who was to go to England to congratulate the King, has put off his journey, lest he should meet with some insult in the excited state of that kingdom, and instead, under pretext of securing passports, they have sent a courier with a present of trappings for the King.

In Portugal orders have been received to fit out as large a number of vessels as possible, and Don Diego Brochiero is designed to the command.

Valladolid, 24th December, 1605.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30.
Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

461. The English Ambassador condoles on the death of the Doge. "Neither prominence of rank nor natural goodness, not charity to the poor nor love of justice, not civil wisdom nor holiness of living have availed to privilege him against that great decree of nature, *Orta ut moriantur*." He expresses his personal loss. Says this is not the occasion to enter on other business, though he has orders from his Majesty to communicate the discovery of the gunpowder plot, which he will take another occasion formally to do.

[*Italian.*]

1606.

1606.
Jan. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

462. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Baron de Tour, who has been appointed Ambassador-Extraordinary in England, left for his destination eight days ago. His mission is to congratulate the King on his escape from peril.

The English Ambassador,* who comes to take the place of the Resident Ambassador, arrived a few days ago. I have not failed to show him every attention.

Paris, 3rd January, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir George Carew, who succeeded Sir Thomas Parry.

1606.
Jan. 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

463. Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King was in the country all last week, and came back to London on Saturday. It is thought that he will not leave again till after Epiphany, which they keep here, according to the old style, on the 16th of this month. By the custom of the country these days will be passed in fêtes and banquets, more especially as the marriage of a daughter of the Chamberlain to the Earl of Essex is to be celebrated on New Year's Day; and his Majesty intends to be present. Six months later another daughter of the Chamberlain is to marry a son of Lord Salisbury. The object is to reconcile the young Earl of Essex to Lord Salisbury if possible. Essex is but little the friend of Salisbury, who was the sole and governing cause of the late Earl's execution. Nothing is more earnestly desired by Salisbury than not to leave this legacy of hatred to his son, for though Essex is not rich nor in enjoyment of the power Lord Salisbury wields, yet if the latter were to die his son would not succeed to the influence and authority which his father possesses, whereas Essex has an infinite number of friends all devoted to the memory of his father, all of whom are ready to attempt anything to avenge the death of so noble a gentleman; and there is no doubt but that, when the Earl of Essex is a little older, suggestions and persuasions to revenge will not be wanting. Lord Salisbury hopes by creating ties of relationship to cancel the memory of these ancient enmities; many, however, are of opinion that this is too feeble a medicine for so great an ill.

His Majesty on Sunday last, while at chapel and afterwards at dinner, appeared very subdued and melancholy; he did not speak at all, though those in attendance gave him occasion. This is unlike his usual manner. *After dinner, however, he broke out with great violence, "I have despatches from Rome informing me that the Pope intends to excommunicate me; the Catholics threaten to dethrone me and to take my life unless I grant them liberty of conscience. I shall, most certainly, be obliged to stain my hands with their blood, though sorely against my will. But they shall not think they can frighten me, for they shall taste of the agony first. Christ, when on earth, if he called his apostles and disciples to him, did it always sweetly and with great gentleness; he never used an angry word save to those who would not follow him and listen to him. I do not know* upon what they found this perfidious and cursed doctrine of Rome that they are permitted to plot against the lives of Princes and to deprive them of their crown and sceptre. Sometimes, on thinking over this, I am amazed when I see that the Princes of Christendom are so blinded that they do not perceive the great injury inflicted on them by so false a doctrine, a doctrine invented certainly not for the benefit of souls, as they pretend, but to augment the temporal power and authority of the Popes, and to furnish them with opportunity to satisfy that cupidity and ambition of theirs to be held the lords of the whole world, and authorised to enrich and aggrandise their own relations." He continued for a whole hour to talk in a similar strain, and those in attendance praised and approved;* they unanimously declared that, in order

* Decipher reads "non sopra" instead of "non so sopra."

1606.

to preserve his life and for the safety of the kingdom, his Majesty ought to adopt severe measures against the Catholics. Nothing is occupying more attention than the arrest of priests; and though most of them are in hiding they cannot feel safe against the wiles adopted by the officials. Many are already prisoners, and it is thought they will be put to death, while in the coming Parliament severe measures will be enacted against the Catholics.

The Baron de Tour, Ambassador of France, arrived here on Friday evening; on Sunday he had audience, and was very well received, being an old acquaintance of his Majesty when he was French Ambassador at the Scottish Court. I cannot discover that he has any other mission than to congratulate his Majesty on his escape. *I am told, however, that he has also laid before the King an account of this latest affair of Marseilles, owing to which the secretary of the Spanish Ambassador in Paris has been arrested. The details of this your Serenity will have from a more certain source. The Ambassador dwelt upon the indirect methods of the Spanish, and the small reliance to be placed on them.* Yesterday, St. Stephen's Day, the Ambassador was at a banquet given by the King, and to-morrow he will take his leave. He was lodged and fed at the King's charges, though it was given out that a gentleman of the Court bore them, for his Majesty does not wish to bind himself to do the same for other Ambassadors. He showed this favour to M. de Tour as an old friend.

The Spanish Ambassador is preparing for next Wednesday, which is New Year's Day here, six beautiful horses, with all their trappings worked in gold and pearls, as a present to the King from his Catholic Majesty.

London, 6th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

464. NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is an agent here from the Duke of Brunswick to ask his Majesty to help his brother-in-law in the siege of Brunswick. The King has given him two hundred thousand dollars, and offers some troops if he desires them.

His Majesty is little pleased at the long delay which the Archduke makes in consigning to him Owen, now a prisoner in Brussels, and chief conspirator in the late plot. The King has, in consequence, stopped the passage of eight companies of Scottish troops, raised by his Majesty's permission for service with the Archduke. But two companies had already left, and a third was in course of embarking when the orders arrived. Its commanding officer ordered his men to go on embarking, and came to London to beg for leave to cross over, having left injunctions with the sailors that if the weather were favourable they should start. He thought he could very easily obtain leave, but he found more difficulty than he expected, and meantime the weather turned fine and the sailors crossed the water; whereupon the Captain was put in prison, and it is thought he will fare ill. The remaining five companies have been disbanded, and so the Archduke will be deprived of this succour.

1606.

I am also informed that his Majesty has renewed his orders to his Ambassador to secure the return of the English in the Archduke's service as soon as possible; and everyone imagines that the peace between the King and the Archduke will not last long. The King openly lets it be understood that unless that man (Hugh Owen) is consigned to him he will consider his treaty with the Archduke is violated in its clauses.

The King has informed the Earl of Home (Conte di Hun), in command of the Scottish levies, that he is not to go over to Flanders, but to come to Court. One of the Earl's most intimate friends, who held a high command under the Earl, has been arrested. The reason is not known yet, but people say that possibly the Earl may have had some knowledge of the plot, which his friend shared. Time will show if this is true; but at present all professing Catholics live in fear of molestation, however innocent they may be. For the Council becomes daily more and more convinced that the plot was hatched by the Catholics.

I am assured that the journey of the Scottish Lords was undertaken as I reported, in order to arrange for the residence of the Prince of Wales in that country, as the King is more and more set on the plan, being persuaded that this is the best means of ensuring his safety.

Orders for the commissioning of eight or ten ships have been issued. This gives rise to endless comments; some say they are intended for Ireland, where the disturbances are not yet quieted, the Irish showing a most determined resolve not to obey the King's orders, which are that they shall embrace the Protestant religion. Others think they are destined for Scotland, where the discussions between Bishops and Puritan ministers are not yet accommodated, both parties displaying great firmness. Others, and this is the most likely conjecture, believe that the only duty of these ships would be to hold the Catholics in check, and to rob them of any hopes they might entertain of succour from abroad. Time will show which is the true meaning.

A day or so again a man called Tresham (*Tressan*) died in the Tower. He was one of the chief conspirators. There are not wanting suspicions that he was assisted to his death by his relations, in order to obviate the confiscation of his property. He leaves property to the value of upwards of ten thousand crowns of annual income. This event induces the Parliamentary leaders to seize the first opportunity to pass a law preventing such abuses.

London, 6th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

465. Nicolo Molin and Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After waiting at Dieppe more than a month for the royal ship which was to convey me across the Channel, I finally embarked on the 30th of last month, being very honourably received by the Captain. I voyaged all that day and night, and put into Portsmouth on account of contrary winds. I came on to London, and reached it yesterday about two p.m. Ambassador Molin came to meet me four or five miles out of the City. He had five or six

1606.

carriages, and was accompanied by many Italian merchants here resident and by Sir [Lewis] Lewkenor, receiver of Ambassadors. He had a royal carriage for my use, and made a suitable welcome.

London, 6th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

466. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Sultan and his ministers are seriously alarmed at the damage they have sustained from the pirates, who infest the waters between this and Alexandria. The Sultan is advised to cease his friendly relations with England who is the chief cause of these piracies, her vessels robbing more goods than they bring as merchandise. I know the intentions of the Republic in this respect, and will not fail to do my duty. The issue should be easy of accomplishment, for everyone is convinced that every English ship is a privateer, in the guise of a merchantman. The English Ambassador hopes to recover the ship that was captured. This week, by a special grace, he has obtained the liberation from slavery of Thomas Sherley, brother of Anthony, who was given * to him by the Sultan, in compliance with an earnest request preferred by the King of England. This Thomas Sherley is a man of high spirit, as I gathered from his conversation.† He has great schemes in his head, *to induce his Sovereign to abandon the Turkish alliance. He will start immediately for England, viâ Venice.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

467. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The readiness with which the Archduke Albert arrested two Englishmen on the request of the King of England is taken here as an indication that the peace will last a long time.

Valladolid, 14th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

468. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis de San Germano now announces quite openly that he is to be sent to England. He is taking leave of the Ambassadors. But I suspect that the announcement is made more to alarm the King of France than because there is much to do with the King of England. The Spanish Ambassador in England writes that the English people frankly declare that the country will always be in revolution as long as peace is preserved with Spain. To induce the King to break the peace the English and the Dutch both offer his Majesty to maintain two fleets on the sea without costing him a penny, and to give him half the booty. The English Ambassador here confirms the warlike spirit and the offer of the English, but solemnly declares that as long as the terms of the peace are loyally

* *See* R. O. State Papers. Turkey. Lello to Salisbury 19 Dec., 1605. "The Grand Seigneur saying 'Notwithstanding this man's fault, I present him to the King of England.'" † *Ut sup.*, 2 Jan., 1605-6. "The Baglio invited Sir Thomas Sherley to his house."

1606.

observed no rupture will take place. It is true that his object is by these assertions to advance his efforts on behalf of English subjects here, though as yet he has achieved but little. All the cases are taken before auditors, especially appointed by the King. Talking with Franquezza the other day he said that the good will towards the Republic was evidenced by this, that whereas all French and English cases were heard by the regular courts Venetian cases were to be dealt with summarily.

Valladolid, 14th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch from Rome, 14 January.

469. Sum total of cost of repairs in the Palazzo San Marco, Rome:—Scudi 1,503. 8. 2, that is in Venetian ducats of 7 lire each, ducats 150, L2, s^di. 4, pic 6.

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

470. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few nights ago that English ship, which was brought in here as a pirate, was lying in port with only a watchman on board. She was set on fire and burned with all her cargo of cotton, gall-nuts and indigo to the value of twenty thousand ducats. The fire was the work of two unknown incendiaries, who got on board at the third hour of night and set her on fire in various places.

The Ambassador has loudly complained to the Grand Vizir, on the suspicion that this was secretly done by the Sultan's orders or by some other Turks. The Pasha declared he knew nothing about it, and that he suspected the English themselves had done it, in order to cover their misdeeds. This accident may have the result of hastening the breach of alliance between England and the Turks. The English Ambassador is very dissatisfied, and little regard is shown for him. Besides the galleon captured by privateers, another galleon of the same build and as beautiful, lost her rudder and was wrecked near Salonica on her way back from Alexandria. Nothing was saved but the lives of the crew. Other three galleons and a Savoyard tartana fell in with an English berton in the Arcipelago. She had a cargo of kerseys, tin, gunpowder, etc., and had touched at Barbary and Tunis, taking on board many Turks and Jews. She was searched, and they wanted to carry off the Turks, the Jews, and the powder. The English Captain resisted, and they fought in the waters of Melos; the Englishman was captured after considerable slaughter on both sides. All the English were landed on a rock, and given money to return to England. Their ship was carried off. The English are accustomed to bring into Constantinople at least five hundred barrels of powder every year; one of their ships did this successfully last year.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 16. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

471. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and said, "Most Serene Prince, *uno avulso non deficit alter aureus*," so must I begin, for I hold it sure that among all the tomes, ancient and modern, you will not find in so small a compass a truer picture of Venice. She is governed now for some thousand

1606.

two hundred years in the same fashion, with an unfailing display of the highest qualities. True, from time to time she has been shaken, as the storms lash up the lagoons, but she has always recovered in the end, renewed her youth, regained her lost serenity (*raserenata*).* Each time I think on her orderly government, her sound institutions, her exaltation of the worthy, her punishment of the evil, the reverence paid to her magistrates, the encouragement of her youth in the paths of virtue and the service of their country, I am forced to believe that come what may she will survive until the final dissolution of the elements themselves. But this consideration, I see, is taking me away from my topic. I will begin again. Most Serene Prince, I have announced to my master your accession to the throne." He then pays his compliments and declares his expectations for the English trading in Venice. Rejoices at the good prospect offered for the success of the newly-established alliance. Quotes the surgeons' aphorism, "'ut coalescat vulnus tollendum est omme alienum,' for if a hair remain in the wound it will not join and heal. Your Serenity and your Excellencies, in your desire to consolidate this friendship, will surely remove, I will not say a mere hair, but a matter of grave moment, which affects the very honour of the King, the details of which heaven forbid that I should touch upon on such a day as this dedicated to congratulations."

The Doge returned thanks.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

472. Piero Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador (Sir George Carew), who has come to reside here, paid me a visit a few days ago. Touching on events in England he said *that the Nuncio had asked him whether there were any suspicions that some of the conspirators were in the Papal States, for if the Ambassador would indicate them the Nuncio would see that they were arrested. The Ambassador replied that he held no orders on this subject, but he begged the Nuncio to commit his offer to paper, and it would be forwarded to the King, who would then issue what instructions seemed to him fit. It seems to me that the Ambassador was rather suspicious of this unwonted and unsolicited attention. (Mi disse che era stato fatto ricercare da questo Nontio, che se egli havesse sospetto di qualcheduno, che fosse nello stato del Pontefice, che havesse havuta parte in quella trattatione che glielo facesse sapere che haverebbe procurato di farlo metter prigione. L'Ambasciatore gli ha risposto che nelle sue commissioni non haveva alcun ordine in questo particolare, ma che mettesse in scrittura questa sua offerta che l' haverebbe mandata al suo Rè, dal quale gli sarebbe stato risposto quello che gli fosse parso in questo particolare; essendo restato l'Ambasciator, per quanto ho potuto scoprire, con qualche sospetto per questa dimostratione di amorevolezza insolita et non ricercata).*

Paris, 17th January, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* A pun, I think, to suit the occasion, the election of a new Doge "sua Serenità."

1606.
Jan. 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

473. NICOLO MOLIN and ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last Friday afternoon was appointed for our audience. The King, in order to honour your Serenity's representatives, sent, besides Sir Lewis Lewkenor, Lord Willoughby (*Baron Volebi*) with the royal carriages and a large suite to accompany us to his presence. We were escorted by almost all the Italians resident in London, and these added to the suites of the two Ambassadors made a great and honourable company, worthy of your Serenity's Envoys.

His Majesty received us in a great hall full of people. He was on a dais along with the Prince. We made the usual obeisance, and his Majesty rose and came a few paces forward to meet us, receiving us with every mark of affection and esteem for your Serenity, and of affability towards us your ministers.

I, Molin, explained that your Serenity had sent the illustrious Giustinian to represent you, not merely because his Majesty was so great a sovereign, but also because of "his heroic virtues," which were well known to all the world.

I, Giustinian, presented my letters of credence.

The Queen was not present, being somewhat indisposed. She appointed last Sunday for audience.

We have also visited the Duke of Lennox.

London, 25th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

474. NICOLO MOLIN and ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ten days ago Sir Edward Conway (*il Cavaliere Conue*), Lieutenant Governor of Brill, and Sir Horatio Vere (*Oratio Vera*), the Lieutenant for the States of Holland, arrived here. They have been sent by the States to endeavour to procure assistance in men and money for the coming year, although they give out that they have come about their own private business. They have had an audience, and as regards levies they easily obtained their object, more especially as they urged that these troops were required to complete the garrison of Brill, which is one of the cautionary fortresses; but as regards money the King excused himself on the plea that he had none, and he let it be clearly understood that he wished to remain neutral in this war.

Recently a Dutch ship, on board of which were many Englishmen, captured a carvel laden with sugar off the coast of Spain. As they were taking their prize into Holland they met an English ship, and having exchanged friendly signals they drew together, in order to furnish some water. The English Captain went on board the Dutchman, seized it and brought it into an English harbour. The Spanish Ambassador now claims restitution in agreement with the terms of the treaty of peace, by which it is expressly stipulated that all prizes brought into English ports shall be restored to their lawful owners, and begged for an order in that sense, which was immediately issued. But while they were transshipping the sugar and were half-way through, M. de Caron secured the sequestration of the sugar, claiming that it was fair

1606.

prize of the Dutch, and in no way subject to English action, indeed he demanded the severe punishment of the English Captain. Opinions are divided.

The secretary of the Ambassador Cornwallis has arrived from Spain. There are many rumours as to his mission, but I learn from a sure source that he has come to beg his Majesty to allow the Ambassador to retire, and that a successor should be named. The Ambassador prefers this request because, while the Lord High Admiral was in Spain as Ambassador-Extraordinary, Cornwallis *noted many things which did not redound to the honour of England. This has rendered his position so difficult that he cannot discharge his office with the honour and repute which the King's service requires.*

The two remaining chief conspirators have been captured. They made for the Welsh coast, intending to cross over to Holland, but finding the ports closed they retired to the house of a private gentleman, and after a few days they were discovered and captured. They are expected here day by day. All the conspirators are now prisoners, and when Parliament meets they will proceed to make an example of them, as their demerits deserve.

The Earl of Northumberland is still in the Tower; but he is steadily proving his innocence. *They hope that, in spite of Lord Salisbury's hostility, he will be set at liberty, though the fact that he is a great noble is against him, for if a great noble is once in the Tower he usually ends his days there.*

The Marquis de S. Germano, who is being sent as Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of France to congratulate his Majesty on his escape, is expected daily. They say the Emperor will send an Ambassador on a similar mission.

London, 25th January, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 30. Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

475. The English Ambassador reports the discovery of Gunpowder Plot. Explains why he is so late in communicating the information; first, because the dispatch, in order to gain time, was sent *viâ* Lyons, not by the ordinary route, *viâ* Antwerp, and the precisely opposite was the result; secondly, the dispatch arrived at the time of the Doge Grimani's death.

The whole story is so horrible that were it not for the express comands of my master, "I for my part would wish to cloak our shame in silence, rather than let it be known that English breasts had harboured so foul and diabolical a plan." He then in a long and ordered discourse set forth the events.

The object was to destroy at a blow the Court, the nobles, the Council, Bishops, Judges, country gentlemen (*i principali gentilhuomini delle Provincie*), and all the youth that was drawn there out of curiosity.

The Ambassadors of foreign states would have been victims.

His Majesty, when considering this vast gathering of people, had publicly said, "Had God, for my sins, permitted the execution of the plot I should have had the satisfaction of dying not in a tavern (*osteria*) nor among the rabble, but on a mighty stage and in honourable company, engaged, as becomes a King, in framing laws and sound institutions."

1606.

They intended, when their infernal plot was accomplished, to sieze the person of the King's eldest daughter. and upon her claim to build up a new monarchy to suit the taste of the five youths who were the earliest members of the conspiracy.

The thoughtful could not understand how five young men alone should have embraced so vast a design with any hopes of success, unless they relied on support from outside, but seeing that the devil is the source not only of all evil but of all blindness, he must have perverted the minds as well as ruined the judgment of these men.

As a matter of fact the plan does not seem to have been communicated to any foreign Prince, as is borne out by two arguments, the one plausible, the other irrefragable; first, that all the Ambassadors of foreign Sovereigns had intended to be present, though it is possible to urge that some might have excused themselves at the last moment on account of illness; the second, that Thomas Winter made a confession, which was printed during his lifetime, had it been printed after his death it might not perhaps have carried such weight, in which he admits that there was talk, but very late in the day, of foreign help. Spain was too far off, France not to be trusted, the German Princes slow and phlegmatic, the Archduke occupied by his own wars, and they resolved that it was wiser to appeal for help after the blow had been struck, when the help would come more vigorously. It is to be believed, however, that Winter, having voluntarily betrayed some of his dearest friends, might also have betrayed foreign Princes.

When all the plans had been laid, thirty-two barrels and two half-tuns of gunpowder were placed under the Parliament Chamber, and covered with wood and other stuff. A resolute young man was found who was ready to set fire to the powder, and horses were ready at various taverns, so that the conspirators might gallop wherever they required.

Twenty thousand ducats were held by Percy, one of the conspirators, relation to the Earl of Northumberland, ready for use after the deed.

As the country was at peace at home and abroad, the people content, the Court happy, it was not to be supposed that the plot should have been discovered; and yet it was discovered twelve days before the meeting of Parliament, and in this way: A short man met one evening an Irish servant of Lord Monteagle and gave him a letter, begging him to hand it at once and safely to his master.

This was done and Lord Monteagle, seeing that the letter was anonymous, was filled with curiosity, and after reading he showed it next day to the Earl of Salisbury, the Chief Secretary. The Earl at first took it for the work of a madman or for a practical joke, but wishing in a matter of such importance to err on the safe side, he showed it to the King four days before Parliament met.

The Ambassador then caused a literal translation of the letter to be read, and then proceeded to say that his Majesty by a miracle interpreted the letter at the first glance. The last words of the letter run, "The danger is passed as soon as you have burned the letter." "I see no sense in this," said the King.

1606.

"Let us suppose that Lord Monteagle had burned the letter without showing it to anyone, how can the danger be said to be past when the very letter itself says that the danger lies in the Parliament? No, it is more likely that the writer intended to allude to the nature of the danger, and to say that it would be over in as short a time as it took to burn a sheet of paper." His Majesty concluded by saying, "they can do it no other way than by a mine," and he laughed at his own idea, and seemed almost ashamed of having displayed such a horrible and inhuman imagination, as the wise man hath it, *adeo pessimus est provisor mali bona conscientia*.

Due search, however, was made in the chambers below the Parliament, and there was discovered the young man who was to fire the powder: he was booted and spurred and ready for flight, and had a "false lantern." That was about six hours before Parliament was to meet.

As this man has become so famous I must add that he is about thirty years of age, of honourable family, bred in the wars in the Low Countries, and brought thence by the said Thomas, who went there on purpose to find a man who had experience in mines. He is poor, and therefore ready for any change. In the plot he bore two names, calling himself first Johnson, though his real name is Guido. He gave himself out as servant to Percy, who had hired the cellar where the powder was; and thus passed the time unrecognised, partly in London, partly in the country with Percy.

He was taken and brought before the King, and asked if he repented of his crime, to which he replied that he only regretted his failure to carry it out. But when he was taken to the Tower he confessed all at the mere sight of the instrument of torture, showing himself of a base courage and more resolute in the execution of evil than in the keeping of it hid.

The other conspirators fled and tried to raise the country; they collected about fifty or sixty men and intended to fortify themselves in the house of one of their number. They set to drying powder for use against the Sheriff: it blew up accidentally and blinded one or two of them, and threw the rest into confusion, so that soon after they were some slain and some captured. The Ambassador remarked that it was by a divine dispensation that they who had plotted with powder were punished with powder. The prisoners have revealed the names of many, and there are in prison an Earl, a Viscount and two Barons.

The Doge replied.

The Ambassador again raised two questions, the suit about the corn at Zante and the anchorage tax.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

476. The English Ambassador returns thanks for the communication of news from Constantinople.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
Feb. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

477. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As to the cargo of gunpowder found on board the English berton, I must send you full information, in case you should deem it advisable, in company with other Sovereigns, to address some complaint to England on the subject. The English Ambassador is much confused, and does not know how to excuse this ugly business except by urging that gunpowder is a commodity in which England abounds, and that there is no harm in exporting it to friends like the Turks. Florence has also had some, and this is no sin, for England is not in obedience to the Pope and the Church of Rome. The Ambassador said he had reported to the King, who, he hoped, would not submit to this injury, as he had no reason in policy to continue his friendly attitude towards the Turks; that up to now it has been the Company of Levant merchants, who have secured these relations, but now that business is reduced to such small proportions and so enfeebled by the losses they have suffered, he is in hopes that he will receive definite orders and be able to retire honourably. On the other hand the ministers, in the presence of the Mufti (Sheik ul-Islam) and the Kadaleskier (chief judge), moved by the very great damage they have suffered this year, have held long consultations as to the way in which they can provide for the safety of the sea and also upon the whole question of friendly relations with England. Most of them, including the Sultan, are disposed to break them off, but the Hoggia (Seaddedin) and Haider Pasha have brought forward sound arguments against such a course, pointing out that if they suffer loss just now, while friends, what will happen when they are foes. They also urge the advantages derived from the importation of powder from England, and also to some extent from the English trade. England, too, lies so far off that she could never be touched by the forces of the Sultan. These considerations have convinced the Sultan, and it has been resolved to wait and see what the Capudan can effect this year. They have decided that, as Alexandretta is an open roadstead, it is a veritable temptation to pirates, and that its business shall be removed to Tripoli in Syria, where it first was established.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, the first of February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 4.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

478. Letter to the KING OF ENGLAND.

Acknowledging receipt of news about the gunpowder plot.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

479. To AMBASSADOR GIUSTINIAN in England.

Instructions to congratulate the King on the escape of himself and his family from peril.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
Feb. 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

480. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose a letter from the King obtained by the English Ambassador in reply to his representations on behalf of his fellow-countrymen.

Valladolid, 4th February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

481. To the COUNT OF BENEVENTO, my cousin, Viceroy, Lieutenant and Captain-General in my kingdom of Naples.

Orders for the strict observance of all the clauses of the peace with the "King of Great Britain."

In all cases pending for contraband, etc., the goods and ships shall be restored to their owners on their depositing caution-money for their appearance before the Court and their surrender to its decision. The ships and cargoes to be inventoried. If they cannot give caution-money the ships and goods are to be sequestrated, but not disposed of in any way. If they have only sufficient for partial caution-money an equivalent part of the cargoes is to be set free.

All cases are to be tried within a month, unless they ask for a remand, in order to secure witnesses beyond the seas. All papers of the cases to be sent to this Court, to the hands of Count Villalonga for sentence to be passed bv officers to be appointed by me.

Valladolid, 24th December, 1605 [m.v.].

I, the KING,

Don Pedro Frangueza.

[*Spanish.*]

Feb. 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. Expulsis Papalistis.

482. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here they freely discuss the quarrel between the Pope and the Republic. They are pleased at this disaccord, for they consider that one of the principal supports of the Holy See is the reverence and devotion of the Republic. The Queen herself asked eagerly for information how matters stood. We answered that we had no information on the subject from your Serenity, that we did not believe the question stood as it is represented here, and that very often, especially at the beginning of a reign, small questions about frontiers might easily arise between the Pope and your Serenity. As to yielding to Papal pretensions, as we did not know what these pretensions were, it was impossible for us to say anything, except that the Republic would always continue in her ancient devotion to the Holy See, with the same constancy, that she would maintain her rights as an independent Sovereign.

The King asked if the Republic was shocked at the plot. We made a suitable reply.

London, 10th February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1606.
Feb. 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

483. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Monday last, in the presence of a vast crowd, sentence was passed upon eight of the conspirators. Wednesday morning and this morning the sentence was carried out in two different parts of the city, and in sight of an infinite multitude of men. The object of this division was to feed the eyes of the mob for a longer period. The people were ablaze with fury and rage against the culprits, and this was fanned by the constancy which they displayed; for though the death was a most cruel one, being first hanged and then, while still half alive, quartered, they showed that they endured it out of zeal for the Catholic faith, and without a sign of penitence for their deed. All this adds to the hatred in which our religion is held, and it is expected that the Parliament at present sitting will pass very severe laws against it. And not only do they oppress the Catholics in their substance, but, in order to extirpate the religion, they propose to take their children from them and consign them for education to relations favourably disposed to the Protestant persuasion, and so to stamp out every spark of Catholic faith in this kingdom.

The English merchants, who are styled the Levant Company trading in Constantinople, are in great alarm at the news that an English *berton* has captured a Turkish galleon in those seas. The *berton* was flying the ensign of the Grand Duke; besides capturing great booty they slew a large number of Turks, and others were taken as slaves to Leghorn. In expectation of reprisals at Constantinople and in other Turkish ports the Levant merchants have applied to the Council, who have ordered the arrest of the owners on the charge of fitting out privateers for service with a foreign Sovereign. They also complain of the conduct of the Grand Duke, in availing himself of English subjects for his attacks on the Turk, which may some day be the cause of serious disorders. I am informed from a trustworthy source that should the company suffer some losses it would not be at all surprising if they—in view of the great privileges they enjoy in the Levant—should turn their attention to negotiations with your Serenity, which have been laid before you on other occasions. And on this topic I must report that when I had an audience of Cecil he touched upon the question of the negotiations undertaken by the Ambassador Wotton, in regard to the burdens laid upon English merchants in Venetian dominions. To which I replied by calling attention to the far heavier burdens our merchants are subject to in England. I added that your Serenity would always give a ready attention to any proposals for the alleviation of our merchants and the expansion of reciprocal traffic.

I shall take care, with the help of the papers on the subject, which my predecessor has left me, to collect as much information as I can, and should the matter advance I will advise your Serenity, and will deal with it to the best of my ability in your Serenity's interests, as I am commissioned.

I am informed by M. de Caron that a Dutch fleet of forty ships is ready to sail to harry the Spanish coast, and that it is only waiting fine weather. The Dutch hope to make great progress this year both by land and sea, and they expect to receive open

1606.

help from his Most Christian Majesty, to the extent of four thousand infantry and a thousand horse. But I have this from a source which is not absolutely sure.

London, 10th February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

484. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN and NICOLO MOLIN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Congratulations to Leonardo Donato, the new Doge of Venice, elected 10th January.

London, 10th February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

485. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has recovered most of the crew of the galleon that was burned, and hopes to have the rest.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

486. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I asked for audience to present your Serenity's letters to the King. His Majesty sent to say that if my business was not urgent he would beg me to wait till he returned from the country, whither he was going next day for his usual diversion of the chase. I replied that my instructions were merely to afford a further proof of the devotion of the Republic towards his Majesty, and that I should always be ready, when it suited him, to discharge my commission. His Majesty returned the day before yesterday, and Sunday has been named for my reception.

Here they attend to nothing else but great preparations for the annihilation of the Catholic religion. New laws are being framed every day with the fullest resolve to root that religion out, and in short there is no other topic of discussion at present. They have, at last, captured the two Jesuits, who had already been proclaimed as guilty of conspiracy; they had taken shelter in a cave in the country, and were besieged there, and finally driven out by the hunger and suffering which they had endured.* One of them is the Provincial of the Jesuits in England, and it is thought that in putting him to death with cruel torments they will wreak all their hatred of his religion and of himself. But he will not be executed in public, for he is a man of moving eloquence and vast learning, and they are afraid that his constancy and the power of his speech may produce just the reverse of what they desire. Indeed some other outbreak is so confidently expected that on the smallest rumour in the city one hears of reports and of deeds which indicate a deep-rooted suspicion and mistrust of the Catholics. I am informed that in Parliament they will enforce an oath to be

* Garnet and Oldcorne, *alias* "Hall," captured at Hindlip by Sir Henry Bromley, Cal. S.P. Dom., 30 Jan.-8 Feb., 1606.

1606.

taken without exception by all, that they do not believe the Pope has authority to depose or excommunicate a Sovereign. If any refuse he will be held for a Catholic forthwith, and they will proceed against him not for the eighty crowns a month that recusants have had to pay up to now, but for the entire two-thirds of his income. This will render the position of the Catholics intolerable. These and other provisions will have one or other of two results, either the Catholic religion will disappear entirely or *the Catholics, driven to desperation, will attempt something similar to the recent plot.* I am told that this argument was advanced in Parliament by some who are favourable to the Catholic religion, but it was rejected by the majority, not without raising suspicions against those who advanced it. On the suggestion of the King himself, however, they have granted permission to all priests and persons in religious orders to leave the kingdom within a given time, but if found, after the expiry of that period, they will be hung forthwith, without any trial and without any further charge being brought against them. These provisions will be published immediately.

Ambassador Molin left yesterday; he will go by way of France and Avignon, and cross over to Genoa.

London, 24th February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

487. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Council, being convinced that one of the chief conspirators was an Englishman, who had seen much service in Flanders, and was now in the pay of the Grand Duke, with whom he enjoyed high esteem for his skill in military matters, have induced his Majesty to ask the Archduke's Ambassador to request his Highness to consign this person to the King. The Archduke has excused himself, on the plea that the man is a soldier of the King of Spain, paid by him and lent by him, and that the King of Spain must first be consulted. The King of England is but little pleased with this answer, and shows it by placing difficulties in the way of the levy of troops for service in Flanders. Nor has the Spanish Ambassador been able to obtain satisfaction about the sugar, captured fraudulently by an Englishman and brought into an English port. The Ambassador wished the King to settle the question, but he has been referred to the ordinary Court of Judges, where there is no doubt but that the inclination is in favour of the Dutch against Spain.

In Parliament the opinion has been openly expressed that the ministers and agents of Spain should not be allowed to raise levies, which will become so many enemies of this Crown. For the troops, which take service there, are obliged to swear allegiance, not only to the Prince they serve, but to the Pope as well. Moreover, they say that when the proposal to compel all children of Catholic parents to be educated as Protestants was made known a vast number of children were sent over to Spain.

The Marquis de San Germano is expected, and will be able to furnish information on these points.

1606.

In Scotland and Ireland there are disturbances on the ground of religion. Some Calvinistic ministers have been arrested and imprisoned for their insolence, but they are so warmly supported by the people that it is doubtful if the sentence can be carried out without an uprising. In Ireland the son-in-law of the Earl of Tyrone has taken arms, on account of severe sentences against priests.

London, 24th February, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

488. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador in Flanders is urging peace, and offers that his master should act as intermediary. But the Archduke does not desire it.

The Marquis de San Germano is getting ready to go to England.

Valladolid, 7th March, 1605 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

489. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week I had audience of his Majesty, to announce your Serenity's accession to the throne.

London, 10th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

490. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Parliament is entirely occupied with repressive measures against the Catholics, and meantime the examination of the Jesuit prisoners proceeds with all diligence, and even with torture. Their object is to reach the very roots of this plot, if possible, for though it seems pretty certain that the plot did not extend beyond the kingdom, still it is remarkable that a scheme of such magnitude should have been devised by a number of young men of no fortune, who had no sufficient reason in themselves to plot such wickedness, and but little hope of success unless supported. But since the hand of the Jesuits is seen in the matter, as they say, it is thought that the whole plot may have been unfolded to others by their means. And so, when the Papal Nuncio at Brussels visited the English Ambassador to express horror of the deed, and to say that if the priests found guilty of such a wickedness were sent to Rome they would be most severely punished, the Ministers sent orders to the Ambassador that he was to abstain from any discussion of the subject with the Nuncio for the future. And upon the suspicion that the levies for Flanders are required to swear allegiance not only to the Prince they serve, but also to the Pope, it is proposed that the oath of supremacy to the King should be administered to all officers before they leave, and that all English troops already at the wars should swear the same oath to the

1606.

Ambassador. But I understand that his Majesty wishes to support this claim with sound arguments. and has ordered the great Universities of the kingdom to discuss and handle the subject, not calling in question the validity of the request, but merely advancing arguments in its favour. The question has likewise been submitted to a meeting of Bishops, who are convened here for the sittings of Parliament.

The large forces, which the Spanish are said to have this year in Flanders, and with which they propose to deliver a triple attack, alarm the King and the Council, who foresee their own danger in another's; but though they are anxious to support the Dutch the way of doing so is not easily found. They propose to forbid either side to raise levies in these kingdoms, and hope that by this move they will hamper the Archduke far more than the Dutch, with whom a considerable number of troops would certainly take service without fear of punishment, in spite of the prohibition. Meantime the movement of his Most Christian Majesty against the Marshal de Bouillon is interpreted by these subtle minds—ever ready to persuade themselves of what they desire—as a ruse not so much to capture Sedan, as to come to terms with de Bouillon and then to disband these troops, which would subsequently pass over to Flanders to assist Count Maurice. Though this calculation is a refinement, founded, probably, on little else than their own wishes that it might be so, still I have felt it my duty to report it to your Serenity.

I have also to report that a man, who closely resembled one who is held to be a Jesuit and a conspirator, took the opportunity of Ambassador Molin's departure to cross over in his company. This man was arrested at Dover by the officers appointed to that service, and sent up at once to London, and examined that same evening by the Council. He was discovered to be a simple priest and quite innocent of the plot, and was at once released and ordered to be conveyed to Calais at the public charges and handed back to the Ambassador with apologies to him. The same have been tendered to me by the Earl of Salisbury. The episode caused some complaint at first, but the issue has enhanced the honourable position of your Serenity's ministers.*

London, 10th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

491. Agostino Nani, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Sir Anthony Standen, the Englishman, who was Ambassador from his King to the Republic of Venice, has come to Rome, and out of compliment has been to visit me. He told me that after his imprisonment of one year, on the charge of having brought letters, rosaries, and other holy objects to the Queen, in the name of Pope Clement, he was set at liberty by the intercession of her

* Cal. S.P. Dom., Feb. 15, 1606. "The Venetian Ambassador, setting sail for Calais, had a man in his train resembling the second priest described in the proclamation. He utterly refused to leave him behind to be examined, but gave the authorities a note for their discharge." Sir Thomas Fane to the Earls of Nottingham and Salisbury, dated Dover.

1606.

Majesty, and the King gave him leave to travel out of England for three years, in lands belonging to allied Princes, however, in order to exclude Rome. He added that the Ambassador Molin had shown himself full of charity towards the Catholics, that the Queen delighted in making him speak Italian, and that Ambassador Giustinian was worthily carrying on the tradition.

He mentioned a certain Canon of Vicenza,* who is in relations with the English Ambassador in Venice, and wishes to be sent to England as Archpriest, in place of the old one (Blackwell). He told me that it would be difficult for Spain to succour Flanders, for in the terms of peace between England and Spain there was a clause which forbade the latter to send more than six armed vessels inside the Channel, or more than two at a time into English ports. He added that the English Catholics were disgusted with the Spanish who never would support them.

Rome, 11th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

492. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador Nicolo Molin has arrived on his return from England. The English Ambassador praises him.

Paris, 14th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

493. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose a letter from the Consul of Melos, containing many details about the English *berton* captured by privateers.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

494. To my most EXCELLENT LORD and HONOURED MASTER:—

Via Chios I have already written a full account of all that the ship "Vidalla" has done. I now add that on the 24th an Englishman arrived here in the Gulf of Melos. She was bound for Constantinople with a cargo as below. On the same day there arrived, from a different quarter, in the harbour of Argientera,† called Polognia, other two *bertons*, westerlings, each one with a tartana and a felucca. One of the *bertons* was flying the Maltese flag, commanded by the Chevalier Monsieur (*Mussur*) de Rochefort (*Dirocaforte*), a Frenchman. The other was flying the colours of the Duke of Savoy, and was commanded by the Chevalier Monsieur di Balio, hailing from Villefranche. As soon as they cast anchor in the harbour of Polognia they were informed about the Englishman lying at Melos; they immediately set sail and came round to the Gulf of Melos, where the Englishman was at anchor. They captured the Englishman without any fighting, and put all

* Dr. Whorwell. *See* "The Sherley Brothers," p. 46.
† Argentiera or Kimolo, with the adjacent island of Polino.

1606.

the crew in prison. They then transhipped all the cargo and put it on board a Perastina, intending to take it to Malta. The cargo consisted of two hundred bales of kerseys and English woollens, seven hundred barrels of gunpowder, one thousand harquebuss barrels, five hundred mounted harquebusses, two thousand sword blades, a barrel full of ingots of fine gold (*moreli d'oro fino*) twenty thousand sequins, many great dollars (*tolori molti grossi ? dobloons*), and other things of high value. Further there was found a note written in Turkish character on parchment, issued by the Sultan's orders. There was a Jewish supercargo, but his name I do not know.

Milos, 28th November, 1605. O.S.

Your most humble servant,

Januli Piperi.

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

495. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England fearing that he might offend the King of France by his efforts to bring about peace with the Dutch, instructed his Ambassador here to keep in close touch with the Ambassador of France. As I am on very intimate terms with both the English Ambassador requested me to be instrumental in bringing them together. Although I am far from well I invited both to dinner, but I obtained a promise from the English Ambassador that in my house he would yield precedence to the French.

Valladolid, 14th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

496. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador (Cornwallis), seeing that there was no intention here of consigning to his master the two conspirators,* who are with the Archduke Albert, has presented a memorial to the Council of State to induce it to yield. But it is thought indecent to consign to heretics two Catholics, old servants of Spain, especially as one is a Jesuit, and various excuses are brought forward. I have had an opportunity of seeing the English Ambassador's memorial, and enclose a copy.

Valladolid, 18th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

497. Memorial presented by the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR (Cornwallis) to the COUNCIL OF STATE.

"The King of Great Britain" demands from the Archduke the consignment of two of his subjects, on the ground that they are traitors.

Although the Archduke and the King of Spain, his Superior, are not bound by any law or convention to grant this request,

* The Ambassador in Flanders was Sir Thomas Edmondes. Birch's "Historical View," p. 249. The conspirators were Hugh Owen and Father William Baldwin. Gardiner 1, 270. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1603-1610, p. 290.

1606.

still the law of piety and honour, as well as considerations of interest, gratitude and justice may move them to consent.

As to piety, it is of the pure essence and substance of the kingly office to reward the good and to punish the evil, and their states ought not to become cities of refuge for malefactors.

As to honour, Sovereigns are bound not merely to the letter but to the full spirit and intention of the terms of peace established between them. They are also bound to imitate the honourable example of the ancient Romans who were wont to consign traitors.

As to interest, the act of consignment would breed a terror in all ill-doers, and a consequent safety for monarchs. To grant the request would assure the English of the desire for peace, to refuse it would arouse suspicion, and would jeopardize the peace.

As to gratitude, the King of England has since his accession to the throne taken such a line as he now solicits, though no one asked him, and no Sovereign raised any question; that was in the case of Antonio Perez, although Perez was not nearly so deeply-dyed a traitor as these men are.

The consignment of these traitors is not opposed by any canonical law, any Civil law, any pragmatic. Nor is it contrary to the authority of the Church of Rome over persons secular and ecclesiastic, seeing that in this case all laws divine, natural and international (*delle genti*) are so obviously violated.

The consignment would not be contrary to the custom of Spain, for when Castille and Portugal were separate kingdoms extradition existed.

But even if the consignment were contrary to law canonical, civil, pragmatical, natural and international, and contrary to the custom of the country, still the action of these traitors is so horrible that it has deprived them of the benefit.

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

498. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I presented your Serenity's letters of congratulation for the escape from such a peril. His Majesty went through the whole story of the plot, and endeavoured to impress upon me the fact that he was under divine providence and protection, proving it by many other accidents, from which he had been miraculously preserved. He especially desires that everyone should hold this belief. I understood that his Majesty was highly pleased with the idea expressed by your Serenity to his Ambassador, namely, that in the interpretation of the last words of the letter his Majesty may truly be said to have been inspired with the gift of prophecy. He desired to convince me of the great difference there was between the natural sense of the words and the reading given by himself. He said that even to himself, thinking of it afterwards, it seemed a marvellous thing that he should have hit upon the meaning of the writer, which none of his Council had divined. I thanked his Majesty for these marks of confidence.

I cannot discharge my commission to the Queen just yet, as she is suffering from pregnancy. I ought to add that, while the King

1606.

was talking to me, he let fall that last night one of the Jesuits,* conscience-smitten for his sins, stabbed himself deeply in the body twice with a knife. When the warders ran up at the noise they found him still alive; he confessed to having taken a share in the plot at the suggestion of his Provincial, and now, recognising his crime, he had resolved to kill himself, and so escape the terrible death that overhung him, as he deserved. *Public opinion, however, holds that he died of the tortures inflicted on him, which were so severe that they deprived him not only of his strength, but of the power to move any part of his body, and so they think it unlikely that he should have been able to stab himself in the body, especially with a blunt knife, as they allege. It is thought that, as he confessed nothing and is dead, they have hoodwinked the King himself by publishing this account,* in order to rouse him and everybody to greater animosity against the Catholics, and to make the case blacker against his companion, the Provincial. It is expected that, in a few days, he will be tried and condemned. Meantime several others, already convicted, have been sent to various places to be executed, so that throughout this island the memory of the crime and the punishment may remain for ever.

London, 23rd March, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

499. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It seems that the friction between the King and the Archduke, caused by the refusal to surrender the soldier (Hugh Owen) to the English, is increasing instead of diminishing. The King does not admit his Highness' plea that he cannot surrender the soldier without the consent of the King of Spain, and it makes it all the worse that his Highness had imprisoned a Jesuit at his Majesty's request on the same charge, but, a few days afterwards, had set him at liberty on the Nuncio's request, without saying a word to the King. And so upon this pretext they will carry out their design of assisting the States this year. The King has refused leave to any officers to raise levies for his Highness' service, though he granted the same men leave to raise them for service with the Dutch. This is an open violation of the terms of the peace and greatly disturbs the Archduke's Ambassador; more especially at this moment, when the King of France is concentrating troops on a scale not justified by the reason he alleges. All this leads him to think that the intention is to forestall those military operations which the Spanish proposed to carry out this year.

It is thought that the whole of this has been arranged by the Baron de Tour, who, three months ago, came to congratulate the King on the discovery of the plot. The Spanish and French Ambassadors are urging the observation of the terms of peace, which allow free right of levy to both parties; but as long as the King of England has the excuse that his rebels are sheltered in the Spanish camp, which, he says, is a graver violation of the peace, these Envoys will achieve little. The arrival of the Marquis de San Germano as Ambassador from Spain may alter the attitude here.

* Nicholas Owen, *alias* Littlejohn, servant of Garnet; captured along with Chambers at Hindlip House.

1606.

They have finally decided to vote subsidies to the amount of two millions in gold or thereby. This vote passed the Lower House with great difficulty and with very free attack upon the administrators of the revenue and on the royal expenditure. The King is far from pleased, for before the money was voted it was settled that the royal household and expenditure should be reformed.

There is no talk of the Union, and in spite of its being a thing greatly desired by his Majesty, it is thought that nothing more will be heard of it, so full of difficulty is the subject. And herewith, to your Serenity and each of your Excellencies, I beg the Lord God to grant a joyous and pious Easter and long and happy life.

London, 23rd March, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

500. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After Don Balthazar de Zuniga arrived here the Marquis de San Germano has been urged to leave for England, not so much that his presence is needed there as that, on his way through France, he may see his Most Christian Majesty, note his attitude and, if need be, make some representations to him in favour of Spain, whose chief alarm is lest the King should come to terms with de Bouillon when all those troops would go over to the service of the Dutch.

Valladolid, 29th March, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

501. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day the Marquis de San Germano left for England. Among other matters he is to make his Majesty's excuses to the King of England for the refusal to consign the two conspirators (Owen and Baldwin), at present in Flanders. The English Ambassador complains loudly and almost protests, and the whole affair may entail some serious consequences.

Valladolid, 3rd April, 1606.

[*Italian*]

April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

502. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the Ambassador of Archduke Albert came to reside here he gave out that he was ordered, under pain of severe penalties, not to yield precedence to your Serenity's Ambassador, as already reported by the Ambassador Molin. An occasion to test the question has never presented itself, for a similar difference is on foot between the Ambassadors of France and Spain, and hitherto his Majesty has declined to decide the point, but has always invited the Ambassadors separately. The Ambassador of the

1606.

Archduke goes with the Spanish Ambassador, your Serenity's with the French. But on the anniversary of the King's coronation, which took place on the third of this month, the Council ordered the Chamberlain to invite all Ambassadors here resident, thinking, perhaps, that as there was no French Ambassador here at present no question of precedence would arise. The invitations were issued, but Sir Lewis Lewkenor, the receiver of Ambassadors, being aware of the Flemish Ambassador's claim, warned the Council, and the invitations were suspended till the King's return to London. I got wind of all this, and, in order to be fully informed without seeming myself to raise the question, I sent my secretary to Sir Lewis, and he, in course of conversation, said, "I have been ordered to invite all the Ambassadors, but I do not know what will happen about the claim of precedence advanced by the Flemish Ambassador against your master."

The secretary showed the greatest surprise, made a suitable answer, and came to report all to me. I seized the occasion to send for Sir Lewis and to express my astonishment at his communication. I dwelt for long on the strong grounds upon which the Republic stood, grounds approved at all other Courts, where for more than a hundred years the Venetian Ambassadors have been treated as the representatives of Crowned heads. I enlarged upon the greatness, strength, freedom of the Republic, which was dependent on none, save on God alone. And finally I declared that I would submit to no infringement of rights, and that I was sure his Majesty in his absolute justice would summon your Serenity's Ambassador to his proper place among the Crowned heads, and so put an end to any such attempts for the future; a similar attempt made in Rome in 1603 had, I told him, ended in the Flemish Ambassador renouncing the title of Ambassador when he found he could not prevail against the Venetian. I begged him to let me lay my arguments before the Council and before his Majesty, although I hoped that the King would of his own accord settle the question on his return. Sir Lewis assented, and said that in truth the arguments of the Republic were most powerful. All the same he feared that the King, who has always declined to settle questions of precedence before, will certainly not break through the rule, for fear of raising further questions, which are dormant at present. I pointed out that the case of Venice was quite different from that of other powers, where there was no fixed rule of precedence, one holding it at one Court, the other at another, and that the Ambassador of the Archduke was putting forward this claim, in the hope that the King would not decide the question, and thus would leave him with some shadowy claim to equality. Sir Lewis took his leave, promising to report all to the Council, who, however, he said, would certainly decide nothing till the King came back, which would be the next day. Next day was Saturday, and the King returned late to London. I would have asked for an audience, but it was impossible to obtain one on account of the event which I shall subsequently relate.

On Sunday Sir Lewis came to me and said he was sent by the King to invite me to the joust for the next day. I returned thanks, and wishing to find out what place I was to occupy, without seeming to show that I had any doubt on the subject, I remarked that

1606.

I was all the more ready to attend as I should, being so long in close proximity to his Majesty, have an opportunity of expressing my regret at the bad news spread about concerning him and my pleasure at finding it false. Sir Lewis replied that he did not know whether I would have an opportunity to speak to his Majesty, for the King having learned of the difference between the Flemish Ambassador and myself had resolved to assign a separate place to each of us, namely a window each in his gallery, while he and the Spanish Ambassador would occupy a third window in the middle. The King begged me to accept this arrangement for the present, as he would later on come to a decision upon the point, and would never permit any injury to the dignity of the Republic. I showed great annoyances, and said, "Why, this is a very serious injury; for I shall be separated from his Majesty and thrust out of my due place next to Spain. And although his Majesty tells me that he has decided thus because he has not had time to consider the point fully, yet the fact remains that meantime I am deprived of that place which in every Court of Europe indubitably belongs to his Serenity." While showing that I would not be satisfied with this proposal I kept a watch to see whether he would say which of the two windows was destined for me; because it is obvious that, in this temporary arrangement, the Ambassador who had the right-hand window would be at an advantage. He, however, made no declaration, nor did I make any direct inquiry, so as not to leave him with the impression that I would accept the arrangement upon that condition, and he took his leave. I then, in order to show how important I thought the matter, and also to find out, if possible, which window was designed for me, resolved to send, although it was very late, my secretary to Court to complain to the Chamberlain. This he did, and the Chamberlain, turning to the Earl of Salisbury, who was present, said, "Well, I suppose there is nothing to be done but to recall both invitations; for the time is too short to allow of mature deliberation, and we do not wish to prejudice either party." "Yes, I suppose so," said Salisbury, "but I must say I am surprised at these pretensions of the Archduke, nor can I imagine upon what they are based." At these words the secretary moved nearer to the Earl and, after explaining to him our reasons, begged him to support them with the King or wherever necessary, and promised that I myself would visit him and explain still further our position. "Tell the Ambassador," he said, "that in every place I shall freely say what I think." Then turning to the Chamberlain he added, "To-night we will speak to the King again, and to-morrow morning we will send a gentleman to the Ambassador with the decision." On Monday morning accordingly came Sir Lewis Lewkenor to say to me in his Majesty's name that he begged me to abstain from attendance at that day's solemnity, as there had not been time enough to arrange the matter. A similar message was conveyed to the Ambassador of the Archduke. Sir Lewis added that the first words the King addressed to the Council on the subject were, "Take care that you in no wise prejudice the rights of the Venetian Ambassador." I expressed my thanks, and said that I could not but obey his Majesty's commands, and I would, in patience, remain

1606.

away from to-day's function, in the full expectation that his Majesty would presently give a clear proof of his views by restoring your Serenity's position. I begged for an immediate audience, both to congratulate the King and to lay before him your Serenity's rights. I will also speak to the Chamberlain and the Secretary, whose authority will be of great service. I must add that, as my secretary was leaving the Chamberlain's, and it was already night, he met the secretary of the Spanish Ambassador, who having heard what was afoot had lent his support to the Archduke's representative. *The Spanish Ambassador has great influence at Court, thanks to his Spanish methods, without which all business flags and droops.* Sir Lewis, in the course of conversation, said with some ostentation that the Archduke's Ambassador had orders from the King of Spain on this subject; to which I replied that I thanked God for it, but I had orders from nobody but the Republic of Venice, and I added, "How is it possible that the Ambassador by admitting that he has orders from another Prince, greater than his own, does not see that he admits the inferiority of his master and destroys any shadow of a claim to compete with a free and independent Republic such as Venice?" When I have had audience of his Majesty and the ministers I will report the results. I must add that the Archduke rests his claim on his title of Duke of Burgundy, alleging that at Rome in the time of Pius II. precedence was granted to Burgundy over Venice. I can easily meet this, first by denying the fact, and then by asserting that the Duchy of Burgundy has ceased to exist on account of dismemberment, that the sovereign rights of Burgundy were reserved to the Crown of Spain, as is proved by the King of Spain being head of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which was founded by the Dukes of Burgundy; that the Archduke recognises the King as such by accepting the Order from him. I shall easily persuade the King of England of this fact, for when D'Aremberg, then Ambassador from the Archduke, wished to stipulate the peace on his master's behalf before the Constable of Castille arrived his Majesty said, "I cannot possibly do without the assent of the King of Spain, as he has reserved the high Sovereignty of the States, now possessed by the Archduke."

However, as his Majesty is wont to settle nothing, I cannot say what will happen. The French Ambassador is expected here soon, and all may return to the old method. I will take care that the whole question is made as little public as may be, in order that it may not be known that I have had a dispute over a point which may remain unsettled. And I will guide myself as best I may from the remarks of his Majesty, praying your Serenity to send me explicit instructions.

London, 6th April, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

503. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The event which I mentioned in my previous despatch happened thus. On Saturday last, the first of this month, the King was out hunting in the country. While he was passing through a certain

1606.

village a hub-bub arose about a man whom the constables were trying to arrest for some slight offence; this fellow was on horseback, and had his drawn sword in his hand; thus armed he put his horse at the gallop; the constables pursued him, shouting "Traitor, traitor." The people of the village joined in the hue-and-cry, thinking that he must have attacked the King, who had passed through a while before. The crowd grew from village to village, and also the rumour, until persons set off at full speed for London to tell the Queen and Council that the King was dead; this news was immediately confirmed by new comers, and was believed by the Court. The Council instantly took all necessary steps at the palace, and summoned an extraordinary meeting. The news spread to the City, and the uproar was amazing. Everyone flew to arms, the shops were shut, and cries began to be heard against Papists, foreigners and Spaniards, and had not the contradiction arrived some terrible accident would have happened to us all. The tumult did not last such a short time either, for his Majesty, who was in the country and knew nothing about it, did not hurry his arrival, until some courtiers went and reported all to him. Then he first of all sent a message that he was safe, and then came in person to show it. The people would not believe he was safe, but some of them, running out to the spot where he was said to have been killed, met his Majesty following the chase; when they saw him they fell on their knees, breathless with running and speechless with tears and joy. This made the King think that something serious had happened in London. The King sent news of his safety to the Queen and the City, which presently resumed its quiet. His Majesty shortly after entered the City, and was welcomed as one risen from the dead. He was seen and acclaimed by the populace with extraordinary signs of affection. There were fireworks and fêtes, and bells were rung in the City. The Ambassadors were all informed of the event, and the Spaniard, as a sign of joy, put a chain worth four hundred crowns round the neck of Sir Lewis Lewkenor, who brought the news; and I, in my smaller way, did the same to my messenger.*

This episode prevented my having audience of his Majesty before the joust in honour of his Coronation Day, the third of this month. Only the Ambassador of Spain was present, and was highly honoured. The acclamations of the populace were renewed. And thus the King has received a striking proof of the affection his subjects bear towards him.

I have little other news, except that on petition by merchants they are discussing the abolition of the tax on currants.†

London, 6th April, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original letter. Archives of Modena.

504. Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke of Modena, Cesare d'Este.

Thanking him for a letter received. Wotton rejoices that the Duke is satisfied with the assurance of the King of England's regard.

Venice, 8th April, 1606. (Signed) Arrigo Wotton.

[*Italian.*]

* *See* Cal. S.P. Dom., 1606, March 27.

† *See* Cal. S.P. Dom., 1605-1610, p. 311. On Bates' case *see* Hallam, Const. Hist., Cap. VI.

1606.

April 10. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

505. Report of GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI.

On the morning of the 8th the English Ambassador sent to the door of the Cabinet to say to me that if I could obtain leave to meet him in our own quarter of the town he had something of moment to communicate. I replied that this was unusual; that the Cabinet was the proper channel for such communications, and that he might rely on it that the whole would remain not merely secret but buried. The secretary said that this was an affair relating to Venice, not to England. I reported to the Savii, and they instructed the Chiefs of the Ten to give me leave to meet the Ambassador. The appointment was made for the afternoon of Sunday, between vespers and compline, in the church of San Gerolamo near the Ambassador's house, as the Ambassador goes there privately every time the nuns sing.

I went and found the Secretary of the Embassy sent to apologise for the Ambassador's delay, caused by a visit from the Ambassador of France. Presently the Ambassador arrived. There was hardly anyone in the church, as the nuns were not singing. After a few compliments he said that he had not sought audience of the Cabinet for the last two months, and did not intend to seek one, because he found that he never received any satisfaction for his requests. I replied that the cause of delay was not any want of regard, but the inevitable pressure of business and some doubts raised by his demands. "Well," said he, "I am not come here to complain, though I think the King might spare himself the expensy of keeping an Ambassador here. I want to say, under cover of the profoundest secrecy that, as is needed in sound government, we have very safe agents at Rome and in the very penetralia of the Papal Court. It must never be said that I have used such expressions, and that is the reason why I have desired to communicate with a single person only, so that if faith be broken, which I do not believe will happen, I can deny that I ever said anything of the kind."

"I am informed by one of these emissaries whom we keep to watch the Pope," and here the Ambassador showed me a letter in cipher, dated Rome, April the first, "that as his Holiness knows nothing about politics or statecraft he has at last made up his mind to apply to the greatest school of such science, the Order of Jesus, which is scattered throughout every kingdom of the world on purpose to study the affairs of Princes. The Order has become all powerful, thanks to its use of spiritual comforts and to the manipulation of consciences, and its master spirit and leader, Cardinal Bellarmine, has written a book, "De Militia Ecclesiastica," in which he learnedly sets forth the nature and the legitimate causes of wars between Sovereigns. He lays down as a first principle the primacy of the Church. As this book will not be given to the world just yet, the Republic had better procure a copy, so as to see what doctrines are maintained therein, with a view to the claims which the Papacy is at present advancing. That is one point."

"The next point in the letter is that the Pope is secretly proceeding against a master Paul of Venice, Servite, for a book in which he not merely defends the Republic against the excom-

1606.

munication, but lowers the authority of the Pope upon many points."

The Ambassador then drew from his pocket another letter, and began to read it to himself down to the foot of the first page, then he said, "The first paragraph of this letter deals with Bellarmine's book; the second refers to purely English affairs; and the third to Friar Paul." I showed great curiosity to see the letter, and pointed out that to crown his act of confidence he could not refuse to let me have it to lay before your Serenity.

He replied, "The letter itself will tell you little more than I would tell you; but to give his Serenity the core of my secret I will add that this an intercepted letter, written by the Provincial of the Jesuits in Rome to Father Possevino here in Venice, and I will hand you the letter on condition that the Doge on his word as a Prince, promises not to reveal our methods and to hand back the letter under seal to my secretary, who will call for it to-morrow."

He then added, "The Nuncio is writing to Rome to say that in my master's name I have offered the Republic the whole support of England. That is a mere conjecture on the part of the Nuncio, for I said nothing of the kind in my master's name, and this shows how ill-informed he is about what is going on here. Indeed he seems to me to be more fit for a seminary still than for the handling of great affairs. But to return to my master. All he has ever done was to instruct me to give a hint of his sentiments to his Serenity either by one mouth or at any rate by the mouths of a few Senators only. His Majesty's plans are not ripe yet."

"I am told that the Republic, in order to alarm the King of Spain and to keep him in perpetual expenditure, has exaggerated the rumour of a Turkish fleet. He is in the same doubt as to what England will do this year in Flanders; our Ambassador in Spain cannot obtain an audience, a thing that happens, I understand, to the Venetian Ambassador as well. In fact the King seems to me like an impregnable fortress, not to be reached except with time and difficulty."

He added, "There is in Rome an English Jesuit named Persons (*Personio*); should he conceive the slightest suspicion of what I have told you, that we keep agents in Rome, we should so to speak be in the fire. I therefore repeat my earnest recommendation of secrecy."

I gave him assurances, and then held out my hand for the letter as though there was no doubt about my having it. He hesitated a little, and then gave it me, but on condition of having it again this morning. I then took my leave. The copy of the letter is subjoined—

"Pax Christi,

Right reverend Father in Christ,

If things are going so well in France, as your paternity writes to us on the 18th of last month, we may still nourish our hopes; and if we can induce a good understanding between his Most Christian and his Catholic Majesty the affairs of the Church would be in an excellent position. Our Cardinal Bellarmine is growing in repute, both for his native worth and for his work, 'De Militia

1606.

Ecclesiastica.' It is not to be published yet, but we have sent copies to some Sovereigns, our patrons. Only four copies have been printed as yet. By the help of the Cardinal we hope to be victorious in the controversy * with the Dominicans; his Holiness having given orders that various Cardinals shall send in their opinions in writing. Bellarmine and Baronius, in conversation with our Lord's Holiness (*la Santità di Nostro Signore*), seem to have convinced him.

In England one of our Fathers has undergone an examination about the plot and other matters touching the Faith. He has justified and defended himself very well.

A certain master Paul, a Servite of Venice, is on his trial here, but under the profoundest secrecy, for a certain work in which he not only defends the Venetians, but lowers the Papal authority by citing ancient privileges. They say he has received two hundred ducats a year as a pension for this service. A copy of this work was sent to the Venetian Ambassador last week secretly, with express orders that, if our Lord did not calm down, he was to hand it in and leave Rome at once. If that be so God avert a schism."

Rome, the first of April, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

506. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English and Spanish Ambassadors are very suspicious at the rapidity and ease with which the King has restored order, and because he now finds himself at the head of a large army. The Spanish fear these troops will be sent to Flanders by the Meuse.

Paris, 11th April, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 12. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

507. That it is desirable to inform the Ambassador of England that our Government appreciates the communication he has just made. That Secretary Scaramelli be instructed to convey our thanks to the English Ambassador for his good offices. That for this one occasion Scaramelli may visit the Ambassador's house.

Ayes 156.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 4.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

508. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The arsenal here has bought tin and tallow from an English ship which reached Chios.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th April, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 14. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

509. Secretary Scaramelli reports that on the orders of the Senate he had returned thanks to the English Ambassador for his communication.

The Ambassador sent to inform his Serenity that if any movement took place in Italy the King of Spain would have no part in it. That the Ambassador knew for certain.

* *i.e., de Auxiliis.*

1606.

The Ambassador added, "We Ambassadors here, in talking over the present crisis, have come to the conclusion that the Republic will yield on this occasion as she has done before. Not that we penetrate her secret counsel, but we see that she consults none of us. Were she not sure to come to terms with the Pope would she not have opened her mind to us, who stand with arms outspread to receive her? If you say that it will be time enough when the storm bursts, I say that the difficulty will be doubled then; for we shall have then to upset the fabric of the Papal prestige before beginning to raise that of the Republic's principles."

[*Italian.*]

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

510. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I had hoped to be able in this despatch to inform your Serenity of what had passed between his Majesty and myself on the subject of the precedence between myself and the Ambassador of the Archduke, but the King has been occupied partly by the chase and partly by the dissolution of Parliament, and sent to apologise for the delay in granting me audience. I resolved in the meantime to wait on the Earl of Salisbury to strengthen his favourable attitude, but he has been ill for some days, and sent to say that he would let me know when he could see me.

A few days ago the Jesuit Provincial of England, imprisoned for complicity in the plot, was publicly tried. His Majesty was present *incognito*. The interrogation did not afford that satisfaction which Catholics expected, nay, he has scandalized the very heretics, and greatly disgusted his Majesty. For besides being on his own confession—not wrung from him by torture, as he affirms, but compelled by irrefutable evidence—cognisant of the plot, he further endeavoured to excuse his previous perjury, in affirming that he was ignorant of it, by a disquisition on equivocation, maintaining a certain doctrine which has shocked the ministers, and especially the King, who is particularly versed in such matters, and has caused a great outcry against the Roman religion. This man used every effort to remove the suspicion that the Pope was aware of the plot, if not in detail, at all events generally; but it is more likely that he has increased it, for in reply the Earl of Salisbury produced in public a document, from which it appeared that the Pope had been informed by the prisoner and by other conspirators through a special messenger,* who was sent to beg his Holiness to incite the Catholics to assist and support the good effects which such an event would produce in this kingdom. The hatred and suspicion of the Holy See increase daily. The Jesuit Provincial, talking as he thought secretly with a companion in prison, said that he had not yet been examined on the great question. These words reported by the spy to Council have caused anxiety, for the Jesuit has refused to offer any explanation whatever. For this reason they delay execution of the sentence against him, in the hopes that they may extract from him some information on a still greater subject.

* Sir Edward Baynham.

1606.

In the course of the trial the Attorney General went into the question of the Jesuits' operations in England, and was compelled to trace the thread back to their endeavours at Rome and in Spain and Flanders to hinder the King's succession to the throne. Although this took place before the peace still the mere recital of it was highly distasteful to the Ambassadors of those powers on account of the bad impression produced on the populace, which crowded the hall, and especially because his Majesty left the Court with signs of great anger, and to his intimates burst out into expressions of resentment at the methods adopted, under cloak of religion, for the disturbance and overthrow of Sovereigns and their states.

Parliament is on the point of being dissolved, though the question of the Union, for which it was chiefly convoked, is not settled yet.

The merchants are still in hopes that the customs on currants will be abolished, and several vessels laden with currants and lying in English ports are delaying to commence unlading till they see the upshot of the business. I doubt whether anything will happen. One of the chief arguments of the abolitionists is that your Serenity would abolish at Venice.

London, 20th April, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

511. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The news of the unexpected agreement between his most Christian Majesty and the Marshal de Bouillon has not been very well received here; for though it frees them for a certain suspicion that the King of France was relying on these arms to lay the foundations of his election to the Empire, yet on the other hand they had hoped great service to the States and the possible creation of an open quarrel between France and Spain. The English are naturally and perforce anxious that the States should be supported but by the arms and money of others rather than by their own, and so they observed the movement of the French with such satisfaction that it was even conjectured that the King of England had a hand in it. *But money here is not to be had so freely*, and they are unable to support the States as they desire to do, so that I am informed that, following the precedent in the Irish wars, they are offering a pardon to all criminals who will take service. On the other hand every effort is made to prevent any persons taking service with the Archduke; the Irish, for instance, are forbidden on the score of religion; only one port is open for embarcation in this island, because they know that a number of Dutch ships are cruising off its mouth to attack any levies for Flanders. This causes continual complaints on the part of the Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors, to which the English reply by loud resentment of all the damage they suffer in Spain or Flanders. For example, the other day the Earl of Salisbury came to words with the Spanish Ambassador over the capture of three English ships in the Indies and the slaughter of their crews. He declared that

1606.

they deceive themselves who hold that the terms of the peace exclude the English from traffic in the Indies, as the Spanish resolutely affirm. *And so, were it not that the King of England desires peace and the King of Spain requires the English alliance, there would soon be a rupture.*

M. de Caron, agent of the States, told us in conversation that the Dutch fleet is going on very well, and is in hopes of falling in with the Spanish; but as that has not happened in all these years, one sees that it is a wish rather than a hope. He complains of English coldness in helping his masters, and admits that the movement in France was of great service to them. He regrets that it has come to an end so soon; although he hopes that many of these disbanded troops will take service with Count Maurice, and perhaps under the command of the Marshal de Bouillon.

The visit of the King of Denmark is announced. They say to pay his respects to their Majesties; but probably it may have to do with the succession to the Empire.

London, 20th April, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 21. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

512. The English Ambassador was summoned to the Cabinet, and the resolution of the Senate, April 20th, read to him.

In reply he said, "I do not deny, most Serene Prince and noble Lords, that I have heard a good deal about the differences between your Serenity and the Pontiff; nor do I conceal from you my pain that I was not informed by you as the Envoys of other Sovereigns have been, not that I am moved by curiosity to pry into other people's affairs, but because this conduct seemed to argue a certain distrust of my master and of me; the former is a warm friend, the latter, though weak, is none the less a true and loyal servant of your Serenity. Nay, I will go further, and say that there appear to me to be two reasons why your Serenity should have confided in me rather than in any other Envoy; the one is that I am freer from interest or prejudice than any, the other that I represent a country where they know to a farthing how much excommunication is worth. The honour done me this morning has quite consoled me, and I will make due report to my Sovereign.

"As to this controversy with the Pope I see that the case for the Republic is based upon convincing arguments and on the conservation of her own, and by own I do not mean the city and its territory, which are material objects, but her honour and her freedom as a state and as a Christian; and though no professed theologian or Canonist, for my part I hold that God will never mar justice by theology. Those sciences and their like should be ancillary, not incompatible; and when theology invades other provinces she oversteps her just limits. But I will not, this morning, enlarge unnecessarily on this topic, for I am aware of my own intellectual limitations, especially as I shall shortly—that is on Monday next—have a grave occasion to seek audience again upon a subject germane to this very controversy. Meantime I will work out my conceptions, not with a view to advising your Serenity, for in truth I would serve you as recorder of your

1606.

immortal fame, but with the intention to prove myself your faithful servant, as I am so commissioned by my King."

The Doge explained that the delay in communicating the controversy to the English Ambassador was due to the hope that the crisis would resolve itself upon the despatch of the Ambassador-Extraordinary to Rome. The communication made to other Ambassadors was forced from the Republic by the Ambassadors who had agents in Rome, making communications to the government which could not do less than reply.

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives

513. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis de San Germano, Ambassador-Extraordinary from Spain to England, has arrived. I visited him. He says his mission is merely complimentary, *but I am told he is to urge the King of England to press the peace on the Dutch.* He left the day following.

Paris, 25th April, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 27. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

514. To AMBASSADOR GIUSTINIAN in England.

Instructions how to act in the question of precedence claimed by the Archduke. You will demand audience, and explain to his Majesty that we cannot help feeling hurt at seeing our ancient right to the rank of Crowned heads, which is recognised by Rome, the Emperor, France and Spain, called in question at his Court. You will point out that the reigning Emperor, though brother of the Archduke, has never sanctioned any change; and that if his Majesty should come to a decision other than the one we look for we cannot be expected to concur in view so prejudicial to the Republic. You will report all to us.

Ayes 130.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 5.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

515. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My audience, which I sought when the question of precedence arose, was delayed; and meantime I took pains to be informed of what was said and done by all those who might have some weight in the matter. I am told that some members of the Council meeting together, the following observations passed:—"The Ambassador is asking an audience to lodge a complaint, but what answer will he give when the King tells him that previous Ambassadors have admitted that the Venetian Ambassador must yield precedence to the Ambassador of the Duke of Burgundy?" And on that point I must report that a personage, who is very intimate with the Queen, and at the same time devoted to your Serenity, and therefore frequently a guest in this house, told me

1606.

that her Majesty had asked him how long it was since he had seen me, and charged him to say that she was sorry her pregnancy had prevented her from receiving me. She had then added, "The Ambassador will have been annoyed at the recall of his invitation; but what could the King do? They say that it has been admitted that the Venetian Ambassador yields the *pas* to the Ambassador of Burgundy." I undertook to lay before him all the arguments advanced by the Republic, with a view to his submitting them to the Queen. I believe their intention is to plead this pretended admission; but I will deny the fact, in such a way, however, that if it should be established it will not diminish the value of any of the other arguments or of the actual possesson, in which your Serenity, owing to the course of events, now finds yourself. I believe the delay in granting me audience, though partly due to causes already reported, partly to a slight indisposition of his Majesty, is also due to the fact that they cannot make up their minds what answer to return, in order to avoid altering their practice. I, however, have not omitted to protest, in case they should take my silence for consent. I am awaiting your full instructions.

The Marquis de San Germano, Ambassador Extraordinary of Spain, is expected day by day. They say he brings large presents for the Queen, towards whom the Spaniards intend for the future to make up for their neglect in the past, now that they are aware of her great weight with the King. Their object is to win her to their side.

The news that the Dutch have, in the Indies, seized six rich carracks and captured a port in those parts, after making a treaty with the natives, has greatly disturbed the Spanish Ambassador, and greatly rejoiced all friends of the Dutch.

Certain English gentlemen, who have been used to the hard-ships of war and of privateering, being now deprived of their profession by the peace, propose to fit out a number of ships and to sail for the discovery of unknown country in the West Indies, where, they say, there are indications of rich gold fields and other precious material. Spain will oppose the scheme and the Council will support it, and this will furnish a fresh cause for friction.

London, 27th April, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

516. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Saturday last I had an audience of the King, and in order to approach the subject of my precedence cautiously I said that I had long desired to find myself in his presence to offer my congratulations on his sound health, in spite of the false rumours that were spread about him. I had hoped to perform that duty when his Majesty had honoured me with an invitation to attend the ceremony of Coronation-Day, and I, therefore, felt the more deeply the vain pretensions of the Archduke's Ambassador, as they had deprived me of that privilege, and also of the opportunity to testify my own devotion to his person. Nevertheless I had, through all

1606.

these days, consoled myself with the assurance that his Majesty would never encourage such attempts at his Court, but that he would follow the custom of all other Sovereigns, and would maintain for the Ambassador of the Republic that ancient and well-established possession, which for hundreds of years he has enjoyed in all the Courts of the world, where it is evident that he is treated on the same footing as the Ambassadors of other Crowned heads, and with all the privileges belonging to the representatives of Kings. And here I entered on a detailed account of the usage of Courts where the close relations with the Archduke might have been expected to encourage these new claims, though they had never been advanced, as their instability was fully recognised. I dwelt on what took place at Rome in 1603, where the Flemish Ambassador, finding his pretensions unfavourably viewed, abandoned his title as Ambassador. At Rome only the Ambassadors of Crowned heads and of the Republic and no others are received in the Sala de' Rè. I added that I was sure that his Majesty would discover a way to remove such vain pretensions, and by maintaining your Serenity's Ambassador in the rank which he universally enjoys, would prevent any similar attempts elsewhere. The King listened with great attention, and replied, "My Lord Ambassador, if it rested with me to decide between the conflicting claims of Princes I would make, out of my love for the Republic and of my own accord, that public declaration which you seek. But such is not my duty nor my policy; and so I have always declined to decide between France and Spain, between Tuscany and Savoy. I beg you, therefore, to hold me excused; but I shall never cease to honour and esteem the representatives of the Republic, nor will I ever permit that, at this Court, they should receive any affront." I, knowing how determined the King was on this point, declared that if he declined to act as judge I could not think of pressing; but I would request him in a matter where there could be no question of arguments, to make some public sign of his agreement with the action of all other Courts. This, I remarked, would not imply a change of policy, for neither France nor Savoy could advance a universal practice as regards their rank, Spain and Tuscany being able to produce cases where they have the precedence, whereas the Archduke could not show a single instance; and, therefore, his Majesty might quite well base himself on universal custom, without in any way making a judicial award. The King, who had been standing all the time, now said, "Let us sit down; you have opened out a way for me; and I promise you if Venetian precedence is really universal I will maintain it. *But I must tell you in confidence that on Coronation-Day the Spanish Ambassador, pretending not to know the cause of your absence, enquired what it might be, and on learning it he entered into a long discourse, during which he denied this universal precedence of Venice which you claim.* He claimed precedence for the Archduke as Duke of Burgundy, as brother of the Emperor, as an Austrian Archduke." Here I was about to reply, but the King interrupted me, saying, "Do not trouble about that, for I do not see how any of these titles justifies him in taking the place of the Republic, which, as everyone knows, would, if its Government were Monarchical, enjoy the royal title on the strength of its condition,

1606.

its kingdoms, its dominions. *But I am not surprised that the Archduke puts forward such claims, for in his letters to me he addresses me as 'brother,' with how much justification you can quite well see;" and here he laughed, adding, "I think he does so because he was once a Cardinal, and Cardinals claim to be the equals of Kings. This question of precedence must be finished some day, and I shall be glad of it." I thanked him, and expressed my satisfaction that the words of the Spanish Ambassador in favour of the Archduke had left no impression on his wise understanding.* I did not dwell longer on the point, for I saw that his Majesty attached little importance to the arguments advanced, and also because he never once mentioned the question of Burgundy and the alleged admission of precedence by a Venetian Ambassador, and I was afraid of putting into his mind what was not there. I accordingly returned to the main point, the usage of all European Courts and his Majesty's promise that if that were established he would cause it to be observed here, and I said, "Well then, Sire, this usage is quite certain, and has never been challenged, and I cannot understand how it can be denied or even called in question. Of this your Majesty may easily satisfy yourself." He replied, "Perhaps the usage is denied because at none of those Courts does the Archduke keep an Ambassador, and so the question of precedence cannot be said to be raised." I said, "And what is the reason, does your Majesty imagine, why the Archduke keeps no Ambassador?" "Certainly, because there exists this disagreement about precedence," rejoined the King. "Very well then, does not that prove the universal usage?" "Yes, certainly for me," said the King, "but they allege another reason for not keeping Ambassadors at the various Courts, and as a matter of fact there is another reason in the case of France." I would have replied on the question of this Embassy to France, but I desired further information, which I got from the Secretary to the French Embassy, who told me that the representative of the Archduke in France did not actually assume the title of Ambassador though he lived like one. I concluded what I had to say after a very long audience, and the upshot is that his Majesty will make no judicial decision; that he will never allow the Venetian Ambassador to be injured in his reputation, and that if universal usage grants precedence to Venice in all other Courts, he will follow the same course here. The whole question, therefore, is to persuade his Majesty that the usage is universal, and that if the Archduke does not keep Ambassadors at the Courts of Europe that fact does not call Venetian precedence in doubt. I shall deal with the subject more readily with the Earl of Salisbury, who has recently gone into the country for change of air.

London, 4th May, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

517. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It seems that the petition of the Turkey merchants to be exempt from the duty imposed on currants exported from Venice, is not

1606.

progressing as favourably as they at first hoped. The private interests of several great personages, who draw no small profit from this duty, are a serious obstacle. Some of the merchants,* who refused to pay while the petition was before the House, have been imprisoned, and it is thought this will intimidate the rest into acquiescence. These same merchants who, in alarm at the capture of the Turkish galleon by the English *berton*† in service of the Grand Duke, have almost retired from trade with Constantinople, no sooner heard of the burning of the Englishman by the Turks in Constantinople harbour, than, considering Turkish vengeance satisfied, they have vigorously re-opened their traffic in those parts. They are at present occupied with the choice of a new Ambassador to the Porte. He will as usual take out many presents. But the merchants declare that their profits from that trade are so small that I am persuaded they would gladly embrace the proposals which they previously laid before your Serenity.

The expedition to the West Indies is being slowly fitted out. The Spanish Ambassador does all he can to hinder the enterprise, but it will not be forbidden for all that. In fact they show that they have no intention to abandon the West Indian trade.

Parliament will sit for some days more. The question of the Union is dropped for this Session. It is also thought that the laws against the Catholics will not be so sharp as they were expected to be in the heat of the conspiracy.

These last few days the King has been attending to his devotions, which, according to the custom of the country, occupy Holy Week. He has touched many for Scrofula, they say with hopes of good effects, remembering the earlier cases of healing conferred by his hand. Yesterday was St. George's Day, and the solemn ceremony of that Order was celebrated. Some of the Ambassadors were present. The King intended to raise the number of the Knights to the full twenty-four by the creation of the Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of Montgomery, his great favourite; but nothing has been done, owing, they say, to the complaints of the Kings of France and of Denmark, Knights of the Order, who have declared that, unless the Order is kept pure by the election of those only whose nobility of blood and rank are eminent, they will resign.

London, 4th May, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

518. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and received congratulations on his recovery from an illness of some days' duration. The Ambassador returned thanks for the customary visit of enquiry. He then proceeded to say that he had for many days desired to have audience, but being attacked by violent pains and flux in the head he had been forced to give way to his malady, "for sure it is as that gentleman hath it, 'maximum negocium est sanitas.' Now feeling myself somewhat better it irked me to lie longer in bed, asleep or counting the hours, while all about me was the buzz of many things, and perchance in some

* John Bates, or Bate. Hallam. Const. Hist., pp. 228, 229. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1603-1660, p. 311. † The "Merchant Royal," owned by Cockaine, was the English ship. The "Sultana" was the Turkish galleon. *See* Birch, "Court and Times of James the First," vol. i., p. 59.

1606.

corner of Italy the whisper of my name. I have come this morning to broach two subjects, I might fairly call them two disillusionments; one touches the honour of my master, the other the honour of the Republic. I am glad to see attention on your faces and the doors shut, for I shall speak freely."

'The Ambassador then explained at great length that a series of interrogations said to have been applied to a Jesuit Father in the Tower of London were being circulated by the Jesuits from their various colleges. He had received copies of these interrogatories, one from France, one from Genoa, one from Rome. The object of all this was twofold; first, to save the reputation of the society by cunningly occupying people's minds; the other, to arouse hostility against the King of England in Italy and elsewhere, *especially* in Venice.

The interrogatories were applied to Father Darcio* of the Society of Jesus in England.

1. Can the Pontiff excommunicate James, reigning King of England?

He answered that all Catholics held and hold that the Supreme Pontiff, as Christ's vicar on earth, can excommunicate all heretic Kings and Princes.

He was told that this was not a direct answer to the question. He was called to reply directly to this:—Can Pope Paul V., at present residing in Rome, justly excommunicate James I., at this time King of Great Britain?

He replied that he had made a general answer in accordance with Catholic doctrine, and by that answer he must stand; for it did not rest with him, but with a higher authority and a riper council to define what the Supreme Pontiff, Paul V., may do against James. He declined to reap in another's corn.

2. Are all English of the Anglican confession heretics?

He answered that all who left the Catholic Church were heretics. He declined to specify the English.

3. Had he any share in the late plot by his authority, advice or privity thereto?

He answered "No," and added that such horrible crimes should be punished even more severely than they had been if that were possible.

4. Was he the author of a certain book attacking the realm of England?

He denied that he was the author, but admitted having seen and corrected the book in his official capacity.

The Ambassador said that this man was Provincial of the Society in England, that is a person of such importance that it was worth while to write at once to Italy in his defence; for if it were proved that a person of his rank had had a part in a conspiracy or such like, the ordinary pleas of the Society—for example the assertion that they were in England solely for the salvation of poor souls, but not to meddle in any way with affairs of state, and such like "fig leaves"—would avail them nothing.

"I do not desire to speak of the first, second and fourth of these interrogatories, but only of the third, which is the touchstone. The third question runs thus, 'An ultima proditio ipsius auctori-

* *i.e.*, Garnet.

1606.

tate, aut consilio, vel scientia facta sit?' Your Serenity, I assure you that when I read that denial I was astounded to see such desperate impudence; for a few days earlier I had read certain News-sheets printed here in Venice by these good Fathers, relating their progress in Muscovy, the conversion of a King in Africa and so on.

I said to myself 'All right about Muscovy, it's a cold country afar away, few go there and few return. About Africa, it's a country separated from us by the sea, full of strange names, where every now and then a Portuguese or two may land. The Jesuits might have published had they chosen the conversion—God forgive me—of a crocodile. But now that the ancient friendly relations between Venice and Great Britain have been re-established and Envoys sent by both sides, who keep each party fully informed every week of all that is going on, upon my soul I am amazed that the Society should dare to treat Italy as a simpleton. For there is no manner of doubt whatever that the Provincial was examined by the Council without any sort of torture whatsoever, and confessed freely not only that he was guilty of this horrible conspiracy, but that he laid the plot and quieted the consciences of the accomplices, and by his confession he has involved five or six other members of the Society of Jesus who was the 'betrayed' not the 'betrayer.'

This much I was bound to say in defence of my master's honour, and I am confident that so wise an assembly as the Senate will admit that he has ample reasons to justify him in proceeding criminally against these masquerading Fathers. I am further bound to disabuse my country of a false impression which is current, namely, that it was the fear of the Pope that made Venice suspend diplomatic relations for so many years. This was frequently said by the late Queen Elizabeth to the illustrious Sig. Giovanni Basadonna, and repeated publicly to Secretary Scaramelli * at that first audience which laid the foundation of the renewed relations between the two countries, which we now enjoy; and although a vigorous reply was at once forthcoming, as was to be looked for from an Envoy who was wounded in the honour of his Sovereign, nevertheless some seeds of this inveterate error still lie about our Court, so vitally important, as Plato says, is the first colour given to the mind. In this I have served and will serve your Serenity in all the faith of a gentleman."

The Ambassador then continued to say that on such an occasion the Doge might well expect from him the statement of his feelings towards the Republic, and he went on to tell a story of how once in Switzerland he had remarked to his host that he thought it folly of the Swiss to visit the plague-stricken, and he had for reply that while friends are well they can do without visits. This he thought applicable to the present crisis. "Now that the health, that is the freedom of your Serenity is attacked, now is the time to come forward and publicly show one's regard; and that is the duty not merely of Venetian subjects, but of all of us who live here in enjoyment of the protection and civilization of the state."

"A party of gentlemen, who put to sea and were becalmed, took to cards to pass the time. A breeze sprang up, but they never rose

* *See* Cal. S.P. Ven. ix., Nos. 505, 1,135.

1606.

from the table, leaving the business to the master and his men; the breeze, however, grew to a gale, and then every man was called to lend a hand with the ropes and sails. And by the way, talking of this reminds me of something which I am driven to say; your Serenity will pardon me, it must out. I have been reading the life of Pyrrhon the Sceptic, who taught his pupils that all accidents were indifferent, and that they ought to believe that whether you ran against a cart or did not was all one, and therefore on meeting a cart you ought not to move out of the way to one side or the other. And so it became necessary to introduce into that sect a philosopher of another sect to prevent them from following out their deadly teaching. This story pleased me, and on thinking it over it seemed to me applicable to the present crisis, for it might be as well perhaps for your Serenity to introduce some philosopher of another sect to assist you. I trust your Serenity understands my meaning, which is clear enough to myself. The conclusion is that I am neither Guelph nor Ghibelline, but first and foremost an Englishman, and next, by God, a Venetian, and as I am going into the country for five or six days' change of air, should your Serenity desire my presence pray inform my household, which I leave here, and I will come with all speed to your service as in duty bound."

The Doge returned thanks, and said that if matters came to an extreme the Republic would defend itself, and in that case would certainly communicate to his Lordship the steps it meant to take.

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

519. Resolution to communicate to the English Ambassador the recall of the Nuncio and the dismissal of the Venetian Ambassador in Rome.

Ayes 134.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 4.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

520. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the English Ambassador (Cornwallis) arrived in Madrid, and when I visited him he complained that they had lodged him outside the inhabited part, as though he were plague-stricken. He said this would displease his master, and all the more so as the news would reach him just about the same time that he would learn that the Archduke had set free the two English conspirators. All the same this Ambassador does not protest now as he did at first, for being in straits for money owing to the excessive costliness of this Court, he accepted a present of three thousand crowns from the King of Spain. This he says nothing about for fear that it would displease his master. But I know it from a very sure source, and I tell your Serenity as an instance of the way the Spanish win over the English.

Madrid, 13th May, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
May 16.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

521. The English Ambassador was invited to attend in the Cabinet to hear the resolution of the Senate, dated May 12th. On his taking his usual seat the Doge made some enquiries as to his health. The Ambassador said he was quite well and had been for three days in the Paduan district for change of air.

The Doge said, "Your Lordship probably found the Padovano a fair territory, and there is the convenience of water-carriage by which you reach it." "Yes," said the Ambassador, "it is a fair land and very fertile; but I am told that a third of it, and that the best, is owned by the Church, and they are not content even yet. I must tell your Serenity a really marvellous fact. At the time we English were still Catholics, before the change, three hundred years ago, in the reign of Edward III., a law was passed precisely similar to this law of your Serenity forbidding the accumulation of temporal goods in ecclesiastical hands; and yet neither the reigning Pontiff nor any of his successors made any complaint down to the time of Henry VIII., when we ceased to be Catholics. It is therefore strange that the present Pontiff should make such a noise."

The Doge said, "So it is. Your Lordship is well informed as to the present state of affairs, and as a further sign of confidence the following resolution will be read to you."

After hearing it the Ambassador returned thanks, and then said that he had been continually revolving in his mind how he might be of service to the Republic, and he had resolved to lay bare a secret of his mind, if haply, like the ant, he might add one little grain to the mound of Venetian greatness. "I am in a free state, and in a secret council I will speak openly, but under seal of confession."

"I have read in the histories of the Republic how on occasions like the present crisis it has been the custom for the government to form leagues, be they open or secret, for the safety of the state and to preserve the balance of power. It has occurred to me that such a league might now be formed on the condition that it was secret and defensive. The members might be the King of Great Britain, the King of France, the Grey League, certain Swiss Cantons, and perhaps a German Prince. I venture to lay this before your Serenity as a possible scheme, in order that you may give me your mind on the subject. To prove that this idea is not fantastical, capricious, in the air, I must tell you that it first came into my head at the time when the Count of Fuentes issued citations on the subject of certain fiefs. Although that citation was suppressed, yet it made a great commotion at the time and induced the Duke of Sessa, who was intimately acquainted with Italian affairs, as he had resided so long as Ambassador in Rome, to draw up a memorial on the subject, discussing two points, one whether it was the King of Spain's true policy to throw Italy into commotion, and if it were was this the time to do it? This memorial I have had by secret means, and I will presently leave it with your Serenity. I will merely quote, for the present, the following passage, which says that such a policy can serve only to injure his Majesty's reputation and to provoke the formation of new leagues and confederations among Princes, both Italian and foreign. Now, your Serenity, I have always been taught that

1606.

it is a wise plan to put in execution what you know your enemy dreads; and this has induced me to lay my plan before you.

I must add that at Genoa they are arming twenty galleys over and above the ordinary squadron of fourteen. Then there are the usual six Genoese galleys, forming in all a squadron of forty, obviously intended to have some bearing on the present crisis.

Again, one of my secretaries, who is also my nephew,* was in Milan when the news came that the Pope was going to publish the Interdict against the Republic, and he assures me from personal observation that Count Fuentes was delighted and did not conceal it.

But by far the most important point, and one that I venture to say is known to no other Envoy but myself, is this, that the King of Spain on the advice of the Jesuits and of two or three Cardinals intends to change his title and to style himself not the 'Catholic King,' but 'Defender of the Faith.' The Jesuits hope in this way to bind him more closely to the service of the Pope and the defence of the Holy See. This I have thought it right to submit to this grave Council, as I shall all other information I receive."

The Doge assured the Ambassador of the safe secrecy of that chamber. Returned thanks for the Duke of Sessa's memorial. The Duke is now dead.

As to a league, the Republic is resolved to maintain its faith while maintaining its possessions. She cannot therefore for the present embark on such a negotiation, although the Council thanks the Ambassador for having thrown out the idea.

The Ambassador, in replying, presents two petitions, one in favour of English merchants and the question of payment for the corn unladen in Zante. An agent has been in Venice for a long time waiting for the consignment of the money. His expenses are heavy, and moreover he is now ill.

The second petition was in favour of a certain Thiene that he should be absolved from the remaining years of his banishment.

To this the Doge replied that the matter was an affair for the Council of Ten, who would do all that was possible to satisfy the Ambassador.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. Expulsis Papalistis.

522. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's despatch of the 21st of last month, and along with it the copy of your communication to the English Ambassador, respecting the difficulties raised by the Pope. I will make use of this in my conversation with the King and the ministers. I have also received instructions for my own private use. It is stated here that excommunication has been pronounced, and that your Excellencies have ordered preparations for war. This news is received with execration and invectives against the Pope. The King is not in London, and the Court has not yet received the information, though yesterday the Queen's Secretary sent me a note with this and other details, relating to the Grisons, which had been received from France. I think he did this on the Queen's

* Sir Albertus Moreton.

1606.

orders to find out the truth from me. The Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors have spoken of this hitherto under their breath, but since this news was published, as far as I am aware, they have not mentioned it at all.

The Earl of Salisbury and his protégé, Viscount Bindon,* have received the Garter at last. The Earl of Salisbury is entirely occupied in preparations for his installation with extraordinary pomp, and by the many affairs of state incident upon the close of Parliament. I have not been able to see him on the subject of precedence; but he has sent several times to excuse himself, and promises that this delay shall in no wise prejudice the firm opinion he holds upon this matter.

The Marquis de San Germano, Ambassador-Extraordinary from the King of Spain to convey congratulations for the escape from the plot, has arrived. He was received in public audience the day following, and the morning after that he was invited to dinner, and to the chase afterwards. Yesterday he went to pay his respects to the Queen, and in his master's name he presented her with a robe and other adornments, more remarkable for the beauty of their design than for the richness of the stuff. On the fourth day he left. This rapidity is attributed to the acuteness of the Spaniard, who, being aware that the King was going to leave London shortly for the chase, determined to hurry over the ceremonies of his own accord and not upon his Majesty's orders. He will return to Spain *viâ* Flanders, where he will see the Archduke. I visited him, and he returned the visit.

The Baron de Molart, gentleman of the Duke of Lorraine, has also arrived on a similar mission.

London, 18th May, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

523. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago † capital sentence was executed upon the Jesuit, who was condemned for the plot. He died like a Christian, but in addressing the crowd, which was immense, he used the word "Pope," whereupon rose such an uproar that it was feared lest the fury of the mob should forestall the course of justice. He has disclosed no further plot, as was hoped that he might do when they prolonged his life. Thus all the partners in that villainy are being extinguished. As to the Earl of Northumberland, he has not been convicted, and he is so powerful that it is generally supposed he will be neither condemned nor set at liberty.

The King of Denmark is expected very soon. His object is to see the Queen, his sister, and to visit the King; though some attribute to him ulterior motives.

Next week some of the vessels of the West Indies expedition will sail. Others are being fitted out to follow them. This shows that all representations, which have been made with a view to stopping the expedition, have been of no avail, and that the ministers are resolved to grant letters for that to no one else.

* Thomas Howard. † May 3-13.

1606.

M. de la Boderie,* Ambassador-in-Ordinary from France, reached London two days ago. He has publicly announced his intention of maintaining a close and perfect understanding with me, as representative of a state so beloved and esteemed by his master. I sent my secretary to him, and as soon as the formal reception is over I will visit him myself.

London, 18th May, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

524. The AMBASSADOR OF ENGLAND had audience, and spoke as follows:—

Promises the affectionate support of the King of England in the Roman affair.

Renders thanks for the grace bestowed by the Council of Ten on the gentleman of the house of Thiene.

And this renders him bold to ask favour on behalf of Antonio Dotto, a Paduan gentleman.

Also commends to the attention of the College some English merchants, creditors of a gentleman of the house of Loredan; as appears from memorial now presented; which runs thus:—

Certain English merchants, for whom appears Geoffrey Lutario, are creditors of a member of the house of Loredan, for the sum of 2,458 ducats 12 grossi, due to them in virtue of a sentence obtained in the court of appeal in August, 1605. setting aside a hostile sentence of the year 1600; Loredan opposed this, and judgment was given on March 17 in favour of the English. Since then they have not succeeded in obtaining anything. Loredan, as a last resort, has offered to pay in *Ongari* instead of *Zecchini*. at the rate of eleven lire each, although the sum was paid into Court by the merchants in *Zecchini*; and in spite of the fact that they have had the use of the merchants' money, and in spite of so many sentences and orders of the Court it has not been possible up till now to recover the 2,458 d. 12 g.

Your Serenity is therefore entreated to summon the said Loredan and to order the payment as is just and due.

When the Ambassador had read the memorial he added, "I dealt with this subject before, during the reign of the Doge Grimani. and it was even concluded, but execution was always delayed. I now earnestly beg your Serenity to cause execution to be made."

The Ambassador also mentioned the subject of the decision in the case of the corn ship, and begged for immediate execution, especially as there was a gentleman waiting on in Venice at his own charges about this very point.

Execution was promised the week following, when the illustrious Signor Giacomo Corner, who has had the business in hand, shall have come home.

The Doge thanked the Ambassador for allowing the representatives of Brescia to precede him in audience; his Serenity also assured the Ambassador that as regards the grace granted to Thiene

* Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie, "a man of such extraordinary merit that the famous Monsr. Arnaud d'Audilly. who married his daughter, says that no man in France was thought so capable as he of filling the place of Monsr. de Villeroy." *See* Birch's "Historical View," p. 258.

1606.

the Government are always most ready to do anything that will please him, as he is personally loved and honoured by the Republic (*essendo la sua persona grandemente amata et honorata dalla Republica*). In this case the Council of Ten have done for him what they refused to do for others, and have surmounted the many difficulties there were in the way of granting his request.

As to interposing to reconcile the family Dotto, which is in truth one of the great families of Padua, the Government, which is always concerned in the preservation of peace among its subjects, will make enquiries as to the causes of dissension, and will adopt the necessary steps. At the same time the Ambassador is informed that the Government is always ready to please him, and if it cannot on great occasions it will do so on small.

As to the case of the Loredani the Government will send for Signor Alvise, and see that he fulfills his just obligations.

The Ambassador returned thanks to the Doge, and then added, "There is one thing I would say, I have heard something from Brussels, which touches the interests of this Republic, and I desire to communicate it with all confidence in this place. A servant of my master * writes to me that in Brussels they are much displeased at the news from England that his Majesty has decided the question of precedence in favour of the Republic. I have written to England to say that the decision is one in accordance with the greatness and antiquity of this Serene Republic. I would have done this any way, whether your Serenity had had ample reason on your side or not, for, as I am residing at your Court, I am bound to uphold your dignity." The Doge replied, "We have been informed of the Arciducal pretensions by our Ambassador in England, but we have no news of any decision. Our case, however, is so valid that it is not to be dreamed of that we can be deprived of our ancient rank next to Crowned heads. All the same we render due thanks for your kind offices." The Ambassador replied in few words and a very low voice; the substance was that he could ans—er for it that his master would never take any decision prejudicial to the dignity of the Republic. He then rose, took his leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

525. That the AMBASSADOR OF ENGLAND be invited to attend, and that the following be read to him:—

As regards your Lordships' representations, made to us some months ago and renewed quite recently, in the matter of the corn ship, belonging to Hugh Westerbrook (*? Whitbrook. Hugone Westribrock*) of London, which our beloved noble, Giacomo Corner, Governor of Zante in the year 1597, caused to be unladed at that date. We have been obliged to await for information, which it was not so easy to obtain about an event which took place upwards of nine years ago.

We can now inform you that Giacomo Corner sold both the corn and the ship which was abandoned by Hugh and was rotting in the Port. The proceeds, two thousand three hundred and fifty ducats, grossi five, picioli twenty-five, were deposited in the Mint on his

* Probably Sir Thomas Edmondes. *See* Birch, "Historical View," pp. 253-277.

1606.

return from his Government, that is all that we can find from the deposit account at the Mint.

Now although the said Hugh appears to have committed such deeds in our waters as would probably render him incapable of suing, still, out of a desire to gratify your Lordship, we will give orders to pay the money to the said Hugh or his lawful representative.

Further an order shall be issued to the Deposit Clerk in the Mint to pay to Hugh Westerbrook (*? Whitbrook*) the said sum, which was deposited on July 6th, 1599, by the noble Giacomo Corner.

Ayes 102.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 20.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

526. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have not yet been able to execute your Serenity's orders as to what I am to say to the King on the subject of precedence, as his Majesty is away in the country at the chase, and will not be disturbed by business. None the less I have asked for audience, so that I may at once obtain it the moment the King goes to Greenwich, whither all the Court has already been moved.

This perpetual occupation with country pursuits, though possibly not distasteful to those who hold the reins of government, is extremely annoying to those who don't. The people, too, desire to see their Sovereign. The discontent has reached such a pitch that the other day there was affixed to the door of the Privy Chamber a general complaint of the King, alleging that his excessive kindness leaves his subjects a prey to the cupidity of his Ministers. The King read it with some annoyance, and showed it to those who were about him. The expressions did not go beyond a paternal warning to the King not to give his subjects further cause for acting so that he should have to complain of them. Nor has Parliament given him the satisfaction he looked for. The Commons presented their remonstrance, to which the King listened, but in an elegant discourse he deferred all consideration of the points raised to a future Session. The members complain that, after granting subsidies, they have obtained nothing but an announcement of further expenditure; and the populace makes this shrewd remark, "Threē subsidies, much evil, no redress."

The Bishops have received the greatest satisfaction of all, for they were relieved of a heavy pecuniary penalty to which they had become liable for omitting from their decrees the style they use here, "By the Grace of God and of the King," the King having convinced himself that the omission took place through negligence and not with any intent to impugn the royal supremacy in the Anglican Church.

The King is absent and the Queen pregnant, I could not, therefore, see them; but I had an audience of the Prince and some Ministers. I cannot tell your Excellencies the satisfaction which, owing to their hatred of the Pope, they experience at this news of excommunication. It is indeed a marvel; great and small express

1606.

indignation and use such language that if it reached the ears of him who is thus unwarrantably annoying the Republic, it would most certainly cause him to desist. Nor do I doubt that if the King touches on the subject he will discourse at length, for it is one that suits his taste.

London, the last day of May, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

527. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have been to visit the Ambassador-in-Ordinary of France (de la Boderie), who dwelt upon the affection of his Most Christian Majesty for the Republic and upon his orders to show himself here in the closest relations with your Serenity's representative. He then touched on the subject of the excommunication, and went over it in a sense favourable to the Republic. As he was French Ambassador in Rome at the time his country was under excommunication he can speak with authority. As to the question of the Archduke's claim to precedence he says he remembers a conversation with the President Richardot in which the same arguments were advanced as are employed here, with the additional one that the Infanta was then heir to the Spanish Crown, and as such claimed precedence. M. de la Boderie told me that the Archduke clung to these pretensions; that he did not name his representative in France "Ambassador" in his credentials, though he treated him as one whenever it suited him to do so. The reason for this was either that there was a question of precedence with the Ambassador of Venice or because the King of France did not give the title of Ambassador to his representative at the Archduke's Court. He added that at his first public audience here the King could not refrain from in his ear some complaint of the Spanish, because they to surrender that accomplice in the plot who is in their hands, and that his Majesty has taken no notice of an excuse brought him by the Marquis of San Germano.

A few days ago the Earl of Salisbury and the other new Knight (Viscount Bindon) went to Windsor for the solemn reception of the investiture of the Garter. The pomp was such that the like of it is not in the memory of man; indeed all confess that it surpassed the ceremony of the very King's Coronation; so great is the power of this minister. All envy of him is now dead; no one seeks aught but to win his favour; it is thought that his power will last, for it is based not so much on the grace of his Majesty, as on an excellent prudence and ability which secure for him the universal opinion that he is worthy of his great authority and good fortune.

There is news that an English regiment in service of the Archduke showed signs of mutiny and its commander was removed. Count Maurice has thrown a Scottish regiment into Bergen-op-Zoom, and sent his brother, Count Henry, with a large body of troops into Friesland, where the attack was chiefly looked for. If things go well for them by sea, as they have done hitherto, they look for far greater success this year than they at first thought possible.

London, the last day of May, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1603, June 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

528. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Mehemet, Grand Vizir, died after eight days' rheumatic pains. Dervisch Pasha, Capudan, elected in his place.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th June, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 9. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

529. That the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be invited to attend in the College, and that the following be read to him:—

My Lord Ambassador, although we have no confirmation of the news your Lordship told us you had by way of Brussels, and although our Ambassador in England writes that the King has come to no decision as yet, chiefly owing to the occupations of the Earl of Salisbury, nevertheless your communication has afforded a fresh and most grateful proof of your good-will towards us, and your ability in recognising what is proper under the circumstances. We have accordingly invited you to attend here, in order that we may, as we now do, thank you heartily for your kind offices performed in the past and promised for the future. And although we suppose your Lordship to be fully alive to the facts of the case, which are notorious to all, still we venture to recapitulate them personally.

In every Court, then, of the great Powers our Ambassadors have always taken rank with the Ambassadors of Crowned heads, and there has never been any question as to this rank, only as to precedence within the rank. This ancient privilege has always been preserved to the Republic without the smallest interruption. Any action contrary to this usage would be a distinct innovation.

We will not enter now upon the merits of the case, for the antiquity, the power, the nobility and all the conditions of our constitution, free from the beginning and preserved so to this day, are matters of universal knowledge, whereas his Highness the Archduke owes his dominions to another Sovereign. Furthermore, in 1603, Don Pedro de Toledo, an ecclesiastic, who was sent by the Archduke to reside for him at Rome, put forward similar claims, but recognising their invalidity he abandoned them. At the Court of his Most Christian Majesty the Archduke's Ambassador has never been present at public functions, though invited, and this shows that he recognises his claim to be baseless. All these reasons convince us that his Majesty will not allow our ancient privileges to suffer injury, and we look for a decision from his Majesty which shall be in conformity with the practice of other Courts, and such as might be expected from his well-known prudence, goodness and love, especially when seconded by your Lordship. Nor must we omit to say that we are equally obliged for your kind offices and offers in the affair of Rome, and shall always retain a lively and grateful memory thereof.

That the above be communicated to the Ambassador in England.

Ayes 148.
Noes 3.
Neutrals 3.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
June 13.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi Venetian Archives.

530. The resolutions of the Senate, on the subject of the corn ships, taken on the 31st May were read to the English Ambassador; also the resolution of the 9th inst. on the subject of precedence. The Ambassador spoke as follows:—

"I imagined that your Serenity had sent for me to command me in something; I came right willingly, as to do so is my great desire. Put me to the proof and I will serve you in all loyalty, as bound to do by the precept of St. John, 'Love is not afraid.' All the more should I do so now, as I hear that in Rome they are beginning to take steps against me. A friend there writes that the Pope has been informed that I take your Serenity's side in the quarrel and that I have promised aid. This greatly displeases his Holiness, and my friend urges me to send him full information that he may clear my conduct. To this I have answered that I have no need to clear my reputation in Rome, for I am not dependent on her; and that when in August of 1604 I entered this thrice noble State, his Majesty, whom I serve, sent me with a double mission, as is clear from the instructions I hold, one to serve the King, the other to serve the Republic, his friend. I added further that when my master made peace with Spain he opened all his ports, which means that all his subjects enjoy the fullest freedom to serve any Prince they choose; and that the Pope himself, if these troubles go on, may quite well find some English in his service, nor would it be surprising if your Serenity found others in yours; and I accordingly offer myself.

"But I find I am not summoned to receive a command, but a favour, and for this I return my warmest thanks to your Serenity and the Signoria for your attention to my representations in the matter of the corn ship. As to the second point about precedence, Lord Salisbury's occupations just now, chiefly about the last details of the plot, have no doubt caused delay."

After an exchange of compliments the Ambassador rose to take his leave, and in doing so he again recommended the case of the English merchants against the Loredan. He then asked to have the resolution of the Senate read over again, and was told that this would be done for him in private. Then with bows he took his leave.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

531. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to audience of the King at Greenwich, in order to execute my commissions, first to complain on the subject of precedence, and then to explain the differences with the Pope.

On the first point I said that having reported to your Serenity you could not help complaining loudly that your ancient possession of rank along with Crowned heads, which is granted at the Roman, Imperial, French and Spanish Courts, should be disputed at this; that the Emperor himself, who is the Archduke's brother, would never consent to any change, and I repeated the arguments already employed, ending up with a declaration that if his Majesty should come to a determination other than what your Serenity

1606.

looked for it would be impossible for you to acquiesce in such a diminution of your dignity. The King replied in the same terms as he had employed at my first interview with him on the subject; namely, that his sympathies were with the Republic, that he could not undertake to decide on the merits of the case, that he would have declared for the Republic on the special point if he had been convinced that they held precedence everywhere else, but that this was denied by the Ambassador of the Archduke who averred that at other Courts his master kept no representative with the title of Ambassador; that he could not, therefore, infer the undoubted possession of the Republic. I confined my answer to this that your Serenity asked nothing but that your representatives should be treated here as they were treated in every Court in the world; that you sought no innovation, and only resented such as were being attempted in this Court by others; and that so great, so just, so beneficent a Sovereign would surely restore your Ambassador to his proper place. The King replied most frankly, "If you only knew the argument I have had with the Ambassador of the Archduke since last I spoke to you you would be amazed; for I went very far indeed in support of the reasons you adduce. He saw that I was on your side, and made use of terms which raised a smile; cited the insult to the Emperor and the King of Spain; said the Archduke had meant to send me an Embassy about the plot; finally declared that he would renounce the title of Ambassador rather than yield. To that I was obliged to answer that such a step would cause less disorder than the injury that it was proposed to inflict on the Republic, for at no other Court did the Archduke's agents assume the title of Ambassador. In short I put forward warmly all your arguments. I promise I will never allow you to suffer an injury, but I hope the occasion will not arise again." I thought he referred to the possible return to the old custom that Venice goes with France and Flanders with Spain; and I at once rejoined, "Sire, in order to remedy the injury already done to the Republic by the suspension, on your Majesty's commands, of her usual precedence, it will be necessary to make some public occasion for the restitution to her of her ancient prestige; anything short of that would only serve to confirm the injury, which your Majesty declares that you in no way wish to see inflicted. Your Majesty will pardon me if I remark that this would come all the more readily as a protest against those who are endeavouring to put pressure on your Majesty to act in opposition to your own conviction." "Yes, that is so," said the King, "but enough." Then without allowing me to say more he asked, "What have you to tell me about the Republic and the Pope?" I replied that this topic was precisely the other reason of my seeking an interview. Our conversation will be reported in my second despatch.

On the question of precedence I had an interview with the Earl of Salisbury, and was able to speak more intimately with him than with the King. I urged upon his notice the injury received and the necessity for such a reparation as I sought. He said he was well aware that the King was generally favourable to the Republic, and that the Archduke's Ambassador had been frankly told that the whole trouble was the fault of the officials, who mistook

1606.

the orders of the Council; had the message been delivered as intended I would probably have been satisfied. Now that the mischief had been done a remedy must be found, but that cannot be all in a minute, though such was the King's intention.

Two days ago I received an invitation to attend the dissolution of Parliament along with the French Ambassador, and the Earl of Salisbury pointed out to me that this was a clear proof of the King's disposition, for I was the first to be invited after the episode, and that this fact had greatly annoyed the Ambassador of the Archduke, who was scheming for some public recognition of his precedence, and added that this ought to satisfy me. I replied that this might satisfy the Archduke's Ambassador, who was in the wrong, but it could never satisfy me; for the reparation ought to be made in the same manner as the injury had been inflicted, and that was concerned not with the order of the invitation, but with the place assigned. Besides I pointed out that this invitation to assist at the dissolution was a private, not a public mark of esteem; moreover the Archduke's Ambassador had been invited last year, and could not expect to be this. Lord Salisbury seemed hard pressed by these observations, and said, "Your Lordship is quite right; and I do not say that this is reparation sufficient; but that it ought to be taken as a sign and testimony of what the King intends to do. Besides this is not a Court where there are public ceremonies to which only certain Ambassadors have the right of invitation, but as it is necessary to satisfy all by a division of favours the fact of being invited first ought certainly to count for something." He knew, he said, that such was the King's intention, and as such it was taken by the world at large. I replied that the custom of separate invitation, which exists at this Court, was introduced in order to avoid deciding questions of precedence among Ambassadors, whose precedence varied at various Courts; but the Archduke's Ambassador had not the example of a single Court in his favour; and I could not be expected to waive my right to be invited along with Ambassadors of Crowned heads. Lord Salisbury assured me of the King's goodwill and of his intention to take an early opportunity to satisfy the Republic, intentions in which his Lordship shared.

They had, he said, cause to desire the humiliation of the Archduke, for he was an ingrate, and he added many expressions hostile to that Prince and to Spain, and a doubt whether peace would last long. On the other hand he enlarged on the affection of the King for the Republic, and his desire for a closer relationship, which he begged me to foster, and assured me that similar orders had been issued to the English Ambassador in Venice. I replied in suitable terms, and declared that I relied on these expressions of the King and himself to obtain a full reparation for the injury inflicted. He replied that all he had said was said as from himself, and upon that I might found what expectations I deemed advisable; but he begged me to observe silence, so as to avoid injuring his position here. I showed that, coming from so great and prudent and powerful a Minister, I took his declarations for certain promises.

I must add that for some days past, perhaps to smooth down the irritation they know they have caused, they have shown a marked

1606.

solicitude to honour and favour me; for besides the invitation to the dissolution of Parliament, I have been received by personages of very high rank, which is quite unusual, and I am told this is done by special orders of the King, who also sent me a present of game, adding that he did so because it was the largest and the finest capture of the season.

London, 14th June, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

532. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After dealing with the question of precedence, I proceeded to inform his Majesty of what was taking place between the Pope and the Republic, and said that I was expressly charged by your Serenity to acquaint him with the unmerited annoyance which the Pope was causing to the Republic over the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Republic had entertained the hope that the special mission she had sent would have brought these annoyances to a conclusion, annoyances which no other Pope ever thought of inflicting; but every attempt at justification proved futile. The Pope remained unusually bitter, and finally affixed a sort of edict against the Republic to the walls of Rome. He refused to listen to arguments, and went the length of recalling his Nuncio from Venice and dismissing the Venetian Ambassador from Rome, and by so doing he displayed a too deeply-rooted animosity against Venice, to your Serenity's great amazement and regret, seeing that the conduct of the Doge had always been directed to the service of God and the good of the country. That being so, the Republic desired to give information to all reigning Princes.

His Majesty returned thanks, and said he would be glad to learn from our mouth how the matter really stood. I replied that I was sure your Serenity would never wish to fail in all marks of confidence; that many days ago I had received orders to make a communication to his Majesty, but the affairs of Parliament had so occupied him that he was obliged to put me off. "Excuse me," said the King, "that is the sole reason, and you see that the moment I am free I send for you." I thought it well to say that I had had orders many days ago from you to communicate everything to him, because I fancied that he would have liked to have been informed directly on your orders. However, I persuaded him that the delay was caused by himself. I then went on to explain the three points of divergence between the Pope and the Republic. I pointed out that the laws objected to are of very old standing, made hundreds of years ago. They are constructed with a view to good government, and with not the smallest intention of damaging the Ecclesiastical authority; nor had any of the Pope's predecessors ever challenged them. In making this statement I availed myself of the information your Serenity furnished me. But the King did not let me go far; he broke in with a very resolute look and said, "They are pious, most just, most necessary laws. Not only do I approve, I commend and sustain them. The world would indeed be fortunate if every Prince

1606.

would open his eyes and behave as the Republic does; but some hold their tongues because on that condition they are permitted to do what they like, others are indifferent, others afraid. It is the mutual jealousy of Princes, not the will of Christ that has made the Papacy so great and so insolent. The Pope holds me and my Crown for the most abominable thing in the world; but I claim to be a better servant of God than he is. To his Divine Majesty and before mankind I protest that I have no greater desire than to see the Church of God reformed of those abuses introduced by the Church of Rome. There is nothing I am more desirous of than the convocation of a legitimate Council. I have informed the King of France, with whom I am on good terms, and who knows but that through these present troubles of the Republic God may open the way for the effectuation of my pious purpose? The Popes, however, do not desire this, for it suits their designs to keep the world in darkness. What wonder then if Christianity is ruined and if Princes are exposed every day to annoyance from the intolerable pretensions of Rome? Pope Clement VIII. invited me to join the Roman Church. I replied that if they would resolve the various difficulties in a general Council, legitimately convened, I would submit myself to its decisions. What do you think he answered?—just look at the zeal of the Vicar of Christ—why, he said, 'The King of England need not speak of Councils; I won't hear of one. If he will not come in by any other means things may stand as they are.' What do you think of that? Is it not an answer which clearly shows their resolve to be guided by nothing but their interest and their passions? And so it is in every case; so overweening is their personal claim and so outrageous the flattery of those who, from ambition and avarice, worship them with an execrable adulation, that may be they hold themselves superior even to Him whose vicar and minister on earth they are. I am not surprised that in their controversy with the Republic they will not listen to reason, for their habit is to admit no reason but their own will." And here the King embarked on an exceedingly long discourse against this usurpation of supreme and absolute power by the Popes, employing such a force of reasoning, such a riches of citations from the holy Scriptures, such a marvellous flow of eloquence, that had his Majesty's speech been taken down and sent to the Pope perhaps he would turn his attention to other objects than the molestation of your Serenity. His Majesty said that he studied Bellarmine every day, and found him full of falsifications of the text and the authority of the Fathers, whom he cites in support of his Papal idol, to whom he not only attributes spiritual authority, but actually sells temporal authority, too, at the price of a red hat. In short I cannot report half of what his Majesty said on these points. He expressed himself in most vigorous language to his own so obvious satisfaction that the Lords of Council, who were present,—though somewhat apart,—declared that they had never seen him more content and delighted.

He went on to ask me what the religious orders were doing in this crisis. I replied that they recognised the undoubted justice of the cause of the State confirmed by the opinion of many famous academies of Theologians and Canonists, who had been consulted,

1606.

and that they remained firm in their allegiance and performed the Divine offices in every city, with such a disposition and consent of all orders towards the Doge that it was a marvel the like of which history does not record. "Oh," said the King, "this will very soon completely confound the Pope. And here already are the firstfruits of spiritual arms used unjustly; we may see others yet."

I thanked his Majesty, and was about to take my leave, when he said, "Wait a moment; you have said nothing about the Jesuits. Is it true they have been expelled?" I said, "Yes." "O blessed and wise Republic," he exclaimed, "how well she knows the way to preserve her liberty; for the Jesuits are the worst and most seditious fellows in the world. They are slaves and spies, as you know." He then embarked on a discourse about the Society. By an able induction from all the kingdoms and provinces of the world he demonstrated that they have always been the authors and instruments of all the great disturbances which have taken place. "I may tell you that had it not been for them the religious conditions in this kingdom would have been far more satisfactory." He concluded by saying that as the Senate always acted after prudent deliberation he took it that the Jesuits would never be re-admitted. Then, after having discoursed thus lengthily with me and on the approach of Lord Salisbury to deal with other affairs, he let me depart.

In this audience I noted a true and genuine sympathy with the Republic, and a desire to be informed from time to time how the affair progressed. The King made no offers except general ones; nor did he ever descend to a consideration of what results such disturbances might have on Christianity. But I am informed that this business is the sole topic of conversation at Court, and there is a report *that there will be war in Italy, that all the powers of Europe will be drawn into it, and that England, France and Venice will take one side, the Pope and Spain the other.* All I know is that I never dreamed of seeing this Court so moved, so full of longings and hopes that occasion may arise for standing in with your Serenity. Indeed I can hardly protect myself from the continual offers of men and of ships, made me by great and small alike, English and Scotch, the latter being admirably disposed towards the Republic. I return thanks to all, and show gratitude for this friendly attitude, at the same time declaring that I hope there will be no trouble, and that all will soon be settled quietly, as the whole question is one of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and such questions are usually arranged by compromise not by force.

I have been told that there were some who advised the King to make some open declaration in favour of the Republic, such as the despatch of a special Envoy to offer assistance, with a view to correcting a common opinion about him that he shrinks from war.

Lord Salisbury also had a conversation with me on this topic; he was briefer than the King, but expressed nearly the same ideas. He said the act of so great a Senate was very welcome to them, for it showed that one could sometimes refuse obedience to the Pope without becoming a heretic. He thought the Pope prudent, and believed that he must have given full attention to his line of

1606.

action. That judged by the experience of history the whole difficulty will probably disappear, especially as such great Princes as France and Spain are intervening to prevent the serious consequences which might accrue to Christendom. He descended to no particulars except to assure me of the King's devotion to your Serenity and his desire to strengthen the bonds between the two states.

Parliament has been adjourned to November. The laws against Catholics are of the greatest severity, though not so severe as some desired. The King made a long speech, in which he was more hostile to the Puritans than to the Catholics, demonstrating that these will be quite quiet when once the fomentors of all scandals, as he calls the Jesuits, have been removed. The day previously the French Ambassador, in his master's name, made representations in favour of the Catholics; he received a kindly answer; but the results do not exactly correspond to it. As the French Ambassador was present at the adjournment, it is supposed that the tone of the King's speech was intended to please him. The laws are not promulgated yet, and so I cannot give any information about them.

The Spanish Ambassador only employs general terms when talking of the conflict with the Pope. He hopes for a peaceable conclusion, and one that may be satisfactory to both parties.

London, 14th June, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 21. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

533. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and said:—

I am of opinion that for the future all Sovereigns, of whatsoever faith they may be, are bound to hold this Republic in far higher esteem than ever they did before, for at the present crisis she is upholding temporal jurisdiction in a most laudable manner, and every Prince ought to be deeply obliged to her, and whatever the Ambassadors of certain Sovereigns may say, either at Rome or here, their masters are secretly pleased, as I have cause to know; and seeing that your Serenity declines to command my services I must not fail to give you all the information that comes to my knowledge, not because I suppose you to be ill-informed, but as a pledge of my good-will towards you.

I have a most important piece of news; a friend of mine writes to me that the General of the Jesuits, in accord with Cardinal Bellarmine and presumably with the consent of the Pope, is going to summon a General Chapter of the Society, no General Chapter having been held for upwards of twenty-seven years. I am also told that the place of meeting will be Ferrara. They will discuss and reform their rules, and will study the best way to insinuate themselves at the various Courts and to secure the direction of affairs of State. They intend to draw up a book of rules for the guidance of each member of the Society and to decree that it shall be a mortal sin to show the book to anyone. I am further informed that Cardinal Bellarmine's book, "De Militia Ecclesiastica," is divided into four parts, the last two deal with matters theological, the first two deal with the present crisis. It is proposed to print

1606.

this part first, and to render it from the Latin into the vulgar tongue. It will be published under a pseudonym, as it is thought that the name of a Jesuit as the author might injure its effect.

The Doge replied that the Republic would always defend her own cause, which was that of all secular Princes, for it is certain that should the Pope succeed in establishing his claim everyone would have to bow to him and his would be the sole dominion upon earth and that monarchy which the Lord God wields in heaven over every mortal thing, that monarchy so vast and omnipotent that words fail us to express the same, that monarchy would then be brought down to earth for the use of the Pontiff, to whom *omne genu flecteretur* to the total destruction of the jurisdiction which belongs to secular Princes.

The Doge returned thanks for the communication about the General Chapter of the Jesuits, which was news to the Government. About Bellarmine's book they knew something. "It seems that it contains some propositions not altogether in favour of the Pontiff, and that was the reason why the publication was suspended. For although a Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmine had no desire to offend the Pope, as he had begun to taste the sweets of priestly ambition."

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

534. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I enclose a copy of the oath, which Parliament has just ordered all subjects to take under heavy penalties for refusal. The object is to counteract the consequences of a possible excommunication, and the cause of the step was the quarrel between the Republic and the Pope, who is considered to be very fiery and hot-headed. Catholics here see only two results of the Papal action as possible, either a persecution of their faith or a great diminution of the authority the Pope lays claim to. For those who refuse to take the oath will suffer severely in goods and in person, and those who do take it will thereby declare the invalidity of all that the Pope may possibly do against this kingdom. For these reasons the Catholics are but little satisfied with his Holiness, for it seems to them that instead of bringing them any relief for their ills he has, by his recent innovations, increased the ones they were already suffering under. For this reason the laws are also more severe against the Catholics than they would otherwise have been. If I receive the translation in time I will forward a copy of the Act.

News of the Archduke's attempt on Sluys on the twelfth. The petard acted well, and the French officer (du Terrail), in command of four hundred men, penetrated into the town. They were not supported by the Spanish, and three hundred of them were killed.

The Dutch fleet is back from cruising off the Spanish coast.

There is still some disturbance in Scotland over the trial of the ministers. The Chancellor and the President,* suspected of foment-

* Alexander Seaton, Lord Fyvie and Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor, James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, President. *See* Gardiner, I. 308. The rumour was false.

1606.

ing the disturbance, have been removed by the King; this will probably increase the difficulties.

London, 21st June, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

535. Translation of the oath of allegiance.*

Enclosed in preceding Despatch,

536. Laws against recusants.†

June 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

537. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Denmark is expected here every hour. As the Duke of Wirtemberg is to arrive at the same time common opinion has it that they are here on business and not merely to visit the King. Most people imagine their business to be the election of the King of the Romans, and the negotiations for securing a candidate not hostile to their interests.

The preparations for their reception are very magnificent and costly. Part of the subsidy has already been called up, not without some grumbling, for people do not like to see money thrown away on the first opportunity like this. I will wait on these Princes when they arrive, and will take care that in the invitations to Court ceremonies the Republic shall gain some advantage over the Archduke.

The King has sent a gentleman to France to congratulate the King on his escape from the flood.‡ It is clear that both sides take every occasion to show their good understanding. True it is that the King of England has been invited by his Most Christian Majesty to attend the baptism of his eldest daughter in September, but has excused himself, on the ground that he cannot be represented at that ceremony, on account of his claim to precedence over the Pope, who is also invited. And so, unless some way is discovered out of the difficulty, the King of England will not send a proxy.

They are more anxious than ever here to learn how matters stand between the Republic and the Pope. Nay, one may safely affirm that this is the sole topic of conversation. The King is the most anxious of all, and from time to time he asks me if I have any news to give him from your Serenity. They have printed in English the protest your Serenity issued, and it is, one may say, in everybody's hands, and the populace by reading it have been disabused of that false conception of the Republic which they had formed.

The other day, when I was with Lord Salisbury, he guardedly complained of the way in which your Serenity's agents at Constantinople were endeavouring to injure English commerce in those parts. I replied that the principle of the Republic was

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* *See* Gardiner, I. 288. This is "the new oath," calculated to meet the claim of the Pope to "deposing power." 3 Jac., c. 4, 5. *See* also Hallam, Constit. Hist., Cap. VII. †Gardiner, I. 287. ‡ *See* Cal. S.P. Dom, May 11, 1606, Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain. "The King's coach overturned into the water."

1606.

to live and let live. He said he would send me a note of the particulars, but as that has not reached me yet I imagine the matter is one without foundation or of slight importance.

The English Ambassador in Venice (Wotton) has just reported an extraordinary favour, which he has recently received from your Serenity. The nature of this I have not heard, but perhaps it consists in public thanks for his good offices in this affair.

London, 28th June, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

538. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Recently they have concluded the trial of two gentlemen, who were prisoners in the Tower on the charge of complicity in the plot. They were convicted of nothing else than of having resolved to absent themselves from the opening of Parliament, and that for private affairs; all the same one has been condemned to pay eighteen, the other thirty thousand crowns.* It is conjectured, accordingly, that if they ever come to sentence the Earl of Northumberland, who is very rich, the fine will be far heavier.

They have also published a proclamation that all Jesuits and Catholic priests† except two, named as accomplices in the plot, are to have left the kingdom by August 1st on pain of capital punishment for them and their abettors; your Excellencies cannot imagine what heat the present conduct of the Pope has imported into these deliberations. It is the common opinion of the people that the Pope is going to take steps against England, and every day fresh precautions are adopted.

The agent of the States tells me that Count Maurice will, at the opening of this campaign, remain on the defensive; that there is more fear of a surprise than of a regular assault, for the towns are well garrisoned and provisioned. The danger run by Sluys,‡ which, one may say, was half captured, has warned them to be more vigilant about the other places. They think it would be a great advantage for them if the Marquis Spinola would attack Grave, as he appeared inclined to do, for they count upon wearing him out and ending the campaign to their own advantage; that their fleet would continue to harry the West Indian trade, while towards the East Indies they were going to make another effort to overcome all the difficulties, and to open up the route they had already tried on several other occasions. He declared, however, that his masters were in urgent need of support; as for that which was furnished by the King of France they were content, but far from satisfied with the procedure of the King of England; although for all that not a day passes without some complaint from the Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors, to whom it seems that the King's favourable inclination towards the Dutch is only too obviously manifested. And so one may say that all that is done here for the Dutch simply serves

* Lord Montague. fined 4,000 pounds; and Lord Stourton, fined 1,000 pounds. † Cal. S.P., Dom., 1606. June 10, Greenwich. ‡ Du Terrail's attack, *see* Motley "United Netherlands," IV. 239.

1606.

to increase the ill-feeling in other quarters without adding anything to their strength.

London, 28th June, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

539. The ENGLISH AMBASSADOR came to the Cabinet, and spoke as follows:—

"I am here to discharge two commissions from my King, one of expostulation, the other of thanks. The first I am loath to fulfill, yet it is well that a friend should disclose rather than nurse any ill-feeling that lies in his heart, lest by keeping it to himself it gain strength and spread like sulphur hidden in the bowels of the earth.

"It is certain that a few months ago an English ship was burned at Constantinople on the Grand Signor's orders. Rumour has it that the illustrious Ambassador of Venice had a large share in this burning by representing that all the damage, of which the Turks complain, was the work of the English, who were excluded by Venice from trading in the Adriatic. This information, which seemed to aim at destroying English commerce in the Levant, made such an impression on the Sultan that he ordered the ship to be burned. All this was reported to my master, who did not and does not believe it; for he is neither very ready to credit rumours nor very tenacious of them, as he knows that the ears of Kings have no privileges beyond the ears of common men that they should never hear a lie. All the less does he credit this rumour, in view of the great regard which he knows that this most noble Republic has for him. Still it was just possible that a minister, in mistaken zeal for his Prince's service, might have done such bad offices, and, therefore, I beg your Serenity to issue such orders to your Ambassadors as may serve to show your good-will towards my master. Should your Serenity assent you might notify the same to my master, either through me or through your Ambassador in England."

The Doge replied, "My Lord Ambassador, your Lordship's communication has greatly disturbed us. It is not to be believed that any of our ministers, and certainly not our Ambassador in Constantinople, who is a Senator, and very well aware of our policy—which could not be more friendly towards the interests of your master—should ever have inflicted so great a wrong; and anyone, who knows our form of government, must know that we should never do such a thing even to our foes had we any. It may well be, however, that some one at Constantinople has said that the damage done in those waters was done by English, called there westerlings, because Great Britain is the head of the west. We are much relieved to find that his Majesty does not credit the report; we assure you that the Republic never gave any such hostile instructions. We can not believe for a moment that the Ambassador did it of his own accord. This much we have thought it right to say to you in the name of the Government; these noble Lords may add any remarks that they deem opportune."

"I ought to add," said the Doge, "that the relations between our

1606.

Ambassadors at Constantinople and the English Ambassador are of the most cordial nature."

The Ambassador replied that he believed the report was not due to the Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, but to another, who was jealous of the friendly relations between England and the Republic.

He then proceeded to his second point; the question of precedence. He narrated the whole episode from the beginning. "The King," he said, "invited the Ambassadors of Spain, Venice and the Archduke to the ceremony of Coronation-Day, meaning to assign to the two latter places which would not cause a quarrel. The Archduke's Ambassador said that if he were not to take precedence of Venice he would rather not be invited. The King then recalled both invitations. The Ambassador of the Archduke sent a despatch to his master and, on receiving the answer, he had a stormy audience with the King. He declared that his master had been most seriously injured, for the Dukes of Burgundy always took precedence of all but Crowned heads; and if the Burgundy claim was disputed his master still claimed that precedence as son and brother of an Emperor; and failing that, in right of his wife." His Majesty listened with patience—and indeed his Majesty is of such extreme goodness that he merits the brief but noble eulogy passed on the Emperor Vespasian, "Vir patiens"—and said he was sorry to observe the Ambassador's temper, and hoped he would cool down; that your Serenity's representative had been with him the day before, and had shown an admirable modesty of demeanour; that had he found that the Dukes of Burgundy had ever had precedence of Venice he would have admitted the claim; but not desiring to judge the case he had resolved to recall both invitations. To this the Archduke's Ambassador replied still more haughtily, and the King said, 'My Lord Ambassador, I must lay before you the opposing arguments, advanced not by me, but by your adversaries. The Duchy of Burgundy was incorporated in the dominions of Spain. The document of donation, whereby the Duchy was conferred on the Archdukes, contains reserves. As to the rank of son and brother of an Emperor, it is well known that the Imperial rank is not hereditary, but elective. As to the rights of the Archduchess, her brother is alive, and that leaves her with no rank as heir to the crown of Spain.' My master writes to me that your Serenity's Ambassador has conducted himself throughout with great ability, combining zeal and prudence, two qualities which are rarely united."

The Doge replied, thanking the Ambassador for his information; expressing satisfaction at the defence advanced by the King; repeating arguments in favour of the Republic, and pointing out that by not being invited the Venetian Ambassador had suffered a diminution of prestige.

The Ambassador then raised the question of the money due for the corn ship; and the case of the English merchants, who had been waiting five years for the execution of the sentence issued in their favour by the Court of the Cinque Savii,* and now are

* I cannot find the case among the Processi of the Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia.

1606.

still waiting because their opponent claims to pay in *ongari* and not in *zecchini*.

The Doge replied that Loredan had been summoned and exhorted to pay, but had advanced other arguments, and claimed time to set them forth in writing. He promised that this affair would be wound up.

The Ambassador then rose, bowed and departed.

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

540. That the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be invited to attend in the Cabinet, and that the following be read to him:—

My Lord Ambassador, the communication made the day before yesterday by your Lordship, in the King's name, about our Ambassador in Constantinople, has caused us great pain; at the same time we rejoice to learn that these sinister rumours have left no impression on his Majesty's mind. We are fully aware of his Majesty's wisdom and of his profound knowledge of our constitution, which will convince him that we could never have issued such orders to our minister and that he could never have taken such a course of his own accord. We have invited you here to beg you to assure his Majesty from us that our Ambassador had no share in the burning of that ship; nay, that, as he has just informed us, he never fails to maintain the most cordial relations with the English Ambassador at the Porte, in accordance with instructions from us, instructions which will be repeated to all our ministers, for it is our firm intention that our friendly relations with England should be strengthened day by day to the benefit of both parties. His Majesty may rest assured that if anything different from this is reported to him, such reports are the work of those who view our relations with jealousy.

As regards the question of precedence, with the help of your Lordship's good offices we hope for a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

Ayes 178.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 7.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

541. The English Ambassador is summoned to hear the resolution of the Senate of 30th June.

The Ambassador has already forwarded to England the answer about the affair of Constantinople, which he holds was a rumour set afloat by some other Sovereign jealous of the good terms between the Republic and the King of England. The incident may be considered as closed. Hopes that when his report on the question of precedence reaches England the question will be settled.

The Doge announces to the Ambassador that at that very minute Ser Alvise Loredan had put in a document in stay of payment, and the Cabinet had not had time to read it,

[*Italian.*]

1606.
July 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

542. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has let it be understood that he wishes his representative to take precedence of the Nuncio at the baptism of the Princess. The King of France will appoint the Dauphin himself to represent him.

Paris, 4th July, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

July 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

543. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Father Cotton (Gottone), a Jesuit here has the ear of the King; is busy doing an ill turn to the Republic.

Paris, 4th July, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 5.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

544. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have left no stone unturned in order to come to the conclusion of this affair of precedence over the Ambassador of the Archduke. It seemed to me that mere expressions of good-will were not sufficient for your Serenity's reputation and dignity, and I endeavoured to secure a public demonstration of the sentiments which the King and Lord Salisbury expressed. The decision of the point really lies with Lord Salisbury, but owing to his numerous engagements it is very difficult to procure an interview with him. Even yesterday, after making an appointment with me, he sent to put it off on the ground of urgent business at his Majesty's commands. I will seize the occasion of the arrival of the King of Denmark to secure a solution of the difficulty. I will find out what orders are issued as to invitations, and will make it clear that I will not agree to any arrangement which leaves the precedence of the Serene Republic in doubt. I gather that they will arrange to send Venice with France and the Archduke with Spain, and will assign them different places. That is an arrangement which does not altogether displease the French Ambassador, who sees in it an augmentation of his own position; but I do not consider such an arrangement as sufficient redress for the injury already inflicted on your Serenity's reputation. I will insist upon a public declaration of your Serenity's proper place, so as to remove any pretext for the Archduke or any other to affirm that the precedence granted on that occasion was due to any other cause than your just rights. They calculate here that I cannot refuse to go with the French Ambassador without offending him; but I shall endeavour to prevent him from making the request, always however keeping in view the need there is in the present circumstances to show to the world the excellent relations which exist between the Republic and the Crown of France; and so if I cannot obtain the public declaration I desire nor yet refuse the French Ambassador without offending him, I will go with him

1606.

in the hope of sharing any advantage that may be given to him. I will, however, in that case enter a protest with the government that I do not accept this arrangement, but demand an open declaration in your Serenity's favour. I will report in full.

The audacity of the Jesuits has reached such a pitch that those who are in hiding here do not scruple to whisper in the ears of their Catholic followers the same attacks on the Senate which they sow broadcast elsewhere. They especially blame the Republic for keeping an Ambassador at this Court to the prejudice of the Holy See; this conduct in other Princes they say is excusable in view of their interests, which the Republic cannot plead. But members of other Orders, who are also here in hiding, oppose the Jesuit teaching, both on account of their experience of the Order and out of regard for your Serenity, as also out of hatred for the Order itself, caused by the persecutions inflicted upon them by the ambition and greed the Society displays in seizing all that riches which they have extracted hitherto from the Catholics.

They are anxiously watching the outcome of the quarrel between the Republic and the Pope, and every rumour of an accommodation disturbs them greatly. The King talks of it at all hours of the day, and reads all that Italy puts out, be it serious or satirical, upon the subject. I always endeavour to find out what he says on these occasions. He repeats in substance what I have already reported.

The Queen gave birth to a daughter on the night of last Saturday, at Greenwich. I have asked for audience of the King to congratulate.

Having written thus far comes news of the child's death.

London, 5th July, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

545. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis de San Germano has returned from England. He does not seem much satisfied with his journey.

Madrid, 8th July, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

546. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have once more pressed the Earl of Salisbury on the subject of precedence, in order to obtain a decision favourable to your Serenity. At this interview I had to argue very minutely upon various points, for, truth to say, I found him prepared to defend his action by sophistries rather than by sound reasoning. My object was to prove to him that they were in duty bound to make, either by act or by public declaration, such a demonstration in favour of the Republic that she should be entirely and adequately compensated for the prejudice she had suffered at their hands. I adopted this general line of argument, first in order to deprive them of their usual excuse that the King did not wish to constitute

1606.

himself a judge of the merits and could not be a judge of the facts of the case, as some of the allegations were disputed; and secondly in order that he, Lord Salisbury, might not escape behind his usual proposal for an accommodation by associating me with France; and there is no doubt that if they can be brought to acknowledge that they have done your Serenity an injury they will be forced to give you satisfaction. The Earl, however, saw the conclusion to which I was endeavouring to lead him, and set himself to maintain that no injury at all had been done, for the King was quite at liberty to invite one Ambassador and omit another without doing them a wrong; for entertainments at Court were not on the same footing as "Chapel" at the other Courts of Europe, to which, by immemorial custom, Sovereigns were obliged to invite Ambassadors accredited to their Courts, whereas invitation to Court entertainments was a matter entirely within their option, and if none of the Ambassadors were invited still no one would have a ground of complaint. I replied that I would not enter on the discussion of this distinction, though I was well aware that those who were invited to "Chapel" were invited also to Court functions, while those not admitted to "Chapel" remained at home, and precisely because there was no "Chapel" at this Court it was necessary to transfer the "Chapel"-practice to Court entertainments. I remarked that the present difficulty, however, did not lie there. The fact that I by the King's orders had been kept away from my place at Court on the occasion in question, owing to the claims raised by the Archduke's Ambassador, constituted a genuine injury to the Republic and created the necessity for his Majesty to remove it. "Well," said he, "supposing I deny that this was the real cause of the withdrawal of your invitation, what can your Lordship claim except the punishment of the official who told you that it was? And that he shall receive the moment you demand it; for he said more than he was authorised to say."

When I heard this lame (*fiacca*) excuse I replied with some heat, "Does your Lordship really say and wish me to believe that this was not the true cause after my repeated conversations with his Majesty and with your Lordship yourself, as you are well aware, and when the affair is known to all the Court and quite clearly understood both by the Republic and by the King? You would be doing his Majesty a great injury by denying what both he and you have affirmed so often with your own lips and cannot now be concealed. I beg you not to have recourse to such excuses. Nay rather, as the injury to the Republic is there within hand-touch it were better to come to a decision to find out the way to remedy it, and so to bring this important episode to a close,—a result which the Republic promises itself from the justice and wisdom of his Majesty. Such an issue has already been anticipated in all the Courts of Europe. Nay, the news has been forwarded from the very Court of Brussels to the Ambassador Wotton, resident in Venice, for the Archduke himself saw that there could be no other issue to the pretensions of his Ambassador at this Court." "In truth," said he, "I do not see how the King can or ought to constitute himself judge of the merits of the case, nor are there sufficient precedents in fact to justify your claim." "He

1606.

ought to do so," I answered, "for justice requires that he who has done the wrong should grant the satisfaction; and he can do so, for the right is clear and the proofs of my precedence are universal." And here I went into the practice of the other Courts of Europe, pressing the point home as far as I could. But he defended himself, and having no decisive reply he took to hair-splitting, declaring that no precedence could be established when no preceded person was present. I replied that this was a merely verbal discussion; that all I asked was that the Republic should hold here what she held at every other Court, and that this was a matter for the King and not for the Archduke's Ambassador. The question of precedence lay with the Sovereign to grant, and the consent of the preceded was never asked. "I should like information," said he, "upon the attitude of other Princes in such circumstance, and more especially of the Senate of Venice, whose example I am sure the King would be glad to follow in the certainty that he would be doing right." I replied that the Senate, like all great and independent Princes, would, in such a case, be guided by reason and by precedent. It is not the part of a great and free Sovereign to refrain from declaring himself upon a point settled by all other independent Sovereigns. The course of past events forced upon this Court a decision which could not be long delayed, for on the arrival of the King of Denmark they would be obliged to make the declaration I sought and, in the issue of invitations, to relieve your Serenity entirely from the injury inflicted; for if no decisive step were taken this would be a confirmation and not a removal of the injury done. On this and other points we spent a long time in discussion. I pressed the point, so as to find out what was the intention as regards these invitations, and I discovered that they did think of asking me to go with France, in the hope that I could not refuse, so as to avoid offending that Ambassador, for at last he said to me, "Come now, is not the place of the Republic along with the Crowned heads in such a way that no other intervenes between them?" I said "Yes." "Well," he replied, "that is the place you are to have here." "Ah!" I said, "then I am to take precedence of the Archduke and to be with each and all of the Crowned heads." "I don't know about that," he said, "but if you are ever in company with the Archduke's Ambassador you will take the *pas*." "How," said I, "do you intend to invite him without inviting me and, by asking now one and now the other, to leave the question in suspense, nay, rather to confirm the injury inflicted? I am sure the Republic will never submit to this, and indeed I see no other way except to invite us both on all occasions and in conformity with the promise just made me, to give me the *pas*. For what, I pray you, is the use of talking of precedence when an occasion for taking it will never be offered? How do I know that the same will not be said to the Ambassador of the Archduke? It is true I am assured that he makes no such claim as to be asked when I am, but that is only to save himself as best he can from the consequences of his position."

The Earl in conclusion declared that he knew that it was his Majesty's intention to give satisfaction to the Republic, but that he

1606.

desired to do so in suitable form; that very likely on the occasion of the King of Denmark's visit he would act so that all the world might divine his intention; that the affair was very delicate and ought to be dealt with very gently. I replied that I thought quite the reverse, and that such attempts ought to be cut short at a single blow; for all this consideration and regard only served to encourage and foster these pretensions.

The conversation ended, and I seem to gather that it is their intention to invite me along with France, and Flanders along with Spain. I will seek audience as soon as the King comes back to Greenwich from the chase, and I will do my best in the matter. It would perhaps be as well to speak quite clearly to Ambassador Wotton, so that it may not be thought here that my vigorous protests are the result of a personal resentment at my treatment as an Ambassador, and not the outcome of your Serenity's express orders.

London, 12th July, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

547. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Northumberland has been sentenced at last.* He has been condemned to pay one hundred thousand crowns (25,000 pounds sterling), to be imprisoned for life, and to be deprived of all his offices. The proofs of his complicity in the plot are overwhelming, and he was saved from the capital sentence only by the grace of the King. The Earl had earnestly sought this trial in the expectation of being fully acquitted, but when he saw the case going against him he became so alarmed that he returned unsatisfactory answers, and such as were not expected from a man of his prudence and intelligence. This is a great blow to the Catholics, whose protection the Earl assumed when the King came to the throne, and this was not one of the smallest of the charges that led to his condemnation. A brother of the Earl† has lately been arrested, and the Earl's post of Captain of the Pensioners has been conferred upon the Lord Chamberlain. [*Expulsis Papalistis.* They have news that the Jesuits who left the kingdom on the proclamation of the Edict have held a meeting in Brussels, and have resolved to send one of their number to the Pope, in order to induce him to adopt another policy towards the King, and urging him to proceed to Excommunication, on the ground that, owing to the moderation hitherto displayed, the Catholic position is going from bad to worse. This causes the ministers to be on their guard and to take steps to meet eventualities, and all this is damaging to religion, for the more suspicion is aroused the severer are they towards the Catholics, especially in view of the Papal procedure against your Serenity. There is news of disturbances in Poland caused by the Jesuits.] There is also the greatest desire to know how things are going between your Serenity and the Pope. The wiser heads, and those who have no personal interest in the matter, hold that the Republic

* Gardiner, I., 284. † Sir Allan Percy. Cal. S.P. Dom. June 25, 1606.

1606.

has been guided by a marvellous prudence, for while she announces her intention to abide by her pristine faith she shows herself equally resolute in maintaining the freedom which God has given her.

There is information from Rome that Cardinal Baronius has complained to an English gentleman there that the English Ambassador in Venice nourishes and foments these dissensions between the Republic and the Pope, offering armed support, and that he makes the same offers to other Italian Courts in his master's name. They say the King ought to be much obliged to the Cardinal for indicating his true course of action in this matter.

From Flanders we learn that Spinola has left Brussels, and it is generally thought that he intends to attack Bergen-op-Zoom. The States are well provided, and their fleet greatly reinforced will proceed to the coast of Spain. The French Ambassador urges the English to support them, but although here they understand their own interests quite well they wish to live in peace with everyone.

It seems that the troubles in Scotland will quiet down, as the Court appointed by the King is convinced of the innocence of the Grand Chancellor and of the President.*

London, 12th July, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

548. To the AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Expresses satisfaction for the way in which the Ambassador has conducted the affair of precedence, and orders him to pursue the same course.

Ayes 134.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 2.

Amendment moved by Ser Francesco Contarini, Savio ai ordeni.

That the following instruction be added. If no promise of satisfaction for our just demand is forthcoming, you will say that you do not see how you can continue to reside with dignity at that Court.

Ayes 8.

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

549. To the AMBASSADOR in England.

You are to inform his Majesty that the Pope has not only fulminated his censures against us on the most trivial grounds, but he is using every kind of secret endeavour to rob us of the allegiance of our subjects and to corrupt our very government. He has not succeeded, for our subjects display the most constant fidelity and a desire to share our fortunes. We are absolutely at one in our resolve to maintain the native liberty of our Republic and our temporal dominion, which we owe to God

* Alexander Seaton, Earl of Dunfermline and Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino. Gardiner, 1, pp. 301-316.

1606.

alone. The Pope has begun to raise troops. The Spanish are spreading the report that their Sovereign has declared himself for the Pope. You are to endeavour to extract from his Majesty some declaration of his intention, and to report to us his answer and also the remarks of the Earl of Salisbury.

Ayes 144.
Noes 6.
Neutrals 6.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

550. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have taken the occasion offered by the French Ambassador* sending his secretary over to his master with an account of the plot against the King's life, discovered two days ago,† to send all the information I have upon this affair. It is some days now that Lord Salisbury has been very suspicious about a plot that was being hatched in Flanders against the life of his Majesty. Three days ago he arrested two individuals lately arrived from Flanders; one was a brother of that English officer who was a conspirator in the late plot, and who had taken shelter with the Archduke, to the King's great disgust, the other is an Irishman,‡ who has been here in the service of the Spanish Ambassador who preceded the present one. These men were lodged by the Ambassador in a tavern hard by the Embassy, and had already begun to sound the mind of an English Captain,§ a Catholic, and after some circumlocution, and administering a most stringent oath, couched in terms never before heard of, they laid before him their plan to kill the King, and pointed out the ease with which it could be done and they could escape, by the help of good pistols and swift horses; they suggested that the deed should be done in the country, while the King was at the chase; or else to render it more glorious, and at the same time to rouse less suspicion, they proposed to wait the arrival of the King of Denmark. The reward was to be two hundred thousand crowns, for which they showed him sufficient bills of exchange. They say Neuce listened and showed himself willing, all that he asked was to be first allowed to consult a priest to resolve him whether he could or could not do the deed with safety to his conscience. Accordingly, it would seem, they arranged a colloquy between him and *a Jesuit, who, in the garb of a Dominican Friar, lives as chaplain at the Spanish Embassy, where the interview took place.* They say the Englishman was fully satisfied that he might undertake the deed without a single scruple; but the other two seemed to perceive that he was not as firm as they could wish, and to fear that the plot might be discovered through him, and so when bidding him good-bye, under colour of friendship they, as is the custom here, offered him some sweetmeats, of which he ate a considerable amount on the spot, and took some home and gave them

* Anthony le Fevre de la Boderie, appointed April 1606. Birch "Hist. View," p. 257. † The plot of Capt. William Neuce, Tommaso and Giacomo dei Franchesi. Birch op. cit., 259. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-1610, pp. 323, 324, 325, 326. ‡ John Ball. *See* Birch's "Historical View," p. 260. § Captain William Neuce. Birch, op. cit., p. 260.

1606.

to his two little daughters, who presently fell ill and died; and Neuce, being so ill that the doctors diagnosed poison and that he was in danger of death, revealed all, and through him the Council came to a full cognizance of the whole affair. *They sent to the Spanish Embassy to demand the Jesuit, but the Ambassador denied that there was such a man in the house; and as a few days before these events his audience was fixed for yesterday, he went to Greenwich. After a long interview with the King, he was summoned to attend the Council, and there, as far as I have heard, before a very few of them, Lord Salisbury addressed him in terms of much resentment, and urged him to give the Jesuit up for the safety of the Ambassador's own life, as not even the authority of the King would suffice to save him if the people were once persuaded that in his house was sheltered a man who had had a hand in so nefarious an enterprize. The Ambassador's reply is not known, though it was observed that on leaving he showed no outward signs of disturbance. It is true that before the Ambassador left Greenwich some of the Royal bodyguard were sent on ahead to London, without arms or ensigns, and with orders to anticipate the Ambassador's arrival and to search his house, but with as little noise or outward demonstration as possible.*

The depositions of the two prisoners are not known yet, their arrest being too recent; but it is generally thought that if the report about the money is true the plot must have its roots *in Spain*, though this is an opinion that the King and his ministers hide, for they say that at present they ought to blame the Jesuits of Flanders only, on whose suggestion the conspirators came over here.

Notice from Flanders that the Archduke's army of twenty-five thousand men has taken the field in three divisions; one a reserve, the second to attack Bergen-op-Zoom, and the third to operate in Friesland for the recovery of Emden.

More than a thousand English have recently taken service with the States; on the other hand the Archduke is thinking of discharging the few English he has in his service, for the double purpose of removing causes of ill-feeling with England and to show that he can do without them.

As soon as my audience is appointed I will attend to the question of precedence. I am waiting information about Rome. I hear that the King always uses terms of great regard for the Republic when discussing this question. He recently said, "If Venice held the larger part of Italy, Christendom would rest in peace."

London, 19th July, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

551. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The despatch sent by the secretary to the French Embassy contains the information conveyed in the preceding.

London, 19th July, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
July 21.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

552. The English Ambassador, having heard the resolution of the Senate, dated the 18th inst., spoke as follows:—

He returned thanks for the communication made to him, and read a despatch from his master, approving the conduct of the Republic, and hoping that other Princes would follow its example. The further contents of the despatch were being translated into Italian, and if desired would shortly be communicated.

The Ambassador went on to explain the reasons which made him doubt the news that the King of Spain had declared himself for the Pope, those reasons were the advice given by the Duke of Sessa that it was not Spain's policy to embroil Italy, and the difficulties in which the King of Spain found himself at present.

The Ambassador added that had the Doge shown himself franker towards him he would have enlarged upon certain considerations.

After an answer from the Doge, the Ambassador said that rumours had been spread by a certain Don Vincenzo Durazzo* that he had an Italian preacher in his house and that many people attended his sermons. This, he declared, had not a vestige of truth in it.

The Doge replied that they had information about the arrest of Don Vincenzo, which had taken place in Bologna, and about his subsequent liberation; also about the interrogations applied to him, but, as far as he remembered, the Ambassador was not named. They would look again, and if he were they would inform him. Meantime they wished to express their satisfaction at the discreet and quiet conduct of the Ambassador.

It was subsequently stated positively that the Ambassador was not named in the depositions of Don Vincenzo.

[*Italian.*]

July 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

553. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I received your Serenity's instructions as to the representations I was to make to the King on the subject of the English ship that was burned at Constantinople, and I went to Greenwich to carry them out. I assured him of the great uneasiness felt by the Senate on receiving the sinister information from its Ambassador in Constantinople, and I declared that it was quite impossible that either upon orders from home or upon his own initiative he could have had any share in that fire; for he was a prudent Senator, very fully informed of the real sentiments of your Excellencies towards his Majesty; besides that, he himself had reported that he was in the closest relations with the English Ambassador at Constantinople. The King listened to me and replied, "My Lord Ambassador, I am as convinced that the Republic had no part in that affair as you yourself are, and, so help me God, such a notion never entered my head. I am well aware of the nature of your constitution, and I would not credit

* *See* Senato Secreta. Delib. Roma. 1606, 18th July. Don Vincenzo Durazzo of the Order of S. Salvatore, Venetion subject, was arrested by the Inquisition at Bologna, and, after examination, was ordered to Rome. He was set at liberty on surety gone for him by Bartolomeo del Calice, and left for Venice at the command of that Government. Thereupon the surety was sequestrated. The Senate order dal Calice to be refunded out of the money that Don Vincenzo's monastery sent yearly to Rome.

1606.

my own eyes, much less the mere report of others that so prudent a government could ever do anything contrary to the high opinion I have formed of it. I desire to believe the same about your Ambassador at Constantinople. My Ambassador confirms what you tell me about his good relations with the Venetian Ambassador. I am convinced the ship was burned out of revenge for the damage done by a ship hired by the Grand Duke.* I have written very frankly to him on the subject, and I have letters from him assuring me that such things shall not happen for the future." I thanked his Majesty, and assured him that he might always be certain that any sinister rumours about the Republic were either false suspicions of the vulgar or machinations of those who did not desire to see good relations between the Republic and the Crown of England. I ventured to point out to him the serious inconveniences which might arise, owing to this liberty, to take service as privateers in the pay of other Sovereigns. He admitted this, and said he intended to remedy it. He then asked me what I thought of this recent plot, and complained greatly of the Spanish Ambassador, who though informed most positively that the plot was directed against his Majesty, still asked for time to write home for instructions as to surrendering one of his suite on the charge of complicity, and when spoken to strongly about it he merely turned the conversation on to indifferent topics, and showed very *small interest in the question in hand.* The prisoners hitherto maintain that the object of their visit to England was to arrange a scheme for the recovery of Sluys or some other fortress. "But," said the King, "what has it to do with Sluys to make enquiries as to where I go hunting, at what hour I start, when I return, how many men I have with me, to talk of a fine stroke with a good pistol and a swift horse, to offer large sums of money, to poison one of their number for fear that he might accuse them; all that seems to me to have nothing to do with Sluys. I do not believe that either the King of Spain or the Archduke have any hand in such execrable designs; I do not see what they would gain by my death, for it is thanks to me that they enjoy the peace they so greatly desire; *still it is a very remarkable fact that every plot against myself and my kingdom has had its roots in Spain or in Flanders. However that may be, it is not the part of a friend to support and protect rebels and traitors against another Sovereign.* When Antonio Perez landed in England I turned him out at the very first sign from Spain, although he had not compassed his master's life;" *in this strain his Majesty continued to talk to me, and displayed a great hostility towards that party.* He told me that he had ordered the arrest by night and at the Spanish Embassy of that man (John Ball), who was not a Jesuit as reported, but an Irishman, who acted as interpreter. As yet he denies everything. The Council wishes to confront him with the informer (Neuce), but as Neuce is in a very bad way on account of the poison it has not yet been done. His Majesty declared his horror at these impious and barbarous designs, and said that when an offer was made to bring him the head of that rebel refugee in Flanders he declined the pro-

* The "Merchant Royal."

1606.

posal because he would not have the man put to death without a fair trial. Throughout the audience, which was long, his Majesty displayed great regard towards the Republic, but the most marked demonstration he made was in the matter of precedence; for he put off the Archducal Ambassador, who had asked for an audience many days before I did, whereas he received me the moment I presented my request, which is contrary to the usage of this Court, where a few days are allowed to intervene between the request and the audience. This was no doubt done on purpose by his Majesty, and is held by everybody to be a declaration of his wishes in this matter.

The prisoners still assert that they never meant to attempt the King's life but only plotted how to seize Sluys or some other fortress. All the same the informer (Neuce) persists in it that they did approach him on the subject of assassination and made him offers of money, and then tried to poison him in some confectionery, from the effects of which he was saved by the antidotes given him by the doctors. One of the two who administered the poison was born in Flanders, but his father was a Venetian, named Franceschi; he has a brother in great favour with the Archduke, who sent him over to England on this business. It is thought that after the prisoners have been confronted they will be put to the torture to discover the truth. Meantime great is the ferment among the populace against *the Spanish Ambassador, who was insulted on his way to audience, even inside the Court of the Royal Palace. And so universal is the desire to break the peace with Spain that it is publicly discussed, and everyone understands* that such a proposal has actually been before the Council. The arguments on one side and on the other are eagerly canvassed. Letters of marque have been granted to West India merchants, authorising them to make reprisals; such letters had already been suppressed at the request of the Spanish Ambassador, who had promised a pacific indemnification for loss. *The King himself said to me,* that such was the bad treatment adopted by the Spaniards that it might be said that the trade between the two countries was destroyed, and so if the suspicions about the plot *were found to be justified modifications might be expected from this quarter.*

The King of Denmark landed in England yesterday; on Friday he will be at Court. The King will go to meet him.

Nothing new from Flanders. Rumours of a rising in Ireland, possibly the work of Tyrone. Ammunition has been sent there.

The plague has done some damage this lást week in London; but nothing seriously out of the common.

London, 26th July, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

554. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the discourse reported in my preceding dispatch, the King went on to ask me how matters stood between the Pope and your Serenity, and whether it was true that he was going to publish a

1606.

Jubilee for all Christendom except the Cities under Interdict. I said that so my private letters affirmed. The King said this is some subtle game of the Pope's to catch the Republic in a noose, but she is so wise that she is sure to find a remedy; and he prayed that every effort to maintain the religious Orders inside the States of the Republic might fail, so that she should not be exposed to a revolution among her subjects. I replied that the Republic was secure in the loyalty of her subjects, lay and cleric alike. The King added that he had seen the copy of a letter on this subject written by the King of Spain to the Pope, and his Majesty was pleased to recite it at length to me; it contained nothing but an expression of regret for the Pope's difficulties and for the danger which threatened Christendom, and a lament that the weapons of the faithful, which ought to be turned against the foes of the faith, might for such a cause as this be converted to their mutual hurt. His Majesty also told me he had heard that the Grand Duke had made a proposal, namely, that the Pope should remove the Censures and the Republic repeal its laws, and said that he could not for a moment believe that the Republic would consent, for reason required that the Pope should first remove his condemnation, and then the Republic might listen to him either directly or through some friendly Sovereign. "I cannot see," he said, "how anyone can fail to approve the punishment of clerics by the civil power, unless it be those who call the crimes of the two * Venetian clerics mere peccadilloes." He then asked if the expulsion of the Jesuits was really settled in such a way as to render it probably permanent; when I said that I was told so he broke out into commendations of the wisdom of the Republic, and declared that if he ever required advice he would seek it from no one but from Venice; that he hoped the King of France, on the strength of this example, would make up his mind to be quit of the Jesuits too (*si risolverà finalmente a chiarirsi di loro*). Talking of this general Congregation which they propose to hold in Italy, he added, "How rightly may they use this formula in their decrees, '*Visum est Satanæ et nobis,*'" and other witticisms. Finally, after highly praising your Serenity, he said that he hoped his refusal to attend the baptism of the daughter of the King of France would not lead the world to think there was any ill-will between them, for the sole reason was the question of precedence between him and the Pope.

I thanked his Majesty for these daily and evident signs of friendship and confidence towards the Republic; and after a few more compliments I took my leave.

London, 26th July, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

555. The English Ambassador, having entered the Chamber and taken the usual seat near to the Doge, drew from under his cloak a book and laid it on the bench where he was sitting; he then said, "Most Serene Prince, in my last despatch I carefully communicated to the King, my master, and to the Earl of Salis-

* The Abbé Brandolin and the Canon Saraceni.

1606.

bury what your Serenity wished me to say, and I supported it warmly myself. I am now in duty bound to explain to you how affairs stand in England and to expound this new oath, which by Act of Parliament all subjects of his Majesty who take service with foreign Princes will be expected to subscribe. The questions now pending between your Serenity and the Pope have given occasion to this resolution, and the new oath is directed to no other end than to the establishment and preservation of the temporal Power. (*Havendo data occasione a questa rissolutione le differenze che versano al presente fra la Serenità Vostra et il Pontefice in materia di giurisditione temporale. . . . Non essendo questo novo giuramento ad altro fine indricciato che al stabilimento et alla conservatione del dominio temporale*). I am aware that your Serenity is fully informed by your Ambassador Giustinian, but all the same I here present a copy of the oath."*

After reading through the oath the Ambassador proceeded to make some comments; he said that one of the clauses of the peace between England and Spain declared that his Majesty of England intended to leave all his subjects free to take service abroad where they liked, in that liberal method they had proceeded up to the time of the late plot. The principal conspirator had been brought from Brussels, where he had grown up in the service of the Archduke. In the course of the trial it was found that of three other chief conspirators, an Irishman, a Scot and a Jesuit, two had taken refuge in the Low Countries, and no efforts or representations of the King had sufficed to secure their surrender. The whole object of this oath is to bind subjects more definitely to their allegiance to their natural Prince.

The Ambassador then announced the death of the Princess.

The Doge replied, praising the wisdom of the new oath.

The Ambassador then mentioned the case of Antonio Dotto. That gentleman having returned from service with the Grand Duke, has written a courteous letter to the Ambassador, begging him to use his good offices to induce the Government to intervene and to pacify the family of Dotto. He is aware that as an outlaw he has no weight of himself; but the Ambassador pleads on his behalf.

The Doge replied that the Cabinet had intrusted a Senator of great weight and prudence, the illustrious Antonio Priuli, with the management of this affair, he has already entered on his duties, and is dealing with the parties.

The Ambassador then presented a memorial from English merchants, complaining that the ship "Thomasina," master Nicolas Isaack, had been stopped by the custom house officers, although her papers were all in order; the local exciseman had, furthermore, ordered a barge to go to Malamocco, and all its cargo was wetted and ruined, upon which the Podestà of Malamocco, in the presence of the exciseman, Rocco Zignoni, allowed the ship to depart. "This hindrance and delay may have this result that the new currants will reach the English market before the old. And although the stock of old currants is not of great value in itself

* The new oath of allegiance. *See* Gardiner, 1, 288. 3 Jac., 1, c. 4, 5.

1606.

it has already paid to your Serenity 1,800 ducats, the interest mounts up daily, the value of the goods decreases, and there is besides all that the injury and risk to the ship; petitioners therefore pray that orders be issued that she may sail."

The Doge replied that he would inform himself and would summons the customs officers to report the following morning; meantime he assured the Ambassador that if the English chose to trade in Venice they would meet with all possible satisfaction.

The Ambassador then took up the book which was lying on the corner of the bench and said, "Most Serene Prince, I have seen many works in print, which support the position of your Serenity in your differences with the Pope; and although I find them all good, yet it seems to me that none of them hit the nail on the head so truly (*che esse vadano così alla brocca*)." Then opening the book he said, "This is the first of the three volumes of 'Lettere di Principi,' dealing with affairs of State. I have brought it with me from England, and I read it frequently for the pleasure it yields me. Yesterday, having the book in my hands, I read a letter which I have marked; it seems to me most admirably applicable to the affair in hand and to the present times, in which the King of Spain has very openly declared himself for the Holy Father, as is proved by the letter in circulation. Now this letter to which I refer was written by the Duke of Alva when Viceroy of Naples, minister to the present King's predecessor; it is addressed to Pope Paul IV., the present Pope is Paul V.; the circumstances in which it was written have points of contact with the present times. The letter contains observations worthy of careful consideration. Seeing that this book is not to be found in Italy I should recommend your Serenity to reprint this letter in numerous copies and to circulate it widely. It seems to me that if a minister is allowed to make use of such arguments for the preservation of the provinces committed to his charge, a Prince has even a better right to employ them for the preservation of his own dominions, of his own freedom. I will leave the book with a mark in it, so that your Serenity may read the letter and make what use of it may seem advisable to your great prudence."

The Doge returned thanks.

The Ambassador rose to take leave, and said that he must again repeat his plea in favour of the English merchants, who a year ago had obtained a sentence in their favour in the Court of the Five Savii alla Mercantia.

The Doge replied that the Cabinet had already sent to summon Ser Alvise Loredan from his Villa, but he had declined to appear; the order will be repeated immediately, and this business shall be concluded.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

556. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Denmark arrived on the 25th of last month. He had eight ships, all large and fine; the one in which he was

1606.

is most striking, both on account of her size, armament and fittings. The moment the King heard of his arrival in the river he sent the Duke of Lennox to welcome him; and the day following his Majesty, the Prince, and a large suite went in many boats to meet the King. The King of Denmark received the King of England at the companion and led him into the saloon; there they partook of wine and comfits, and then embarking again to the roar of guns and the sound of many bands they went to Greenwich, followed by a vast number of boats. At the steps of the Palace were the Princesses and the little Duke of York. They all went upstairs to the Queen's apartments; she still keeps her rooms because of her recent confinement. After staying awhile with the Queen the King of Denmark was conducted to his own apartments, which are sumptuously furnished. During these last few days the Kings have followed the chase there at Greenwich and other amusements. To-morrow they will move to a house belonging to the Earl of Salisbury, where they will lodge till the preparations for their solemn entry into London are completed. The King of Denmark has brought with him his guard, his private band, as he is very fond of music, six of his Privy Council, and about fifty gentlemen, so that his suite is not very large.*

I and also the other Ambassadors offered to be present at the reception, but his Majesty, while expressing himself pleased at the proposal, caused us all to be informed that the reception was a private one. I accordingly sent my secretary to offer my services to the King of Denmark. The Duke of Lennox procured him an audience, and the King graciously said that on his arrival in London he would gladly receive me.

The opinion is gradually growing that this last conspiracy was not directed against the King's life, but rather that its object was to corrupt the commander of some fortress in the Low Countries and to take possession of it. But against the Irish servant of the Spanish Ambassador (Ball) it seems that no proofs are forthcoming, except the evidence of the informer, and so they are thinking of setting him free. The Ambassador complains of this mode of proceeding; and has sent a courier express to his master. When the Council invited his presence yesterday he sent back answer to say that if they intended to touch on this subject he declined to attend, as the affair was no longer in his hands, but in those of his Sovereign. Nothing will check the bad impression, however, among the public, which shows so marked a desire for the declaration of war as to seriously alarm the King and Council.

The Flemish Captain (Tomaso Franceschi), who used the expression, "A good pistol and a swift horse," will not get out of the Tower so easily.

News from Flanders that the Marquis Spinola with a part of his army is under Grave, and with the other division has assaulted and captured Zwolle. The agent of the States, however, tells me that he has more recent and more precise news, that the Marquis with an army of about thirty-five thousand men is on the march for Cleves, with the intention of invading Friesland and capturing Emden, a city of great importance on account of

* The total number was 314, besides mariners. *See* Cal. S.P. Dom., July.

1606.

its harbour, and for other reasons. He was held in check by Count Maurice.

Deaths from plague are on the increase; last week there were fifty; this week it is feared that the figure will be higher.

London, 2nd August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 3. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

557. To the AMBASSADOR in England.

Expressing satisfaction at his conduct in regard to the question of precedence. Orders to thank the Earl of Salisbury for his good-will. Condolences for the death of the Princess.

Ayes 114.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

558. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier arrived this morning from Paris, having made the journey in five days. He is sent, they say, by order of the Spanish Ambassador in England with instructions to report verbally that the English secretary of that Embassy had been arrested and put to the torture. But as couriers' reports are not to be trusted I do not venture to affirm the truth of this story. All I can say is that immediately upon his arrival the few Councillors of State here resident were summoned to meet.

Madrid, 8th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

559. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day one of the Council informed me that Don Pedro de Zuniga, Spanish Ambassador in England, reports that the King of England shows himself delighted with this quarrel between the Pope and the Republic, and said, in course of conversation with the Ambassador, that he had that in hand which allowed him to promise himself that the Serene Republic would presently shake off the yoke of the Roman Church.

Madrid, 8th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

560. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All to-day I have been engaged at the solemn entry of the King of Denmark into the City. All the Ambassadors were invited, but were accommodated in private houses far apart from one another. The ceremony was a magnificent and noble one, both on account of the great gathering of personages, the richness of their robes, and the trappings of their horses. Neither of their

1606.

Majesties wore any insignia of royalty, but were both in private dress and both alike; their horses were richly caparisoned. The City was not able to make such preparations as it desired—indeed there was nothing but a single arch of very happy design (*assai ben inteso*)—for the date of the entry was anticipated, because the King of Denmark had resolved to leave within ten days. The reason for this hurried departure is not known; though they begin to think that he never intended to stay longer. As soon as I have had audience I will report.

A few days ago the Ambassadors of Spain and Flanders were summoned together to the Council, when the surrender of the Irish prisoner (John Ball) was offered them, but on condition that they should bind themselves to produce him if called on.

The Spanish Ambassador asked time to reply, probably in order to allow of the return of the courier he had sent to Spain with an account of this arrest.

The Grand Duke's secretary is doing all he can to obtain leave to raise the crews for two large ships which his master has bought at Amsterdam. The recent conduct of the Grand Duke and the affair of the ship burned at Constantinople will probably create difficulties in his way. Still he promises himself success by the usual means employed by the Grand Duke in dealing with the Ministers of the Crown, means by which he acquires many advantages, especially in matters commercial and naval, to which he is devoting more and more attention.

The agent sent to Spain some months ago to recover a certain prize made by the Spanish in the Levant has returned. As he obtained no satisfaction he brings back a very bad report of the feelings of the Spanish towards this nation. The Earl of Salisbury told me that this agent says there is a great lack of money in Spain on account of the loss of four of the richest galleons of the fleet, a disaster attributed by a certain preacher to divine wrath with the King of Spain for having made peace with England. The Spanish Ambassador here has published the letter addressed by his master to the Pope about the quarrel with your Serenity. This renders the Spanish still more unpopular, for the King's action is interpreted as a sign that he claims superiority over all States.

News from Flanders that the two armies are so close together gives rise to constant rumours of an engagement. But this week there is no other positive news except the capture of Lochem (*Locon*) by the Marquis of Spinola.

The plague has carried off this week twenty more than it did last week.

London, 10th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

561. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the evening of Saturday, the 5th, on my return from Greenwich, where I had been to visit the Princess, eldest daughter

1606.

of the King, a courier from the Ambassador Priuli reached me with your Serenity's despatches. Seeing their importance I resolved to seek audience of the King next morning. He and the King of Denmark were lying at a house belonging to the Earl of Salisbury, about twelve miles out of London, where they intended to amuse themselves. Although I felt sure that in such circumstances it would be impossible for me to see the King still, as I did not desire to have my conscience reproach me for not having done all in my power to carry out your Serenity's instructions, especially where a speedy answer would greatly assist your deliberations, I made up my mind to see whether I could not manage to be received by the King. At the same time, in case of failure, I was unwilling to give rise to remarks unfavourable to your Serenity or to give pleasure to certain people; accordingly I announced that I was going out early that morning to take the air, and so took the road that leads to the place where the King lay, when a short way off I stopped and sent my secretary on with orders that if he saw any chance of my being able to have an interview he was to ask for it in my name, and to add that I myself was hard by; but if he saw that an interview was out of the question he was to ask for one at as early a date as possible. The secretary went on and found the Kings with a large retinue just sitting down to table; they had anticipated, by a long while, the usual hour, intending, after the custom of Germany, to spend a large part of the day over meat. Seeing this, and without saying that I was hard by, the secretary preferred his request to Lord Salisbury and to the Lord Chamberlain that I might be granted an audience after dinner. But the Earl of Salisbury replied quite frankly, "Beg the Ambassador to have patience, for these two days are dedicated to this business," pointing to the table, "and God forbid that these Danes should hear that we devoted ourselves to anything but the table; they would take us all for enemies; Tuesday evening the King will be at Greenwich and on Wednesday he will receive the Ambassador gladly. Tell him to put up with this little delay, for we are in the hands of others, and for these two days we shall not be our own masters." When the secretary returned with this answer I saw that it was impossible to insist, as the delay was so short a one. Accordingly I went to-day to Greenwich, as by appointment, where I found the whole Court in a buzz on account of the King of Denmark's sudden resolution to leave in a day or two, which had thrown all arrangements for his entertainment into disorder, especially the solemn entry into London. The King said that he was sorry for this occurrence, as it would compel him to be much briefer with me than he intended, and begged me to pardon him if he requested me to detain him as short a time as possible. I was very much disturbed at this, for it seemed to deprive me of the method I had proposed to adopt in laying before the King your Serenity's declaration. *All the same, without losing my presence of mind, I approached his Majesty, and in the fewest words I explained my instructions, and as I could not avail myself of elaborate discourse I did my best with forcible and lively language. I dwelt upon those points most likely to bring out his true opinion, namely the constancy of the Venetian people, the unity and vigour of*

1606.

the Senate, the traps set by the Pope, the rumours put about by the Spanish, the preparations of the Republic, her confidence in his Majesty. The result was that from his words I am, in this letter, justified in promising every help as far as he is concerned. For he briefly replied that I had greatly consoled him by insisting on the constancy of the people and the unity of the Senate which are guarantees for a favourable result. "It matters little about Spain," he said, "for as you know, those who talk seldom act; and any way if they take one side we shall take the other." He went on to express his regard and affection for the Republic, and his appreciation of the fact that she has done all she could to avoid throwing Christendom into a war, and of her unselfish policy, which was directed solely to the preservation of her own freedom. "Assure the Republic," he continued, "that I shall assist her with all my heart in all that depends on me. I only regret that I am so distant, though, as you said to me the other day, where there is neighbourhood of ideas Sovereigns can easily do all the rest. I have written to my Ambassador to make a similar promise in my name to the Republic." He then expressed his satisfaction with his Ambassador and his regard for him. Then he rose to his feet and said, "I am told that the Duke of Mantua is declaring openly for the Republic, and if Savoy shows signs of a similar intention I am extremely glad." I replied that if matters went further many other Princes would join, for the question was a general one affecting them all. The King said, "I am sorry that I cannot stay longer with you for the reasons I have already given." The King left the room, followed by the Earl of Salisbury, who begged me to wait as he would return. He came back presently and said he was sorry that, on account of this business at Court, he could not stay long. I repeated briefly to him the observations I had made to the King, and he told me that his Majesty had charged him to confirm the royal promise, and that I might accordingly assure the Republic of his Majesty's support as far as in him lay. He did not do this in order to foment discord, for he knew that the Republic would never abandon its faith; though if the King of Spain declared himself on the one side, the King of England would have to declare himself on the other. But his chief reason was that, as this movement was an attack on the freedom of Sovereigns, he as a just and independent Prince was bound to oppose it. Lord Salisbury then said, "Well, and so the Spanish have declared for the Pope?" "So they themselves say," I answered. He said he did not think they were in earnest, and that their real object was to hamper France. He asked what the King of France was about, and I told him that he was doing all he could on behalf of the Republic. This, in substance, is what I was able to arrive at in the brief space allowed me. The conversations were conducted in French and Italian, as I did not think it well in a matter of such moment to employ a hired interpreter, and knowing that the King would thus speak more freely, so I may possibly have mistaken some words, but certainly not the sense, for to make quite sure I repeatedly said both to the King and to Lord Salisbury, "*Then I may assure the Republic that in these circumstances your Majesty will assist her?*" *They always replied*

1606.

"Yes." I gather they would like to see war break out in Italy and would gladly join the Republic and France.

When asking for passports for the courier Lord Salisbury asked me to keep him back last night, as the King wanted to send a dispatch to his Ambassador in Venice. I consented.

London, 10th August, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 11. Original News Letter. Archives of Modena.

562. The conspirators in the last plot in England have denied complicity, but this will avail them little, for one of them has confessed the whole business. Among them are a Tomaso Franceschi, an Italian, but born at Antwerp; Neuce, an Englishman; Ghoen, an Irishman; and Ball, an Irishman, secretary to the Spanish Ambassador in London.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

563. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As I have already informed your Serenity I have done all I possibly could to secure the settlement of the question of precedence before the arrival of the King of Denmark, all the more so that I knew beforehand that the King of Denmark would follow the practice of the King of England in the matter of the reception of Ambassadors in audience. The Ambassador of France was pursuing a similar policy as regards the question of precedence between him and Spain. Neither of us, however, has succeeded in obtaining any outward and visible declaration, only kind phrases and private assurances of the King's sentiments, which are, we are told, in our favour, though no public demonstration of them will be made. Accordingly no Ambassador received a formal invitation to any fête or function, only on the day of the entry into the City they were all told, but not in the King's name, that if they wished to see the show each of them should send a member of his household to choose the house that suited him best, and that would be assigned to him. The French Ambassador and I took counsel together whether in the choice of our houses we ought to try to get the better of the other side. But, seeing that our invitation was purely private and that the route of the procession was more than two miles long and any spot was open to us, we came to the conclusion that it would be more for the dignity of our masters if, as the invitation did not come from the King, we were to show a certain indifference about the matter, taking our places far apart from each other and observing no formality of rank between us, so that if the Spaniards by their usual stratagem should succeed in getting the better of us as regards the site, still they and all the world would feel that we had not stooped to such trifles, for this rank of our masters entitled us to obvious and essential precedence, which required no puerile and unworthy artifices to sustain it. We therefore choose our sites far apart, and resolved to occupy them provided the others did not come on purpose and place themselves in the neighbouring houses on our right. When the day of the entry arrived the

1606.

French Ambassador was just setting out for the house he had chosen when he was told that the Spanish Ambassador, who had previously chosen a house a long way off, had moved into the next house on the right hand side. As the time was so short and nothing could be done the French Ambassador resolved to remain at home and not attend at all. The Flemish Ambassador did not act so by me, though it is true that he took a different house from the one first chosen, but far away from mine.

The day following the French Ambassador complained to the King, who showed his displeasure and assured the Ambassador that he had wished to avoid any such occurrence by inviting no one and by leaving each one free to choose his own place; such liberty made it possible for the inferior to put himself above his superior, and, therefore, in his Majesty's opinion, the Spanish Ambassador by acting as he has done has rather diminished than increased his prestige.

As the French Ambassador and myself were aware that the Spanish intended to take precedence of us at the King of Denmark's receptions, each for himself did all we could to secure the opposite result. But the Spanish, by bribing the officials of both Sovereigns, brought it about that the King of Denmark, declining to decide any question of precedence, appointed one single morning for the reception of all Ambassadors, and announced that he would receive in the order of arrival. I thought such an arrangement eminently unworthy of the dignity of the Republic, that in order to keep her rank she should be reduced to seeing who could run the fastest, and I frankly said that I was the servant of so great a Sovereign that I was not called upon to race for that rank which was reserved for my master at every Court in the world, and that if his Majesty could not receive me with becoming honours I would abstain from seeing him. Finally, the King declined to see anyone, and sent two of his gentlemen to each Ambassador to excuse himself, on the ground that these questions of precedence forced him to act so, to thank us for the honour we desired to do him, and to say that he took that honour for received.

To the two gentlemen who came to me I replied that I thanked his Majesty, but that I could not refrain from expressing my wonder and regret that such vain pretensions as these of the Archduke's Ambassador should have deprived me of a visit to his Majesty in order to assure him of the esteem and affection borne towards him by the Republic. I added that I would say no more; but I knew that the King of Great Britain, who was fully aware of the greatness and nobility of the Republic, had advised the King of Denmark to admit me first, which had he done he would have been following the counsels of a wise Sovereign and the universal practice of Christendom, and of those, too, who, though so nearly allied to the Archduke, have always given the Republic rank with crowned heads. I quoted the King of England's advice because he himself had assured the French Ambassador that when the King of Denmark consulted him he had recommended him to receive France before Spain and Venice before Flanders. But so powerful is Spanish bribery, especially among the Court officials, that in spite of the just

1606.

claims of our Sovereigns and our own diligence, events took the course described. This induced the French Ambassador and myself to attack the King and the Earl of Salisbury, but each of us as for himself, pointing out that the honour of our masters requires an end to this state of uncertainty. As regards your Serenity it is clear that by this uncertainty your rank, which at every other Court is undisputed, is called in question. The King of Denmark, for example, excused himself from acting as he would naturally have done, on the ground that the question of precedence was an open one at this Court. I do not know how his Majesty will decide, but decide he must, and that soon, for this question gives rise to continual controversies; and a new one has just arisen, namely, who shall be received first by the Queen, after her confinement. As between France and Spain that is settled by the fact that the French Ambassador has not yet been presented to her Majesty, and so beyond a doubt he will be summoned first. But there is the difficulty between your Serenity's Ambassador and the Archduke's, in whose favour the Spanish Ambassador employs his usual methods, and your Serenity may imagine in what a state I find myself; still I will do my best.

London, 16th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

564. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador told me that in the last audience he had, the King spoke confidentially with him about these disagreements between the Pope and the Republic, and more particularly about the recent declaration made by the King of Spain in favour of the Pontiff. The King asked if the Ambassador thought the Spanish were really resolved to help the Pope or whether this was not all a ruse of theirs to rob the French of the glory of arranging an accord, and to assume to themselves the right of judging between Sovereigns. The Ambassador told me he had replied that on the one hand the condition of Spain made him doubt whether they were in earnest, for they must be most unwilling to see Italy in a blaze; on the other the well-known ambition of Spain seemed to point the other way. As to the wish to rob France of the honours of concluding an accord, the French Ambassador in Rome had been assured by the Pope himself that he could never entrust to other hands what he had not entrusted to his Most Christian Majesty, who was the first to come forward as a peace-maker. The King told the Ambassador *that the Spanish Ambassador was doing all he could to find out what the French Ambassador was about.*

A deputation of merchants recently waited on the King, complained loudly of what they had to suffer from the Spanish and begged for some redress. The King is said to have grown angry, and the King of Denmark, who was present, expressed surprise that his Majesty could submit to such injuries inflicted on his subjects. This and the report of the Commissioner, lately sent to Spain for the recovery of some prizes, lead people to hope

1606.

that privateering will soon be permitted against the Spanish. The Lord High Admiral, when consulted by a friend as to certain capital he had in Spain, advised his friend to recover possession as soon as possible. This and the words recently used by the King may point to the beginning of those events so eagerly desired by this nation.

It seems that almost all these Catholics are resolved to take the oath, and although many clerics who are here do all they can to prevent it as too great an injury to the Apostolic See, still as loss of property and ruin overhangs those who refuse, and as there are to be found some clerics who hold that in such dire stress the oath may be taken without jeopardizing the soul, it is thought that the greater number will submit to necessity. This will greatly disturb the Pope.

In Scotland it seems that they have submitted on the Church question and agreed to rule the Church as the King desires. This will assist the question of the Union.

The King of Denmark will leave, they say, on the twenty-first of this month. He gives the impression of not having enjoyed his visit, indeed he and all his suite have shown signs of being very soon bored with this country and more especially with the chase, which is so feverishly pursued by the King, and this has caused them to anticipate their departure. Every day they have been entertained with hunting, fêtes, and other diversions. On Monday last both Kings tilted at the ring, so did the Prince; and yesterday the King of Denmark had a private joust. As soon as he is gone I will see the King and the Earl of Salisbury about precedence; before his departure I can do nothing.

The plague is increasing rapidly and has appeared in some parts of Scotland.

London, 16th August, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 22. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

565. The English Ambassador presented himself in the Council, and spoke as follows:—

"Most Serene Prince, my master is highly pleased with what you have told me regarding the ship that was burned at Constantinople; but I am sorry to say the Earl of Salisbury blames me for having failed to inform his Majesty at the proper time, for my despatches arrived the day after your Serenity's addressed to Signor Giustinian, your Ambassador. I trust, however, that my despatches will have made it clear that I did my duty in all sincerity. As always his Majesty is kept fully informed of what is going on here, and not only his Majesty, but the Court and the whole country; and a book upon the question of these differences between Venice and the Pope has recently been printed, whose author, I am credibly informed, is the Earl of Salisbury.

As to the impertinences of the Archduke's Ambassador I have nothing to say, as I have not received an answer to my last representations at home, though I may receive a despatch this evening.

I am here to-day, however, by order of my Sovereign, to communicate to your Serenity a new conspiracy, lately come to light

1606.

in England. It grieves me greatly that every three months I have to appear in this place to recount such facts; but these actions, abhorred by all who have a grain of humanity in them, are the work of those who, in this our age, call themselves Apostles.

To make the matter clear to your Serenity I had better begin by describing the conspirators. The first is a certain Jacques Cotto,* in the service of the Archdukes in Brussels; the second is his brother, named Tomaso Francesco; the third an Irishman, named Ball, in the suite of the Spanish Ambassador; the fourth is a Scottish Captain, Giovanni Muss (*Neuce*). He commanded a company of infantry in England, but was deprived of it for some offence. Thereupon he resolved to go to Spain, and to render his resolution plausible, he enlisted a rabble of two hundred Irish. With these he went to Spain and offered his services to the King. Some suspicion was roused and he was arrested; but on its being proved that he was a man of metal, of courage, and of a good heart, a suitable provision was made for him in Brussels. Jacques Cotto happened to be at that time in Spain, and his attention was called to Neuce; he gathered information about Neuce's qualities, his past and his present condition, and found that first and foremost he was poor and sore about the loss of his command in England. Jacques fostered this mood, and presently told Neuce that he knew a way to let him put forty thousand pounds sterling into his pocket. Neuce lent an ear to the proposals. Then Jacques said he must return to Brussels, as the Court of Spain was a place to spend not to make money in, and that he would await Neuce in Brussels. Jacques then left for Brussels, and the Captain soon followed him. They met, and Jacques proposed that Neuce should go over to England and endeavour to persuade some Captain of a resolute will to offer his services in one of the Dutch cities (mentioning Sluys), and then to betray it to the Archduke. Neuce went over to England, found his man, and wrote to Jacques, saying he was awaiting orders. Jacques replied that they were to take their orders from his brother, Tomaso Francesco, who was coming over to England on purpose. Tomaso went over, and in the Spanish Embassy he had an interview with Neuce, with the Irish attendant of the Ambassador (John Ball), and with a priest, a creature of the Jesuits. They talked of going to the Low Countries and capturing "Sluys," but their talk was cryptic, for when they mentioned "Sluys" they meant killing the King. This Thomas, who was at the root of the business, said to Neuce, "Have you a good horse under you and a good pistol?" Neuce, in surprise, said, "What do I want with a horse when I am to cross the sea?" Tomaso replied, "How can I say? Look to it well, for with a good horse and a good pistol you may win your forty thousand pounds without crossing the sea. The King goes a hunting at Grav . . very often, twelve miles out of London, and then he has only two or three with him. One might strike a pretty stroke, and then on a good horse you might easily reach the shore; for the rest we will provide."

* *Alias* Franceshi.

1606.

At this Captain Neuce, it seems, grew cold; but presently recovering his spirit he said, "It would be as well if the man with the empty purse had it filled." Tomaso, however, put off further discussion till the following day, when it was to be resumed again in the house of the Spanish Ambassador. Before separating Tomaso exacted an oath of secrecy, and also by means of the priest he set the conscience of the Captain at rest. On separating Tomaso said that he had never intended anything else than the capture of Sluys. The following day Neuce, as agreed, came back to the Spanish Embassy, and waited an hour alone without seeing Tomaso or anyone else. Then the Irish attendant of the Ambassador appeared with a dish of sweetmeats and gave them to Neuce, who ate a large part; the rest he tied up in his own handkerchief in all good faith, and took it home. There he found two neighbours sitting with his wife, and he gave the women the sweets, which they ate, but in small quantity. During the night the Captain found his stomach quite upset and all swollen, and over his body appeared obvious indications of poison. His wife and the other women showed the same symptoms, but in a milder form. When Tomaso heard of this he attempted to fly, but by order of the King he was arrested and put in the Tower. The King, on considering the case, resolved to send a note to the Spanish Ambassador, asking for the consignment of his Irish familiar, and to demand that he should be safely guarded in the Embassy, so that he should not escape. The Ambassador sought audience of the King, and, in discussion, insisted on the point that the inmates of an Embassy are entitled to the same immunity as that enjoyed by the Ambassador himself. The King replied that an Embassy ought not to offer asylum to evil doers. After a lively discussion it was settled that the justices should arrest the man in the Embassy, the Ambassador, however, protesting, so that this is a case where we may draw the philosophic distinction that the King had the man not "against," but "because of" the Ambassador's consent. Out of respect for the Ambassador the prisoner has not been committed to prison, but to the custody of the head of the administration. The trial has begun, and the results are what I have explained above. The plot was discovered, one may say, in its infancy before it had had time to mature, for the Captain, who was poisoned, revealed all. Tomaso, however, up to the present denies everything. The ease with which the plot was unmasked proves that we have a King whom God loves."

The Doge remarked that he had heard that the Captain was dead. The Ambassador replied that he had only been in great danger of his life. He added that it seemed that the Earl of Salisbury had set someone to spy the meeting of the conspirators on Tower Hill, and his testimony bears out the depositions of Neuce.

Doge made a formal reply, expressing satisfaction at his Majesty's safety, but advising that he should take more care of his personal safety, and when he goes a-hunting should take a larger escort. The Ambassador is requested to forward this advice.

The English Ambassador presents an offer from Antonio Dotto

1606.

to furnish a company of two hundred for the service of the Republic, in return for which he begs his Serenity to interest himself in the reconciliation of the Dotto family.

The Doge replies, and adds that they hope to settle the question of the credit due to the English merchants by the end of the month.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

566. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday, the twenty-first, the King of Denmark embarked. He left everybody well satisfied on account of his presents, which including those to the King, Queen and Prince amount, they say, to two hundred thousand crowns worth. The King of England made presents, too, but not of such great value, and the Queen sent her mother some fine horses handsomely caparisoned. No business was concluded between them; for as far as the question of the King of Denmark's rumoured candidature for the Empire, when the French Ambassador offered to the King of England the support of France in that design, he was told that Denmark did not aspire to that succession. There were those who noticed that in taking leave of each other on board the Danish vessel, after dining sumptuously there along with the Queen and the Prince, the King of Denmark assured the King of England that he would always preserve the accord between their respective kingdoms. He added in reply to a remark from the High Admiral, "What has the King of Spain to do with this?" A remark which is taken to refer to the India navigation and to prove that the English intend to hold on to it.

After the King's departure his Majesty suddenly resolved to set out on his usual annual Progress. I fear this will deprive me of the onportunity to have an audience of the King and of the Earl of Salisbury, who will accompany him. The Progress will last a month.

The Council has absolutely refused leave to the Tuscan Secretary to raise men for the ship the Grand Duke has recently bought in Amsterdam. They will be obliged to man it in Flanders. She is to take out a cargo of grain to Leghorn. The report of a bad harvest in Italy is sending up the price of corn.

The King of Denmark has been delayed by unfavourable winds, but though invited to land again he has declined to do so.

As the plague has not made much progress lately it is hoped that it will gradually die away.

London, 24th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

567. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador lives in the closest relations with the Ambassadors of France and England.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1606.

Aug. 28. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

568. The English Ambassador again commends Signor Antonio Dotto. He says he has received two letters, one from Rome of small moment, the other from Spain of great moment. He read the one from Rome, written in Latin; it said that they had decided not to summon the Venetian Bishops before the Inquisition.

He then read the letter from Spain, dated Madrid, 27th July, but so hestitatingly that it was clear he was translating it into Italian as he went; the letter gave an account of a sermon preached before the King, exhorting him to undertake the defence of the Church.

The letter contained further information as to the straits they are in for money and the three methods suggested for raising it—concessions to the Jews, a tax on the clergy, and a tax on silver. This would give them the faggot to dry their shirt, but not the log to cook their meat.

The Doge, in the course of his reply, informed the Ambassador that in the case of Antonio Dotto one son was in exile, the other at home. He said that for his part he would make peace, but could neither answer for his brother nor act without him.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

569. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Salisbury has not followed the King on his Progress; but in the absence of his Majesty and the Court there is not much going on except the enforcement of the recent laws against Catholics. The greatest diligence is employed in the search for Catholics, and last Sunday a number of persons were arrested at the door of the Spanish Embassy as they were coming away from the Ambassador's Mass; a great injury and insult to the Ambassador, all the more so because, though the houses of the French and Venetian Ambassadors are in the same street and quite close to the Spanish Embassy, nothing of the sort took place at our residences, and it was hinted to us that they preferred that the example of another should be a warning to us, rather than ours a warning to him.

A courier has reached the Spanish Ambassador, he is supposed to bring a reply to the message about the servant (Ball) arrested at the Embassy, but what the reply is we don't know yet. I must inform your Serenity that after the publication of the King of Spain's letter in favour of the Pope the Spanish Ambassador has shunned my company.

The King of Denmark after his departure sent letters for their respective masters to the Ambassadors of France and Spain, explaining that owing to the quarrel about precedence he had been unable to receive them.

The plague is on the increase, and they fear the consequences of a fair to be held here soon.

London, 30th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
Aug. 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

570. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The complaints of the merchants about the damage inflicted by the Spanish are so serious and so frequent that the Earl of Salisbury has been obliged to stay on here instead of following the King. It seems that urged by the universal desire and perhaps by his own personal wish he will drive the King to consent to the issue of letters of marque against Spain. But before coming to that resolution he has determined to summon the Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors to the Council, and to let them understand that unless some improvement were visible the English must take other steps. He will speak in the King's name and very firmly. It remains to be seen with what effect. It if were not for the King's resolute desire for peace we would soon see a change, for the Spanish on their side complain of many things, chiefly that aid is cut off from Flanders. And although the English Captain, an accomplice in the late plot, has been dismissed the Arciducal service, still the English are not content, for he left very well provided by the Spanish and only after much difficulty.

News from Flanders that Spinola has captured Grœnlo (*Gruel*). An achievement greatly exaggerated by the Spanish.

London, 30th August, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. Expulsis Papalistis.

571. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors of France and England and myself sent our secretaries to the Escurial to inform the Duke of Lerma that we desired to present our compliments to the King on the birth of a daughter. We were told that the King would be in Madrid on the eleventh, when he would receive us all.

The English Ambassador, finding that he can obtain the execution of none of the promises made eight months ago by the Duke of Lerma in favour of English subjects, told me that as the Spanish do not observe the terms of the treaty of peace they must not be surprised if the same thing happens in England. He adds that as the Spanish will not restore English goods seized by Spanish and Sicilian vessels his master will be driven to allow privateering in reprisals.

Madrid, 3rd September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

572. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and spoke as follows:—

"Serene Prince, I am wont to introduce my remarks with a small discourse, but on this occasion I shall omit it as superfluous, so clear and positive is the matter I am about to lay

1606.

before you. My master has done well to use my simplicity as his mouth piece, for so the matter will be set forth with all sincerity and without any rhetorical adornment." The Ambassador then announces that the Venetian Ambassador in London has had audience at a time when no other Ambassador was received on account of the fêtes for the King of Denmark. The Ambassador has no doubt but that Ambassador Giustinian has already reported all most fully. "But I beg your Excellencies' attention to what I am about to say, for my master is pleased to consider himself bound on this occasion by my words.

"The King is convinced that the present attitude of the Republic represents not a group, but the whole state.

"He protests before God that he has no base motive for taking sides with the Republic. He is moved to do so by the universal interests of Princes.

"He is bound to support the cause of God, to whom, one may say from his mother's womb to man's estate, he owes such marvellous escapes from peril.

"He is bound, too, by the ancient bonds of friendship so happily renewed between the Republic and his Crown.

"These are the reasons which have led his Majesty to offer his support to the Republic. The publication or no of that offer he leaves in your hands."

The Doge returned thanks for the reception of Ambassador Giustinian.

As to the publication or no of the King's offer the constitution of Venice requires that the question be laid before the Senate, and an answer will be communicated; but for himself he must say that it seemed to him that the Pontiff had discovered that he had gone too far in his haste, and was now showing some signs of a desire to come to terms. It will be time enough to display one's hand when negotiations have failed.

The Ambassador said that, as he was leaving Venice on a pleasure journey on Saturday, he begged for the Senate's reply before that date, in order that he might despatch it to his Majesty by the hands of a gentleman now at his house.

The Doge said that should be done if possible, but the question had to be discussed first by the Savii before being debated in the Senate. Any way the Ambassador would be informed before Saturday whether he could have an answer or no.

The Ambassador enquired whether meantime he was to keep the matter secret or to announce it to other Ambassadors.

The Doge replied that as the offer was made in behalf of the Republic it would be as well for the Ambassador to keep it *in petto* and to allow the Government to act as seemed most expedient for its own interests.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

573. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago the Ambassadors of Spain and the Archduke were present in Council when the Earl of Salisbury vehemently pointed out to them the serious grounds he had for complaining

1606.

of the numerous annoyances to which the English subjects were exposed in the territories of their masters. He presented a long list of grievances which had been submitted to the King, and stated that by his Majesty's express commands the Council were ordered to seek redress for past injuries and guarantees against their recurrence in the future, as they constituted a serious menace to the peace and amity existing between the two Crowns.

The Spanish Ambassador admitted that if the grievances, as presented, were founded in fact there was some ground for complaint, but he added that he was inclined to believe rather that they were invented by the people, owing to that desire for a rupture with Spain, which they openly professed. As his master was averse from such an issue he would certainly remove all cause for complaint, but the same must be done on the English side as well, for there were not wanting far graver grounds of complaint on the Spanish side, which he would expound in a subsequent audience.

It is thought by some that these complaints advanced by the Council are merely a ruse to forestall Spanish complaints; for it seems that the petitioners were put up to complain and did not do so of their own accord. Any way the revived recollection of injuries has deeply stirred the popular emotion, and war is openly demanded; and the Council has been forced, in order to satisfy the people, to make complaint to the Ambassadors as publicly as possible. And so far have matters gone that at Hampton Court, where the Queen is, a letter has been picked up in which the King is urged to declare war, to leave the chase and turn to arms, and the example of his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, is cited, who for his prowess at the joust has won golden opinions.* The Queen would not allow the letter, which came into her hands, to be shown to the King. The Spanish, aware of the animus against them and of the large number of English, as well as French recruits, who take service with Count Maurice—a sign, as they hold it, of a secret understanding between England and France to wage a covert war—though they do all they can to hide their resentment in the interests of peace, are quite unable to conceal it successfully. And this proof that Spain is obliged to keep peace makes the English more haughty, and the Spanish despair of any good results in the Flemish business, for the King shows more clearly every day that he recognises the interest he has in supporting the Dutch.

Spinola, after taking Grœnlo and another place of small importance, has sat down before Bergen-op-Zoom, with the intention of capturing it and so commanding the passage of the Rhine, which, when the winter ice comes, will allow him to carry the war into Holland.

The King is on his Progress, which is to end at Salisbury, sixty miles from London. The City is empty, the Court away, and the members of Council at their country houses (*alle loro case di paese*).

* This was meant to be "a nasty one" for James. Dudley Carleton, writing to Chamberlain from London, August 28th. reports the success of Christian IV. and the failure of James at tilting. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1603-1610, p. 329.

1606.

There was a rumour that the differences between the Pope and the Republic had been accommodated. I traced this report to the courier just arrived from Spain, who said he had it from the Italian courier, whom he met in France bearing the news to his Most Christian Majesty.

The plague is on the increase. If it continues the Court will pass the winter out of London.

London, 6th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

574. Motion made to convey to the English Ambassador our thanks for the offer made by the King of England. As to the publication or not of his offer we leave the matter entirely to his Majesty's prudence; but at the same time, speaking frankly, we consider it for our interest that the offer should be kept secret for the present.

Ayes 149.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 12.

Sept. 7. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

575. To AMBASSADOR GIUSTINIAN in England.

Informing him of negotiations with the English Ambassador in Venice; and ordering him to thank the King and Lord Salisbury.

Ayes 149.*
Noes 1.
Neutrals 12.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

576. Letter to the KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Thanks for declaration in favour of the Republic as set forth by the Venetian Ambassador in England and by the English Ambassador in Venice, and the offer to form a league between the Republic, himself, and his allied Sovereigns. This "heroic" resolution deserves our best thanks.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

577. The English Ambassador, after hearing the resolution of the Senate, dated the seventh September, said that on this question of keeping the King's offer secret or of publishing it he had acted as he conceived in accordance with the King's intention. It had seemed to him difficult to maintain secrecy, as the King of England would himself have manifested his intentions to the Spanish Ambassador at his Court. The Ambassador will obey the wishes of the Senate, "and enough, for this is a passive, not an active audience; I am here to receive orders, not to submit proposals."

The Ambassador then asks for some information about the Marquis of Santa Cruz's action at Durazzo; was it done on his own responsibility, or on orders from the King of Spain or promptings from the Pope?

* Nothing is said in this letter about the publication of the King's offer.

1606.

Some say that this may be the firstfruits of the King's declaration in favour of the Pope, others that it is an insult from the Pope at sea, just as he has insulted the Republic by land. Durazzo lies inside the Gulf (*i.e.*, the Adriatic), taking that term in its narrowest sense, which would be defined by a line drawn from Valona to the extremity of Apulia. Santa Cruz's action is therefore an infringement of rights.

The Ambassador then asks if the Republic would, in case of need, consent to English ships entering the Gulf. He pointed out that if Spain objected it might be answered that she had set the example. The Ambassador begged to be informed fully lest, in taking arms against the Pope, his master might find himself taking arms against Spain too.

The Doge replied that the Government was not sure as to the nature of the affair of Durazzo, but was inclined to believe that it was the result of independent action by Santa Cruz. It was true that Durazzo lay inside the Gulf, but the Spanish held many ports in Apulia inside the Gulf and might claim a certain right to cross it. The Doge minimizes the importance of the whole matter.

As to the consent of the Republic to the presence of English ships in the Gulf, if a rupture ever took place the Republic would be glad of any help in any way; but they hoped no necessity would arise.

The Ambassador asked how the Republic defined an armada, eighteen ships, or more or less? Also had Spain right by convention to enter the Gulf, and if so could other Sovereigns enjoy the same?

The Doge said no armada, large or small, had any right in the Gulf.

The Spanish claimed a right to be in the Gulf at Apulia without the consent of Venice. But Philip II. was well aware of the truth and kept his armed ships at a distance.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

578. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador, resident in Rome, has recently written to the French Ambassador here, informing him that Baron Magliana, who was sent to this Court some time ago by the Duke of Lorraine to announce the marriage of the Duc de Bar and to congratulate the King on the discovery of the gunpower plot, is really a domestic of the Pope, and was commissioned to sound the King on the subject of religion. The Ambassador added that he had sure indications of a brief addressed by the Pope to the King,* to which, however, no answer had been sent as yet. As I know how the Pope is scheming against the Republic, it is possible that he may be attempting to secure that the King of England shall not be overtly hostile to him should matters come to a crisis over religion. I have used all diligence

* *See* Cal. S.P. Dom., Sept. 12th, 1606, "Bull of Pope Paul V., prohibiting the English Catholic from taking the oath of allegiance or resorting to the service of the Church of England."

1606.

to discover the truth. I found no signs that any such steps had been taken, though I approached the subject frequently in my many interviews with the King; but then I was in ignorance myself and could not touch on the subject in a manner calculated to extract information, as I will now do, so soon as his Majesty returns from his Progress and as soon as I can see the Earl of Salisbury, who has taken the advantage of the King's absence to go through with a purge. The King is expected shortly at Windsor, a castle twenty miles out of London. It is thought that he will soon come to the neighbourhood of this City, for some of the Bishops who are to deal with the question of Ecclesiastical Reform in Scotland have already arrived. The King is desirous of introducing into Scotland the same form of religion as obtains here, as a preliminary step to a union of the two kingdoms, which is his Majesty's dearest wish. He is endeavouring to render the Ecclesiastics, who have great weight in civil matters, more amenable to his will, so as to approach the subject of Union with better chances of success in the coming Parliament, which is to meet in November.

Almost all Catholics have made up their minds to take the oath. This is quite contrary to the expectation of the Council, who could never persuade itself that the Pope would ever consent to any step so derogatory to his authority and contrary to this new doctrine of universal supremacy, which he has been sowing so carefully abroad. A fresh proclamation has been issued, but I have not read it yet. I will send details about it in another despatch.

London, 13th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

579. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An emissary from the Count of Emden has arrived. Seeing that the Spanish are not able to fulfill their promise, made at the opening of this year that they would recover the city, the Count has again had recourse to his Majesty's intercession, and now seeks nothing else than to be allowed to live quietly in that city.

The other day the Dutch fleet, to the number of thirty sail, was sighted in these waters on its way to the Spanish seas.

The Dutch merchants have formed a company with a very large capital and mean to send a squadron of twenty ships to the West Indies this year; their object is not only to divert the trade to themselves, but also to attempt some settlement there such as they effected last year; and so if the questions which are now open between the Spanish and the English are not settled Spain will be exposed to serious difficulties on all sides.

News that the Duc de Rohan with one thousand two hundred men has relieved Bergen-op-Zoom and has crushed a detachment of the enemy on the road. As I am closing this the rumour is spread that Spinola has captured the castle of Bergen at the third assault and killed seven hundred Scottish troops that were

1606.

in it. The city is in great danger of falling; but as the rumour comes from the Spanish Embassy it is not much credited.

London, 13th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Minutes of the Senate. Roma. Venetian Archives.

580. That the English Ambassador be invited to attend in the Cabinet and the following news from Rome be communicated:—

The Pope urged on by the promises and instigation of those about him has summoned a congregation of thirteen Cardinals all ill-affected towards us. To this congregation the Pope has announced his intention of proceeding against us; he has begun to raise horse and foot and to collect a large sum of money, which is the cause of the sudden promotion of eight Cardinals.

In view of this we leave it now to the pleasure of his Majesty to publish his offer of support, if in his wisdom he thinks the moment come. We leave it to your Lordship also to act as you think fit; and we beg his Majesty to use his good offices for us with other Princes, his allies.

Ayes 139.
Noes 4.
Neutrals 26.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

581. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news sent here by Don Pedro de Zuniga that he has refused to receive the Irish man at the hands of the English officers upon the conditions that they wish to impose, has caused displeasure, for by his declaration that he desired to consult his master he has injured the position of the accused and has involved his Majesty, who professes to be absolutely ignorant of the whole affair. As matters stand they have resolved not to send back the courier and to put off as long as possible, so that the Ambassador will find himself obliged to take some steps on his own responsibility, and that, however bad it may be, must prove, they think, preferable to showing that they were consenting parties to the plot.

Madrid, 16th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

582. The Ambassador of England came to the Cabinet, and after hearing the resolution of the Senate, dated the 15th inst., spoke as follows:—

He expressed himself glad at what he had just heard, for he always expected matters to reach this point, and to him it had always seemed a diminution of his master's glory to keep his offer hid. He will now inform all Envoys in Venice of his master's offer to support the Republic, and will put it about by letters in various parts.

It is now for the Republic to consider the way in which effect is to be given to the offer. Hitherto the King has been obliged

1606.

to confine hmself to general terms. The Republic will find the King has an open and well-disposed mind to accept suggestions. The King will declare himself to the Envoys resident in England, and will instruct his Envoys abroad to use good offices with the Sovereigns to whom they are accredited. The Ambassador himself is ready to follow the Doge's instructions, and it is for the Republic to enter on details.

The Ambassador said that he, too, had heard rumours from Milan that the Pope was arming. The Ambassador presents a request from two English officers of great courage and experience in war to be taken into Venetian service. They had come to Italy expressly for this purpose, and are the first fruits of English help. They have open letters * from the King. They had come with him to the Palace that morning and were outside the door desirous of being presented. He had had some doubts about making this request until he heard that the King's offer was no longer to remain secret.

He also presented and supported a petition for a safe conduct.

Doge replied that as regards the details of carrying the King's offer into act it seemed to them sufficient for the present to publish the offer. He doubts the rumours of troops raised in Milan, the Pontifical States being ample to supply all the Pope needs. Promises kindly consideration of the request for a safe conduct. Note is taken of the offer of the two English officers, but it is considered better for the present to put off a public reception.

On taking leave the Ambassador again recommended the case of the English merchants against the Loredan. The minister for the week, Zuan Giacomo Zane, replied that he was informed that the Loredan had deposited the entire sum due. The Doge said that the sum owing from the treasury would also be paid and thus the incident would be exhausted.

The names of the two officers are—

Averio York.
Nicolo Pinner.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

583. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The royal Progress which was to have ended at Windsor will come to a sudden conclusion at Hampton Court, where the Queen now is. They will soon leave that place on account of the plague. This will make the Court keep far away from London this winter. The place where the Court will stay is not settled yet. At Hampton Court the Ambassadors will be admitted to audience.

The King of France has found to his great annoyance that the King of Denmark, seeing that the question of precedence between France and Spain is still open at the English Court, refuses to grant precedence to France at his own Court. His Most Christian Majesty, aware that this irresolution on the part of the King of England is prejudicing his position, has instructed his Ambassador to make lively representations on the subject both to the King and to Lord Salisbury. Meantime the French Ambassador (de la Boderie) has learned that, in spite of the promise

* A copy is in the files.

1606.

made, the Queen has admitted the Spanish Ambassador to audience, and in great wrath is preparing to carry out his instructions with heat, and I am preparing to back up the representations I have already made, in the hope that this double stimulus may lead to some decision at last.

The Duke of Kronland, a near kinsman of the Queen, is here to beg the King to intercede for him with Duke Charles of Sweden that he may be allowed to resume that part of Lithuania from which he was driven for having sided against Duke Charles in his war with the King of Poland.

The printed discourse of master Father Paulo (*Sarpi*), the Servite, in defence of the Republic in its contest with the Pontiff, has arrived here. Everyone appreciates and praises it, and it is especially lauded by the Earl of Salisbury, who has received a copy from Venice. On the other hand the Spanish Ambassador has the copy of a certain letter written, it seems, by the Republic of Genoa to that of Venice, full of impertinent falsehoods. The Ambassador is ashamed to publish it.

Count Maurice seems disposed to offer battle; his masters' instructions and the incitation of the King of France, who had lately supplied two hundred thousand crowns and wished to see some result, led the Count to this decision. News is expected from hour to hour.

London, 20th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

584. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I received your Serenity's instructions of the 20th of last month, and also some printed pamphlets, setting forth the case of the Republic in its differences with Rome. I have taken care to send them to the King and the Prince. The Earl of Salisbury, when I saw him, praised the work highly and begged me to let him see all that I received from Venice on the subject. The other Ambassadors here resident have also received copies. The French Ambassador expresses agreement with the attitude of the Republic, the opinion of the others I do not know yet. I am sure your Serenity will be pleased to learn that Lord Salisbury has recovered his health; he tells me he was much more seriously ill than was reported. Lord Salisbury repeated to me in substance what his Majesty had already said and I have already reported; namely *that he offered every support to the Republic, not as an enemy to the Pope and desirous of stirring up strife between him and the faithful, but as a just Prince resolved to maintain the Sovereign rights of independent Princes against the violence of those who, under the cloak of religion, sought to overthrow them; that he regretted he was not nearer at hand, so as the more effectually to assist the Republic.* I returned thanks for these friendly expressions. I find no confirmation of the rumour about the Baron Magliana's mission as reported by the French Ambassador in Rome to the French Ambassador here.

London, 28th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
Sept. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

585. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count of Vaudemont,* General of the Serene Republic, has sent one of his gentlemen from Calais to announce his arrival. He is coming with a large suite, and as a relative he will be welcomed and entertained at the King's charges. I will wait on him and report. The King is still some way off, but is expected here, though he will stay for a short time only, and then will leave again for some hunting lodge.

I never omit to press the question of precedence when I am with either the King or the Earl of Salisbury. And I have lately complained that during the visit of the King of Denmark matters were made worse, for I was compelled to forego an audience of his Majesty. Lord Salisbury repeated the usual expressions of friendship towards the Republic, and then went on to say that the King had long ago instructed his Ambassador at Venice to complain of the anchorage tax; to which the English alone among foreigners were subject. In spite of every effort the Ambassador had failed to obtain any satisfaction, and they now wished for a statement which would enable them to reply to complaints advanced by English subjects. I answered that Ambassador Wotton had no sooner arrived in Venice than he began to open negotiations, with a view to facilitating commerce between the two nations by the reciprocal abolition of burdens. To this advance the Republic lent itself most cordially, and Wotton informed the government that Secretary Herbert had been charged to conduct negotiations with the Venetian Ambassador in London. But no further steps were taken here, and so it is not the fault of the Senate if the affair has not been brought to a conclusion. For the Senate could not be expected to extinguish an ancient and universal tax before a proper treaty had been established between the two nations.

London, 28th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

586. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I proceeded to explain to his Majesty, as instructed, that if the Pope attacked the Republic the King of England had promised to support her openly with all his power. The King replied that he was always glad to hear anything that was for the advantage of the Republic, but that not much account was to be made of the words of the King of England, for he himself had proved it by experience both in Flemish affairs and elsewhere. He was ready of promise, but backward in fulfilment, especially where the Spanish, in dread of whom he stood, were interested. That was the result of his natural temperament, fostered by his ministers, the larger part of whom are corrupted by Spain.

Moretta, 30th September, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

* François, Count of Vaudemont, son of the Duke of Lorraine. Cal. S.P. Dom., Sept. 15, Oct. 5, and Oct. 9, 1606.

1606.

Oct. 2. Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni Secreta, registro, Venetian Archives.

587. That Antonio Dotto, of Padua, who was banished by this Council on the 24th March, 1600, be granted a safe conduct for three months at the instance of the Ambassador of the "King of Great Britain," on condition that he never leaves his house in Padua.

Ayes 17.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 0.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

588. The English Ambassador in a "very long and ornate speech" made the following statements:—

He announced that he had informed all Envoys in Venice of his master's intentions, and had written to many quarters the same information.

He considered that the present difficulties could only be ended in one of four ways:—

Yielding.
Death of Paul V.
Arbitration by foreign Sovereigns.
Open war.

He declared that he was so deep in devotion, love, and well-wishing to the Republic that he ought and desired to be considered a Venetian, a citizen of the State, enjoying the privilege of voting as other Venetians did when they had reached twenty-five years of age.

If in the course of his remarks he touched on matters relating to other Princes he begged for the usual and suitable secrecy.

He did not believe the Republic would or could terminate the crisis by the first course. The damage to her temporal power would be too great. Besides there is the manifesto, printed, published, in the hands of every Sovereign. In short that phrase of Cicero's is applicable, "*pacem nolo, quia inutilis quia turpis et quia fieri non potest.*" After the publication of the Edict and of Querini's writings he said it would be impossible to yield without loss of esteem.

As to the second point, the death of Paul V., although the Cardinals urge him to troublesome and annoying action, yet it is not to be supposed that, if any one of them succeed him, the quarrel would be continued.

"I must here observe that in conversation with the Catholic Ambassador I told him of the declaration made by the King of Great Britain; he then told me that his master was pledged to support the Holy See by arms not because he desired or loved a war in Italy, but because he feared that in this district a new religion might be introduced, and that he could not bear to see (*ma si ben perchè dubitava, che s' introducesse in questa provincia nuova religione il che era quello che le dispiaceva infinitamente et che turbava l'animo suo*). To this I replied that I was greatly astonished, for it did not seem to me that in the present controversy there was any question of faith involved, and if this were really the case then I had deceived the King of Great Britain by representing the question as a purely secular and

1606.

temporal one, which affected all Princes in common for the preservation of that authority, for which, as being the gift of God, they are bound to fight with all their might, and that this was the chief among other reasons which had induced my master to declare himself. I am persuaded that this answer is in accordance with the truth and also with the views of your Serenity. *(A questo io risposi di meravigliarmi grandemente perchè non mi pareva in queste contese si tratasse punto alcuno in materia di fede et di religione et che quando questo fosse io havevo ingannato il Re della Gran Bretagna havendole scritto et datole particolar informatione che si tratta di cose mere laicali et temporali nelle quali communemente tutti li Principi sono interessati per non esser privi di quella potestà che ricevuta dal Signor Dio sono obbligati di conservare con ogni spirito, et che questa causa ha mosso principalmente la Maestà del mio Re a dichiarirsi oltre altri rispetti. Et reputo nella risposta essermi conformato col vero et col senso della Serenità Vostra.)*

On the third point, arbitration by foreign Sovereigns, that might mean a general Council of many Sovereigns, to whose authority and wisdom the question would be submitted. But I must say that there is not a single Prince, how great so ever he be, nay not excepting my own master, who would be genuinely disinterested; no good result or decision can be looked for from such a solution, and I would never vote for such a proposal which would merely be what schoolmen call a *petitio principii*, and would surely make confusion worse confounded. But were the question to be submitted to say two arbitrators, I am sure your Serenity would prefer no one to my master, who, although he has remained neutral in appearance, has yet been clever enough to support the States as he has done, and has openly declared himself in your Serenity's favour; so if your Serenity chose him as your arbitrator and the King of Spain as the other, the whole question might be dealt with by their commissioners. In that case I am sure my master will not be defrauded of this honour, which he has so fully deserved.

There remains the third method of arbitration, a general Council, but if I have rightly read my history and the events of 1508, in the reign of King Louis of France, I do not think we are in an identical situation; for then, owing to dissensions among the Cardinals, his Majesty was enabled to summon the Council of Pisa, for there was some opposition to the censures of Pope Julius II. Now, however, as I am informed there is no opposition to the Pope. I believe greater divergence of opinion is necessary before it would be safe to appeal to a Council.

As to the fourth point, war, it may be urged against me that I am proposing a method which is vicious and incompatible with peace, but I would reply, "*bella facienda sunt ut in pace vivamus;*" and to avoid the greater we should choose the lesser evil, and so I approve of this plan. There are, however, two difficulties, one that the Jesuits are clever enough to turn all to their own advantage, the other that as the Pope is an absolute monarch, all action depends on his will, and I am informed that he has already named the Duke of Parma as his general and has made other preparations, whereas your Serenity moves slowly though

1606.

certainly with great prudence and maturity of council, and so I fear that Thucydides' exclamation may apply to the Republic when he says, "Happy had Athens been had her wise resolves found rapid execution." Two lines of action are now possible, to attack at once or to form an alliance. I fear it is too late to attack now, the delay has been excessive and is like a hectic fever, consuming and destroying bit by bit. Should famine or plague supervene just now, which God forbid, the people would declare that this was the result of the excommunication. There remains the project of an alliance with Great Britain, Denmark, the German Princes, Holland, the Swiss and the Grisons; the King of France I name last for reasons to be presently explained. There is no doubt as to the disposition of the others.

It is supposed that the King of France must be of the same opinion because of his interests; for his grandfather was deprived of the kingdom of Navarre by excommunication. The present King at the peace of Vervins reserved his rights, and accordingly he can never admit the power of excommunication to deprive a Sovereign of his States; besides Rome wants money, and that will always come from Spain, not from France, and Spain will, therefore, always prevail over France. I must here inform you that the French complain of Venetian lukewarmness. If the Senate has come to any resolution I pray your Serenity to inform me, and I promise to serve and obey you as though I were what I claim to be, a true Venetian."

The Doge returned thanks and said that the King of France had the negotiations in hand that nothing positive was reached yet, when there was anything to communicate the Ambassador would be informed.

The Ambassador returned thanks for the safe conduct granted to dal Fumo at his request. This news would raise his credit in Padua, Vicenza and elsewhere, when it was seen that he was stamped as good Venetian coin. He again insisted in favour of Antonio Dotto, and hoped that the opposition of the Dotto family itself might not prevail.

The Doge said the case belonged to the Council of Ten and dwelt on the difficulties in these cases of safe conducts. The Ambassador spoke in favour of the two English officers who wished to enter Venetian service.

He put in a petition in favour of Dotto asking for a safe conduct for two or three months.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

589. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I beg your Serenity to pardon me if on this occasion I am briefer than I could wish. I have just returned from Hampton Court and find the courier on the point of departure. I have reported that the question of precedence had reached such a pitch that, in his Majesty's unwillingness to come to any open declaration on the subject, each Ambassador was straining every nerve to wrest some advantage for himself. For example, before the Queen had risen from her couch after confinement, demands

1606.

for audience poured in from all sides. The Spanish Ambassador obtained audience before the Ambassador of France by employing his usual methods with the Court officials. Everybody thought, and he thought so, too, that this was a distinct victory. I knew that the Archduke's Ambassador was trying the same game by every means in his power, and I set myself to oppose him, and ended by winning this point against him, for to-day the Queen received me before him, to the Ambassador's excessive chagrin, for it is generally held that this may be taken as a final decision on the question between us, all the more so as many great Lords of Council were present at the audience, almost as though this were done by the express instructions of the King. I returned thanks to her Majesty, and I will take care to follow up this advantage.

The Count of Vaudemont reached London to-day. I sent my secretary to Gravesend to wait on him, and to-morrow I will visit him before he leaves for Hampton Court. It is publicly said that he has come here to raise troops for the service of the Republic, a report which gives universal satisfaction. I have received copies of the works of Signor Antonio Querini, setting forth the case for the Republic, and others from the pen of Father Paul are just to hand.

London, 4th October, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

590. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio having heard of the declaration of the King of England has dispatched a courier to the Pope. The Venetian Ambassador will take care to spread this news through the Court and cause it to reach the King's ears. If the King of France should make up his mind to support the Republic the Pope would be forced to come to terms. The English Ambassador assures the Venetian that the Republic may count more upon the King of England than on any other Sovereign.

The writings of Signor Antonio Querini, of Don (*sic*) Paulo, and of the seven Theologians have been reprinted in French, and make the case for the Republic quite clear. They are commended by all. A Theologian of the first rank has offered to write in favour of the Republic.

Paris, 10th October, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

591. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I had an audience of the King at Hampton Court. *I returned thanks for his Majesty's promises of assistance by land and sea should the need for it arise in the course of the present controversy with the Pope, and said that your Serenity left the choice of the moment to publish his offer in his hands. I added that the Pope's recent action had given fresh ground for alarm, and the Republic*

1606.

found herself obliged to take steps to secure her safety. I then expatiated on the fact that the Pope had summoned a congregation of thirteen Cardinals, all ill-affected towards the Republic, and that they, after a long debate, had resolved to proceed against the Republic and to raise a large number of foot and horse and to gather money, to which may possibly be due the unexpected creation of eight new Cardinals, which is said to have recently taken place. All this his Holiness immediately reported to Spain. "These events, Sire, have caused the Senate to lay the situation before your Majesty, and at the same time to place itself in your hands as regards the publication of the offers you have made, for these fresh steps on the part of the Pope seem to indicate that the moment is almost ripe."

The King listened to me with close attention and emphasised the various points with signs and gestures. After reading your Serenity's letter with every mark of esteem he said, "I call God, the veracious judge of human hearts, to bear witness to the truth that I have undertaken to defend the Republic for no other purpose than for the service of his Divine Majesty, the independence of Princes, and the defence of the Republic. May he who knows my inmost thought punish me if any selfish motive has urged me to this course or if the fact that the quarrel is with the Pope has induced me to this end. I have done it because of that duty I feel to God to defend the rights of Princes whom he has appointed on this earth, because of that duty I feel towards the Republic, which is defending a thoroughly just cause and one that is pleasing to his Divine Majesty. And the more I ponder, as I often do, and study this question the more I assure you do I find myself confirmed and established in her defence, nor is there the shadow of a reason to shake me. I have come to this resolve with that readiness and courage which you observe. I reached it without the aid of my Council, and with the same courage and constancy of spirit I will maintain it. Nothing shall move me or make me draw back; nor will I act like the King of Spain, who by his letter has puffed up the Pope with vanity and led him to this precipice. But I will put my promise into action with all loyalty and intrepidity; so I assure you and so undoubtedly will I act. These new steps of the Pope are of great moment, and I hear that all the new Cardinals are dependants of Spain. Since the Senate leaves publication of my resolves to me, I will consider how it may be best made for the advantage of the Republic. I am leaving to-morrow, so will you please see the Earl of Salisbury upon the subject; he will discuss it with you. As to approaching my allies I will do so with all earnestness and insistance. Denmark and the German Princes will assuredly reply favourably; as for Spain and the Archduke there is no need to think of them, the one has declared himself, the other is bound to follow him. There is no need to address his Most Christian Majesty, for every reason will induce him to take the part opposed to Spain; in fact he is the person most directly interested in watching the course of all these movements. And if it be urged that he is 'his Most Christian Majesty,' and in virtue of that title is called upon to defend the Church, we must disabuse the objector and point out that this is not a question of the Church, but the common cause

1606.

of all Princes for the preservation of their rights and liberties, which are not repugnant to the Church, but rather her safeguard and support at all times. I will accordingly take all steps that may be of service to the common cause; and the Senate will find me disposed to do even more than I promise."

When the King had done I returned thanks and said *that I could not refrain from praising the wisdom with which he pointed out that this was a cause common to all Princes, and that I was sure small and great, foreign and Italian, would follow his lead. I said "Italian," for I have observed that Savoy and Florence, perhaps with matrimonial objects in view, are paying great court to his Majesty.*

London, 11th October, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

592. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I saw the Earl of Salisbury and repeated to him my conversation with the King. He assured me that I might rely on all his Majesty had said to me. The Earl was summoned to the King in the middle of my audience, and said the conversation must be continued on another occasion.

The Count of Vaudemont is generally supposed to be *here to raise troops for the Republic.* I waited on him at Hampton Court, where he has always been with the King. They left yesterday for a hunting party. From one of his suite I have extracted the fact that the Baron Magliana is a *secret Chamberlain of the Pope,* and it is possible that he has some instructions on the question of religion. The Count has been received in great style. His suite exceeds that of this King of Denmark.

The conference between the Scottish Ministers and English Bishops has begun. Its object is the unification of rites, but the Scotch display violent opposition and refuse to attend the sermons which the King has ordered. This augurs ill for the question of union between the kingdoms, which is to be raised in the coming Parliament; **for without union of Churches union of kingdoms is thought impossible.**

London, 11th October, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 14. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

593. To the AMBASSADOR in England.

Enclosing copies of communications made by the Ambassador of France to the Tuscan Secretary. You are to ask for audience and to say to his Majesty that although negotiations for an accord are in the hands of his Most Christian Majesty, still the attitude of the Pontiff leaves us doubtful of a favourable issue, and so we count upon his Majesty, if occasion require it, to give effect to his promises. We intend to send an Ambassador Extraordinary to express our thanks.

Ayes 115.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 7.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
Oct. 16. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

594. The English Ambassador asks to be told whether Don Francesco de Castro is really coming, and if so what is his mission. It seems to him that the Sovereign who undertakes to negotiate for an accord ought to be a neutral, but the King of Spain has declared himself a partisan by the publication of his letter. He says he is informed from Milan that the Duke of Savoy is endeavouring to be appointed general against the Venetians.

The Doge replied that the arrival of Don Francesco had been announced, but not the date nor nature of his mission. He added that some persons believed that the letter of the King of Spain had been enlarged and altered by the Spanish ministers in Italy.

The Ambassador replied that he hoped Don Francesco was not sent merely to lull them to sleep.

He returned thanks for the concession made to Antonio Dotto.

The Ambassador announced his journey into the country for four or five days, and said he left his agent, Gregorio Monte, behind him.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

595. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I received your Serenity's dispatches of the 22nd ult., instructing me to buy ten thousand stara * of wheat of good quality, well seasoned, at the current price, and to dispatch it in sound ships as fast as possible. I at once set to work to fulfill your orders. I encountered two difficulties, one about the price, which, as I have already informed the Savii alla Biave, is rising; the second as to the quality of the corn; there is great risk of the new crop being damaged at sea during the first few months after it is cut, and so it is necessary to buy last year's corn, of which I hear there is a very small stock, owing to the large exportations caused by the dearth in many parts of the world, which is also responsible for the rise in price. It is true that in the districts remote from London I am told I shall find grain in sufficient quantity and at a reasonable price. I have written for accurate information about this. I will from time to time report to the Savii alla Biave the current prices of corn, of freight, the quality of the ships, and all other useful information, and I will forward the sample and the test (*scandaglio*).* I must inform you that for this exportation I shall require the royal warrant, which I shall take care to obtain so as to avoid the troubles that overtook the Grand Duke's agents in a similar affair, who neglected to take this step at the right moment, and in consequence had to keep their ships for a great many days lying laden in the ports before they could get leave for them to sail, owing to the violent opposition of some members of Council.

I must add that it will be more advantageous to send the money for this purchase from Venice than to raise it here; for the

* Stara = staio, 83,317,200 litres. Martini, op. cit. * Scandaglio, the Customs test to verify the specification. Rezasco, Dizionario, s, v.

1606.

exchange between London and Venice is at least six per cent. higher than between Venice and London (*perchè il cambio da qui a Venetia è con danno almeno di sei per cento di più che non è da Venetia in quà*). It is true that it will be necessary to make the bills payable at sight, whereas the usual course is to make them payable at three months. But should it be necessary, in order to profit by the season for the voyages from London to Venice, I will raise the money here, so that the corn may have as short a time as possible on the sea.

London, 19th October, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

596. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and the Count of Vaudemont have been away hunting over a large tract of country far from London. They are both expected at Hampton Court to-day, and as soon as the Count has taken his leave the King will return to the chase. The Earl of Salisbury also has been away all this time, and this may explain why I have as yet received no invitation to meet him, as was promised me by the King. I have shown no anxiety as yet, but when I go to him for leave about the corn I will note what he says.

The Count of Vaudemont has decided not to come to London before leaving on account of the plague, which is on the increase in this city. He sent one of his suite to inform me of his resolve and to excuse himself if he could not keep his promise. I sent my secretary to Hampton Court to return the compliment. The Count has been treated with extraordinary honour by the King.

The French Ambassador here has letters from the French Ambassadors at Rome and Venice, declaring that an accommodation between the Pope and the Republic grows ever more and more difficult and that they almost abandon those hopes which they entertained at first.

At Plymouth two Jesuits, who landed there from Spain, have been put to death. It is supposed that the orders were issued here in consequence of the determination to root that Society out of this kingdom. Other religious Orders are not treated with such severity.

The plague is on the increase; all the Ambassadors are leaving. I will move presently.

London, 19th October, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

597. The offer made by those gallant English officers, Captain Nicholas Pinner and Averio York, to enter our service, an offer presented by the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain and supported by ample and honourable certificates of their valour and military knowledge, is so pleasing to us that it may well move the Senate to some demonstration of the value we attach to the Ambassador's report and to the favourable attitude of these officers and of their nation towards us.

1606.

Be it ordered that a golden collar of the value of one hundred and fifty ducats be presented to each of these officers; and that the said Englishmen be invited to appear before the Cabinet, when the Doge will express to them our esteem, and will assure them that we intend to employ them should circumstances call for it.

Ayes 104.
Noes 3.
Neutrals 3.

Ballotted in the Cabinet the same day.

Ayes 21.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

598. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Seeing that the price of grain is going up daily in this kingdom, and the stock of that kind which is suitable for a sea voyage is decreasing, I have judged it expedient to lose no time, and I have begun to purchase. The only advantage we can possibly look for is in speed. The price has gone up so much since my letter of the 16th of August to the Corn Commissioners that I have been in doubt about executing my orders. I have, however, begun buying; and have opened the business with the purchase of five hundred quarters of excellent wheat from the county of Kent, where the best is grown, and the best able to stand the sea. This grain was already bespoke by the agents of the Grand Duke many days ago, but as they are away seeing to the dispatch of the ships with the grain they have already bought, I had an opportunity to secure this and perhaps at a favourable price, owing to the necessity its owner was in to sell it. It will cost placed on board thirty shillings and sixpence of this money, that is seven ducats three piccoli the quarter,* calculating the exchange at four and fourpence the ducat, which is the current exchange between Venice and London just now. Each quarter equals three stara and a third, Venetian measurement; and so its price placed on board is about thirteen lire the stara. But if the money was sent from Venice at the rate of four and ninepence the ducat, which is the current exchange, the grain would cost about a lire less per stara. I am in treaty for a good ship, but as her capacity is of seven hundred quarters I shall be obliged to buy the other two hundred in the same county and of the same quality, so that it may all be put on board together. As yet I have very little prospect of being able to do this, so low is the stock of Kentish wheat. (*Costa condotto in Nave soldi trenta et denari sei di questa moneta, che fanno ducati sette piccoli tre al quartiero, computando il cambio a ragion di soldi quattro denari quattro di questa moneta per ducato, come corre al presente da qui a Venetia; et ogni quartiero corrisponde*

* Quarter = 8 bushels = 290·789,240 litres. Stara or staro = 2 mezzeni = 83·317,200 litres.

1606.

a stara tre et un terzo di Venetia, sicche vienne a valere condotto in Nave lire tredici in circa al staro; ma rimettendo il danaro di Venetia in qua, a soldi quattro danari nove, come s' intende che vienne al presente, monterebbe in circa una lira per staro meno. Stò medesimamente in trattatione per un bono et sicuro Vascello per la condotta di essi, ma essendo di portata di settecento quartieri convienne comprare li altri duecento in quella medesima provincia et dell' istessa qualità perche possi andar insieine con gli altri in un istesso loco a caricarli.) As far as I have gone at present I have offered three pound five shillings of this money per ton, payable in Venice, for freight, at the rate of the exchange between Venice and London, which would amount to thirteen ducats, fourteen grossi and a half, and each ton is sixteen stara and two-thirds Venetian measure, so that the freight at this reckoning would amount to five lire one soldo and six piccoli per staro. It is true the owner has not agreed yet, declaring that for the same price he is offered a cargo for Otranto, though the hopes I hold out to him of finding a return cargo ready in Venice induces him to consider my proposal. (*Sin hora gli ho offerto di nolo lire tre soldi cinque di questa moneta per tonello da essergli pagati a Venetia come il cambio da Venetia in quà, che sono ducati tredeci grossi quattordeci e mezo; et ogni tonello fa stara sedeci et doi terzi di Venetia; si che il nolo a questo computo venirebbe a montare lire cinque soldi uno piccoli sei per staro. E ben vero che sin hora non vuole contentarsi, perche afferma che per egual pretio puo esser noleggiato con grani per Otranto, sebene la speranza che gli ho fatto dare, che in Venetia troverà pronta occasione di carico per il ritorno lo fa pensare a questo partito.*) I hope he will be laden within twenty days, and I will send him off on his journey in God's name and with the instructions I have received from your Serenity. I will continue to give my attention to the purchase of further consignments and will report.

In all this business I am proceeding with the greatest care that it should not leak out that I am buying for Venice, for the merest rumour of such a thing would send up the price, as happened in the case of the purchases for the Grand Duke, and there are reports of consignments for Naples and the Pontifical States, which are said to pay much better than Venice. I employ reliable agents and never appear myself. I am in hopes that I can get this first consignment off without applying for the Royal warrant, which I will do only if obliged to.

I enclose a full statement for the Corn Commissioners, from which it appears that, all paid, the grain will cost at Venice nineteen lire, two soldi, three piccoli the staro, whereas if the money were remitted from Venice here it would cost seventeen lire, eighteen soldi, nine piccoli. If the money has not been forwarded from Venice by the time the payment falls due I will raise it here. It is the custom here in purchasing grain to pay down a certain amount before the grain is shipped. I will only consent to this upon sufficient guarantees; indeed, if I can, I will avoid it altogether, though everyone here is obliged to do it.

London, 26th October, 1606.

1606.
Oct. 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

599. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count of Vaudemont left the King on the 18th of this month. He was very pleased with the honours bestowed on him. He received a jewel worth ten thousand crowns, and in return he presented the King with two beautiful horses richly caparisoned, and another he gave to the Prince.

While the Count was here a gentleman of the House of Bradenburg arrived; he is a relation of the Queen.

In the absence of the King and the distraction of the Court all business, even Scottish Ecclesiastical business, cools down.

I am sending some copies of the writings in defence of the Republic to the Chancellor of Scotland, my friend (Seaton).

The Earl of Salisbury is at Hampton Court, where the death of one of the servants has caused great alarm about the plague. At first the Queen, who is thought to be pregnant, intended to move, but hearing that there was suspicion of the plague in other places, she determined to stay on till the King, who is away hunting, should come back. As the Spanish Ambassador makes no move about his servant, who was arrested and is still a prisoner on suspicion of complicity in the plot, it is thought that he is either waiting the King's return or that he has orders to do nothing, and thus to compel the Ministers, when they discover his innocence, to free him of their own accord and to apologize to the Ambassador for the wrong done him.

London, 26th October, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

600. the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR came to the Cabinet and spoke as follows:—

"Serene Prince, if I did not come here once a week the world might think that my master was growing lukewarm in this controversy between the Republic and the Pope. I have come here to-day to communicate certain information which I have by letter."

He then informs the Cabinet that the Pope intends to employ Tarquinio Capizzuca, a Roman, who has served in France as commander of his horse and marshal of the camp. The Governor of Milan informed the said Capizzuca that in serving the Pope he was serving the King of Spain, and that by his Majesty's orders the governor was to pay Capizzuca his entire salary and to furnish him with money for his journey. He reports the presence of a priest, an agent of Cardinal Montalto in Crema. Says he has verbal information that an English Captain in the service of the Pope was to leave Rome shortly for the Veneto; this man is in close relation with the Jesuits; the Ambassador describes him as the most venturesome spirit, of evil intentions, of broken fortunes, and capable of any enterprise, for he has had a hand in every plot against the King. He begs that this man may be arrested and sent in irons to Venice, which would be the most grateful offering to the King. This Captain has lived long in France, has the manners and dress of a Frenchman, but can easily be recognised by the description now handed in.

1606.

Another thing the Ambassador had forgotten to report, namely, that a young Englishman had come to Venice to act as a spy; but had received a hint to go and had gone.

The Ambassador made a representation in favour of the English merchant, who had obtained a sentence against the Five Savii alla Mercanzia and had not yet been paid.

As to the two English officers the Doge said that being unable at present to come to any decision the government had resolved to make them a gift to be taken as a pledge for their future services if required. The two officers were then introduced and presented to the Doge.

[*Italian.*]

601. Description of the English officer referred to above:—

His name is Eliot. He dresses like a Frenchman and speaks French very fluently, also Spanish. Very short and thick set. Black hair and beard. Beard short and round, cut in the French fashion; whiskers thick. A strong voice, almost bass; sparkling black eyes; quick step.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

602. Motion made to authorize the Collegio to take all steps rendered necessary for the arrest of the suspected person whose arrival is announced by the English Ambassador.

Ayes 118.
Noes 4.
Neutrals 7.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

603. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Chevalier Verdelli, who went with the Count de Vaudemont to England, is dangerously ill.

Paris, 29th October, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni Secreta. Venetian Archives.

604. That the petition of the English Ambassador presented this morning to the Tribunal of the Chiefs of the Ten be forwarded to the Savii of the Collegio for consultation and deliberation in the Senate.

That the Chiefs of the Ten inform the Ambassador to-morrow morning that the matter belongs to the Senate, to which he is referred.

Ayes 10.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 5.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Covered by preceding

605. The Secretary of the English Ambassador appeared this morning before the Tribunal of the Chiefs of the Ten, and said, "Mr master, the Ambassador makes reverence to your Lordships

1606.

ships; if on other occasions he has asked your favour he does so now in a really serious matter. His Excellency (*Sua Eccellenza*) wishes your Lordships to arrest and commit to a close prison an English Captain, fully described in the note whch I now hand in. As soon as the arrest has been effected his Excellency will go to the Cabinet to deal with the matter. He further begs that all papers belonging to the Englishman may be seized, and more especially a letter written to the illustrious Don Francesco de Castro, who is expected here. Although this letter is not written by a person of importance, nay rather of very little importance, still the Ambassador is exceedingly anxious to possess it."

The Secretary presented the note. The Council, after considering their reply, caused him to be introduced again and said that the matter was of serious importance, and that it would receive their attention. That he was to return to-morrow morning for the decision. The Secretary added that his master desired to remain unknown in this business which affected both the service of the Republic and his own safety. With that he made reverence and departed.

[*Italian.*]

Covered by preceding document.

606. Captain William Turner,* Englishman, living in the house of . . . . . .

A man of medium stature, dressed in the French fashion, with a French hat, black embroidered with silver, the bands round the hat also embroidered with silver. A cloak of grey cloth, lined with velvet of nearly the same colour. Doublet of olive-green English fustian. Hose of French cut. The heels (?), the turnover and laces of his boots red (*le poste le calcette et cordelle delle scarpe rosse*).

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

607. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Anthony Sherley came here six days ago, accompanied by upwards of thirty persons, all splendidly dressed. He says he has been to Morocco to negotiate on behalf of the Emperor, from whom he holds commission to negotiate with the King of Spain. Not much faith is placed in his statements, and the English Ambassador's attitude will do him harm, for he is accused of having cheated English merchants by means of false letters, purporting to be signed by the King of England. Any way he is very hostile to the Republic in this affair with Rome, and strongly urges the King to declare war, because he says that he knows for certain that the cities on the Milanese frontier are full of people as ill-affected to Venice as they are favourable to Spain. He had an audience of Don Juan d'Idiaquez to-day, but not much attention was paid to him. I will do what is necessary to represent him as a man of the worst condition.

Madrid, 1st November, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

* A spy in the employment of the English Government. In April of this year he was at Calais keeping watch on priests and Jesuits. *Cf.* Cal. S.P. Dom., pp. 303, 304, 308, 309.

1606.
Nov. 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

608. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As I was unable to make any communication directly to the Count of Vaudemont I took the opportunity to do so by means of the Chevalier Verdelli, who remained behind on account of an illness, contracted in the country when the Count was hunting, and only reached London yesterday. He says the Count is disposed to remain in your Serenity's service and is ready to discuss the renewal of his contract, which expires this December. Verdelli told me that his Excellency had intended him to conduct the negotiations. He also said that one day out hunting the King enquired very minutely about the forces and power of the Republic, the naval and military armaments she commanded, what foreign troops she could most easily enlist, and so on.

The King is expected at Hampton Court in a few days, and it is thought that he will not move far off again; the Court and Council will return and the question of summoning Parliament will be discussed; also the question of the Union of the Churches, about which the Ministers of both sides hold very different views.

The rumour of a mutiny in Spinola's camp causes great satisfaction here; but its importance is variously represented; by some it is regarded as a serious revolt of about five thousand Spanish troops, by others as a slight affair of a few Italians.* Any way everyone thinks that this is the beginning of disastrous consequences for the Spanish, especially as their lack of cash and of credit is irreparable. Spinola has attempted, but in vain, to persuade the army contractors to continue supplies. It is thought that Count Maurice, whose forces are fresh and intact, will attempt something more than the recovery of Grœnlo.

I am proceeding diligently with the purchase of grain, and have concluded a bargain for other consignments from the same district and of the same quality at a slightly lower rate.

London, 2nd November, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

609. Report by Zaccaria Rosso that the Secretary of the English Ambassador had met him that day at the Palace and informed him that the Ambassador desired an interview with him. The Ambassador was aware of the difficulties in the way, but still as leave had once been granted to Secretary Scaramelli he hoped for a like favour in this case. The Ambassador was well aware that the Secretary would never come to the Embassy, and begged him to name a place of meeting. The Secretary of the Ambassador said he would wait the answer. The reply was that this evening the Ambassador would receive the decision of the Cabinet.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

610. Seeing that the English Ambassador has expressed a wish to communicate to our Secretary Zaccaria Rosso matters of great importance, and seeing that it is desirable to gratify him, as on other occasions has been done:

* The mutiny was serious; the result of the collapse of Spinola's credit and the financial disaster in Genoa, which caused a want of cash. *See* Motley, op. cit., iv., 216.

1606.

Motion is made that Zaccaria Rosso be instructed to inform the Secretary of the Ambassador that he is ready to meet him wherever the Ambassador may appoint; and Rosso shall report the interview in writing to us.

Ayes 142.
Noes 3.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Covered by preceding document.

611. In obedience to your Serenity's orders I, Zaccaria Rosso, your humble servant and Secretary, informed the Secretary of the English Ambassador that I would meet his Excellency wherever he might appoint. He replied that I might come to the Church of the Nuns of S. Gerolamo, which is close to his house, between the hours of twenty and twenty-one; the place was convenient for him, and he had used it on another occasion for an interview with the Secretary Scaramelli. I accordingly was at S. Gerolamo at the appointed hour, and presently the Ambassador arrived. After a few words of compliment, to which I replied as was fitting, he said that, as he was about to make a communication of great importance both to the Republic and to himself, he begged my attention, so that I might report all in full to your Serenity; he supposed that I was aware of the request he had preferred before the Chiefs of the Council of Ten, a request that he hoped would be granted him if it had not already been so. "The other day," he said, "I begged for the arrest of an English Captain (Turner), both in the interests of the Republic and of myself. I promised that when he was arrested I would, within three or four days, present myself to the Cabinet to explain his misdeeds. The Chiefs of the Ten replied to my secretary that the matter was serious, that they would give it due consideration, and that he was to return next morning for an answer. He did so, and was told that no decision had been reached and that the question was to be discussed at another meeting. However, on the evening of the same day they sent a secretary to my house to say that after mature consideration they had come to the conclusion that it did not belong to them to receive my petition, and that if I intended to proceed further I ought to apply to the Senate. I cannot deny that this answer came as a surprise, for I had hoped to be gratified. I thought over the possible reasons for this refusal, and it seemed to me that certain words the secretary had employed without my instructions might have generated a doubt, for you must know that in presenting my request the secretary said that certain papers, and especially a letter addressed to Don Francesco de Castro, who is expected here shortly on a mission from the King of Spain, would be found upon Turner. This was not communicated by my orders, but said of his own accord by the secretary, who had heard the fact from me in the course of our conversations on the matter. I imagine that this remark may have caused the illustrious Chiefs to consider that it is a serious matter to intercept a letter addressed to a personage of the importance of Don Francesco; and in this I agree with them, nor was it ever my intention to have demanded such a thing, but this letter is not the real business. You must

1606.

know that this English Captain, who has come to Venice on account of the present state of affairs, is a man of the most vicious life and habits, a great rogue, up to the eyes in evil principles and plans, of a most restless nature. He came here and frequented the Embassy. One day when there together with the English gentlemen whom I presented to his Serenity in the name of my Sovereign, the conversation turned on the arrival of the German Captain Colonitz,* who is going to take service, so they say, with the Republic; it was stated that through his means the Republic would receive from Germany all the men and munitions of war that she required. Whereupon Turner went straight to the Imperial Resident and told him that the English Ambassador had said so and so about Captain Colonitz. As Turner cannot speak German, nor any other language, an interpreter was employed and he came and revealed all to me. Now it seems to me that the Republic is as much interested as I am in this matter, and through me my master, who deigns to employ me, is also affected, to say nothing of the interest he takes in the present juncture of affairs, both as a Sovereign and as that Sovereign who has so openly declared himself on the side of the Republic. I now beg you in my name to entreat his Serenity to give orders for the arrest of Captain Turner and his committal to close prison for two or three days, for at my first audience, which will be on Monday or Tuesday at the latest, as I have other important business to transact, I will solicit his removal to the daylight prisons, and will explain the meaning of all this. I don't claim to see letters or papers; all I ask is the arrest of the man. If letters or papers are found let his Serenity do as he pleases with them, I put in no claim to have them. And should the letter addressed to Don Francesco be found on him and opened I am convinced it will prove to be merely a letter of introduction; for I have learned that it is a simple letter of recommendation, which Turner begged from an English gentleman, who was in this city, and who as he was once at Naples claims kin with Don Francesco, which is a mere folly. Turner is so cunning and bold that it certainly is not well that he should be at liberty during the time that Don Francesco is here. I should like him to be secretly arrested as soon as possible and before I go to audience in the Cabinet, not after, so that it may not appear as though I were the cause of the arrest. When he is arrested I will ask for audience on Monday or Tuesday on other business, and in the course of it I will petition that Turner be removed to a daylight prison; then I will send my secretary to the prison to tell the Captain why he is there. I beg you to execute this commission for me and to entreat his Serenity to issue orders that the Chiefs of the Ten shall carry out this arrest. I thank him for having granted me this interview with you."

I promised to report all he had told me, and assured him of the great esteem in which he is held, and as he said no more I took my leave.

[*Italian.*]

* The offer of John George Colonitz to bring 3,000 foot to the service of the Republic was read in the Senate on Nov. 25. *See* Senato, Sec. Reg.

1606.
Nov. 8.
Covered by preceding document.

612. To-day, in the afternoon, the Grand Captain came to the Chamber where the Cabinet sits and reported to the secretary that this morning, about fifteen o'clock, he went to the house of Giovanni Tedesco in the Corte del Forner between the bridge of S. Giovanni Grisostomo and the other bridge leading to S. Cancian on the right hand side, where the night before he had sent one of his men to enquire if Captain William Turner, an Englishman, was going to lodge and sleep there. He was told by a woman that she was not sure that he would. The officer immediately afterwards met Captain Turner and three others in the Calle of the Madonna dei Miracoli; he did not arrest him then because he did not think that Turner's height answered to the description which had been given to him, but he followed Turner at a distance till he reached the court of the Palace, there he came up and received information that this was the man for whose arrest he held a warrant. He waited till the English Ambassador left in his boat, after having had audience, and then arrested Turner in the courtyard and put him in one of the prisons of the Chiefs of the Ten. When searched by the warders a letter was found upon him and taken from him against his will, for he did all he could to tear it up, but was prevented. The letter was handed to the illustrious Signor Zorzi, Savio of the Council, who was present; the officer added that although he had been ordered to put the prisoner in a separate cell he had not been able to do so, as they were all full, but he had put him in the emptiest there was, where there were three others only. Signor Zorzi said it would be as well to know who these other three were, and the officer went to enquire. He returned and said that one was Signor Antonio Longo, another Girolamo Zorzi, a Romagnolo, the third a certain Francesco, boatman. He reported that he had taken from Captain Turner a gilded sword, which he was wearing.

[*Italian.*]

Note: It was stated in the Senate that the letter found on him was not addressed to Don Francesco de Castro, but to a Jesuit Father. The Secretary showed the letter in public in the Senate, sealed with three seals.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13.
Covered by preceding document.

613. By order of the whole Cabinet the letter was sent unopened to the Ambassador, with permission to do what he liked with it, and a statement that no other papers were found upon the prisoner.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13.
Covered by preceding document.

614. Report of Giovanni Rizzardo, Ducal Notary.

I took the letter and handed it to the Ambassador, as ordered. He said, "I am informed that the prisoner is a dangerous subject. I was not aware that he had any letters on him, but I have heard about a box, and I have ordered it to be opened. This letter must be in English; I will read it, and if it contains anything relating to the Republic" . . . and here he paused,

1606.

to his Serenity. If you like we will open it now." To this I replied that my sole orders were to hand him the letter. He expressed himself deeply obliged, and I took my leave.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Consiglio Dieci, Processi Criminali. Venetian Archives.

615. On May 12th of last year Lorenzo Zanoli was sent to Verona with instructions to the commander to hold him in custody in one of the forts till further orders. His sister Anna has arrived from Flanders with letters from the Count of Bergen, and she begs that Lorenzo may be handed over to her, promising to take him away with her to Flanders. It is consonant with the mercy of this Council to grant her just request:—

Be it therefore decreed that the said Lorenzo be consigned to the said Anna on condition that he goes to Flanders and never returns to Venice; and that for the settlement of his affairs he be allowed to come to Venice for fifteen days, on condition that he never leaves his house.*

Ayes 9.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 6.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Collegio, Secreta, Lettere. Venetian Archives.

616. That after what has been said and read a warrant for the arrest of Captain William Turner be issued.

The Doge.
The Councillors:
Niccolo Ferro,
Piero Moresini,
Zuanne Marcello.
Piero Barbarigo.
Chiefs of the Supreme Court:
Ruberto di Prioli,
Pietro da Molin,
Bernardin Vitturi.

Ayes 8.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 0.

[*Italian.*]

* Wotton suspected that Zanoli, a wealthy merchant living at the Ponte Ormesin, near the English Ambassador's house in Venice, who was one of the chief witnesses in the case of Ser Nicolo Balbi, accused of having murdered the Englishman, Nicholas Pert, had been removed to Verona on purpose to get him out of the way. The true story appears from the Criminal Trials of the Council of Ten, to have been this. In April, 1605, Ser. Domenico Gritti, a Venetian noble, complained to the chiefs of the Ten that Zanoli was annoying his sister, the noble lady, Betta Calergi, and in proof thereof he handed to the court a love letter and a box of trinkets which Zanoli had had pressed upon the lady. The Ten, on April 6th, sent for Zanoli and told him he must abandon his suit; they burned the letter and gave him back his box. Zanoli declined to desist. From Venice he sent to the lady's villa near Oriago, on the Brenta, a boat containing four boxes of presents, and told his men to put them by force if necessary into the Calergi villa. At the same time he sent by hand a letter tied with a golden thread. When the Calergi servants saw that, they suspected the origin of the letter and the presents and forcibly expelled Zanoli's men, boxes and all. Thus rebuffed Zanoli went into the country, and took a house about a mile away from the lady's villa, which he proceeded to besiege, and eventually grew bold enough to climb the wall and enter the orchard. There, however, he was found one evening in the dusk by the Calergi servants, who had gone to let loose the dogs. As they opened the orchard door a strong smell of musk made them suspect Zanoli's presence, and seizing clubs they went on into the shrubbery. There they saw Zanoli sitting on a garden bench and asked him "What he was up to there?" For answer Zanoli drew his dagger and was immediately knocked down and shoved through the door. As he was going he shouted out that he would endure anything for the honour of the lady whom he loved and longed to marry. He seems to have been roughly handled, for a certificate of his condition

1606.
Nov. 8.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

617. The ENGLISH AMBASSADOR came to the Cabinet and spoke as follows:

"My master orders me to return thanks for your Serenity's letters acknowledging his Majesty's declaration in favour of the Republic, and especially for the passage in which you recognise his Majesty's disinterestedness. Your Ambassador in England in presenting your letters added a vigorous appeal to his Majesty to act as mediator, so that the King of Denmark and the German Princes may be induced to make a similar declaration. I am to reply that although his Majesty supposes that in such a cause his friends will not be backward, yet he does not think the moment opportune, seeing that as yet the Pope has not gone beyond "Monitoria" and "Interdicts," names that have been brought into use again at that Court. Moreover your Serenity has done all that a prudent Prince should do to defend your states in case of attack. As regards the King of Denmark my master says that when his Majesty was in England he took care to work him up on the general question to such a heat that should matters come to an extreme pitch we will not have to pipe for long to that Sovereign, for he will dance of his own accord without the need of our music.

And here I would like to add a private opinion of my own. Philosophers teach us that the sun warms all bodies that are here below, and yet itself is not warm; that is a proposition of natural science, but it is not so in the world of politics; your Serenity must grow warm yourself if you desire others to be warm. But to return to my instructions, his Majesty says that as regards the Princes of Germany he will be well content if the question of united action is dealt with by your Serenity's Ministers, but on the express condition that his Majesty's motives are cited, namely that not for the fomenting of discord, not out of hostility to any Sovereign, not in rivalry with any friendly power has his Majesty declared himself on the side of the Republic, but for the honour of God and the merits of the cause, which is common to all temporal Princes. His Majesty, who is far removed from either alarm or shame, leaves this Serene Republic to make whatever use it may deem best of this declaration, either in the way it has adopted up to this time or in any other way that may seem more suitable to its service. For, as I have stated, his Majesty has offered to join the Republic with all his forces, both military and naval, and when occasion arises he will do all that in him lies; nor will he retire from this position, even though he had all the Princes of the world against him; should his forces not prove sufficient he will rely on the Lord God, whose cause this is, for it is a just cause, and therefore must be God's, who is the essence of justice. And not only in the present crisis, but on all other occasions your Serenity may rely upon the support of my master, in virtue of the perfect accord and friendship which is now renewed and established

represents him with contusions on his head, and his body, especially the arms, black and blue. Meantime the local physician, Dr. Quattr'occhi, reported on the case; he considered Zanoli mad and likely very soon to become a dangerous lunatic, for he had begun to talk of "thrashing someone." Moreover, the doctor on more than one occasion had seen Zanoli swimming the Brenta to reach the Calergi villa. All this Domenico Gritti reported to the Council of Ten, who, finding their orders of April the 6th set at defiance, banished Zanoli to Verona.

1606.

between his Majesty and this Serene Republic. Thus far my instructions.

But now I cannot refrain from giving vent to a personal grievance. I feel it strange that, as I was the person who frequently urged upon your Serenity the advisability of forming a league with other Sovereigns, I have never received a reply upon the subject, but that your Serenity should have instructed your Ambassador in England to negotiate with my master without ever saying a word to me on the matter. All through this crisis I have always represented to his Majesty the justice of your Serenity's cause, the nobility of your spirit, your magnanimous resolves. I have used all good offices as suggested by the devotion I feel towards your Serenity. That your Serenity should have shown so little consideration for me in this matter of the league has hurt me deeply. I must further say that as his Majesty has highly honoured me by taking me from the schools to send here to this thrice-noble city to fill the post I now occupy, if he does not now await information from me before coming to a decision I shall beg him to grant me his good leave to go home and to serve him with my prayers, my life, my blood, but no longer with my pen. And thus I vent myself to your Serenity, and so doing I purge myself of all inward rancour, so that not a note of bitterness remains, and I conclude by begging your Serenity, if really resolved to form a league, to deign to consult me, for I possess better means to serve you than you may be aware of."

The Doge returned thanks, and especially for the announcement that his Majesty was content that the Republic should form a league with other Princes, a suggestion which would receive consideration and be settled as the interests of his Majesty and the Republic demanded.

As regards the modest complaint advanced by the Ambassador, he should free his mind of the suspicion that this was the result of any want of confidence, which would be quite the reverse of the truth. This only arose because no fitting occasion for making a communication presented itself. The instructions sent to the Ambassador in England were to sound his Majesty as to what help might be looked for from his allies in case of need. The Doge thus defended the action of the Republic, and eventually persuaded the Ambassador that what had taken place was not due to any want of confidence in him, and convinced him of the high esteem in which he was held. Finally, the Doge thanked him for his offer to act as intermediary in the formation of a league, and promised to store up that offer against the day when it might be of service.

The Ambassador replied briefly; and then went on, "I desire now to come to a question which affects the person of Don Francesco de Castro, who is expected here in a few days. Rumour is very busy ahead of him, and it is said that he comes with an earnest proposal for the peace and tranquillity of Italy. I shall have to see him, and I do not know what attitude to assume towards the present crisis, and desire to be advised by your Serenity as to how I should bear myself, and as I am advised so will I act."

1606.

The Doge replied, "According to our advices Don Francesco was to be at Ferrara yesterday; thence he will go to Rovigo and Padua, which is quite close. But either the weather or private reasons may induce him to prolong his journey. Any way he will be here by the end of this week or the beginning of next. We do not know the object of his mission. There are rumours afloat, but ill-founded. We shall hear what he has to say, and will communicate to your Lordship all that may concern you to know. Meantime the Council will consider what attitude it would be advisable for you to adopt when you meet Don Francesco, and will communicate with you, as the custom of our government requires."

The Ambassador said he would await instructions. He then went on to say that he was instructed to make representations in favour of an English gentleman, called Sir Thomas (? Glover), well known to the illustrious Chevalier Molin. This gentleman, who had been bred in the Court at Constantinople, and was therefore deeply versed in matters Turkish, had been chosen as Ambassador to Turkey, and had meant to travel *viâ* Venice, but on account of his wife and others he had taken ship direct from England. He now presents his duty to his Serenity and offers his services.

The Doge replied, thanking Sir Thomas and asking the Ambassador to tell him that in return for his kind offers he might rely on the friendship of the Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople.

The Ambassador then said, "It remains for me to raise a question which is urgent; I mean about that Captain (Turner), my compatriot. He came here because of the crisis, meaning to offer his services to the Republic. But he is a man as short of cash as he is of honour. He is of no faith or rather of every faith. That being his character I thought it right to keep an eye on him. My position compels me to allow my house to stand open to all compatriots, and so I invited him to the Embassy and introduced him. One day he dined with me in company with the other officers who are taking service with the Republic. After dinner the conversation turned upon the German Colonitz. No sooner had we left table than Turner went straight to the Imperial Resident and said that at the English Embassy he had found out a great secret about a German Colonel, that the matter was serious and the Archduke Ferdinand should be informed, so that he might close the passes. When I learned this I was very angry that an Englishman should have been guilty of such an action. I thereupon petitioned the Chiefs of the Ten to arrest Turner. This they declined to do because my secretary, who presented the request, talked about letters addressed to Don Francesco de Castro that would be found on Turner. I do not deny that I talked to my secretary about such a letter; but I found out that it was a mere letter of introduction to Don Francesco, which Turner had obtained from an English gentleman who had known Don Francesco in Naples. I petitioned your Serenity for the arrest of this Captain Turner, and I hear that my petition is granted, but the arrest has not taken place yet, though it may be expected any hour to-day. I should like him

1606

to be put in close prison, and I will then inform him of the reason for his arrest."

The Doge replied, "When your Lordship applied to the Chiefs of the Ten to issue a warrant, it seemed to them that the matter more properly lay with the Senate, and they recommended you to address yourself to us. We have approved and the warrant is already issued, and would have been executed by this time had the officer not felt a doubt as to the description of the person, and, in order to avoid a mistake, applied to your secretary for confirmation, who said that although Turner is here in the court-yard of the Palace, yet he is not to be arrested until your Lordship has taken your departure."

The Ambassador made a lot of remarks, not worth recording, as to the manner of the arrest, but ended by declaring that provided the arrest took place he did not care a bit about the manner.

The Ambassador presented a petition for suspension in the case of Simon Dedichere before the Civil Court of Appeal. The Doge said everything should be done to please the Ambassador.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

618. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's instructions of the 14th of October to clinch the King's offers of assistance. The King is expected to-morrow. He has been away on the chase, and the Earl of Salisbury is seldom in town. I have, however, endeavoured to see him in order to discover what may be their view as to the publication of the King's declaration in favour of the Republic. I have not succeeded in seeing the Earl either because he has been so little in London, or because the King's departure left him without instructions, or because *the King wishes to act in accord with other Princes; and this seems to me the more probable reason, because M. de Caron a few days ago told me that the King with his own lips had made the declaration to him and told him to inform his masters.*

M. de Caron took the opportunity to offer to the Republic all the forces, and especially the sea forces of the States.

In the absence of the King no business has been done. The Queen arrived here yesterday from Hampton Court.

Chevalier Verdelli told me that the Count of Vaudemont intended to ask for no increase of pay on the renewal of his contract with your Serenity, in order to show to the world his true devotion to your Serenity at this crisis.

Affairs in Flanders are going very badly for the Spanish. The mutiny is spreading. Count Maurice has recovered Lochem and Grœnlo. Spinola is obliged to keep his troops separated for fear of the movement spreading.

London, 9th November, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
Nov. 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

619. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received, *viâ* Antwerp by ordinary post, your Serenity's orders to buy grain up to the amount of twenty-five thousand stara. There is not sufficient of last year's crop, to carry out your instructions, but I hope that the new crop will soon be fit to travel, and then I can buy at a better price. I think I shall be obliged to approach the King, so as to avoid all possible difficulties, though it will cause some loss to your Serenity. I have received from the Corn Commissioners bills of exchange for 3,091 ducats 14 grossi. As they are at three months, whereas the custom here is to pay part in advance, there is a loss.

London, 9th November, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

620. That the arrest of the Englishman, Captain William Turner, upon warrant of the Lesser Council, dated 6th November, be confirmed.

Ayes 116.
Noes 11.
Neutrals 17.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10.
Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

621. Assuring the Ambassador of England that he has been really and fully informed of all the instructions sent to the Venetian Ambassador in England. As to his conduct towards Don Francesco that shall be left to his own judgment.

Ayes 140.
Noes 0.
Neutrals 4.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

622. The English Ambassador, in reply to the resolution of the Senate of the 10th inst., returned thanks for the good will shown towards his master. "As for myself not a trace of rancour remains, although I did complain to your Serenity, and may be in terms which went beyond due bounds. I must say, however, that I never heard a word about the formation of a league. Should your Serenity resolve to enter on such a scheme I pray you to make use of me, for I have good means at my disposal.

"As regards an Ambassador Extraordinary I have not grasped the meaning; may I ask that it be read again?" When that was done the Ambassador said he thought his master would appreciate the compliment, and he himself would do all he could to smooth the way.

As to the advice for guidance in his dealings with Don Francesco de Castro, he felt honoured that the Senate left it to his discretion, but he would have been glad of precise instructions. "And talking of Don Francesco," he said, "I must bring before you certain doubts that are in my mind. I hear on all sides that one must be very cautious in dealing with this gentleman,

1606.

a mission of pacification. Why, then, I ask, does he not go to the Pope first, that is to the prime cause and origin of the mischief? I am told that when doctors wish to cure a malady their first care is to find its seat. That this gentleman comes to us first and not to Rome makes me suspect that he comes not as a mediator, but as a judge, and with the pretence that all the movement began here. If I consider the action of the Pope it seems to me that he has not that willingness to come to terms, which they assert is in his mind. His deeds do not fit his declarations. Only yesterday, and indeed every day, I received from Rome an anonymous packet addressed to me. I open it, and find it contains a printed sheet headed, 'Interdict, published in April by the Pontiff, Paul V., against the Republic of Venice, printed in the Vatican.' Now when this Interdict was first issued in the Latin language it was affixed to four places in Rome, and the Pope would not allow it to be circulated, indeed when one of the four was taken down all diligence was used to recover it, and recovered it was; but now that negotiations for an accord are on foot and an Ambassador from Spain is on his way to conduct them, the Pope sends copies of this Interdict translated into Italian. From this I conclude that the Pope is not sincere in his professions of charity. And I should be glad to know what your Serenity thinks about these doubts in my mind."

The Doge replied, "We are informed that Don Francesco has arrived at Padua and may be here to-night. It is true that he ought to have gone to Rome first as the fountain head of the mischief, but it cannot be denied that during his stay at Gaeta he did all that was right by sending an agent express to Rome several times. This agent was a certain Cicala, who used to belong to the Society of Jesus; he was to have accompanied Don Francesco to Venice, but it seemed more expedient that he should not. We shall hear what Don Francesco has to say, and your Lordship shall be informed of anything that may concern you.

"The Pope professes a pacific mind, but his actions refute him. Every day he pours out pamphlets, and believes by their multiplication to justify his—yes we will use the word—errors, which are many and gross. If all these pamphlets were put together they would make a heap so great that my throne would not hold it. But after all, this activity with the pen is not surprising, for the race of friars, priests and parasites of the Court of Rome are so idle by nature that they do nothing but pry into other people's affairs."

The Ambassador then thanked the Doge for the honour done to the two English officers. As the Ambassador rose to leave the Doge informed him of the arrest of Captain Turner.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. Expulsis Papalistis.

623. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After receiving your Serenity's despatches and the writings setting forth the case of the Republic against the Pope I sought

1606.

19th. I will wait on the Earl of Salisbury and will endeavour to find out what has been settled about the publication of the King's attitude towards the Republic.

Everybody here is occupied with the meeting of Parliament, which will take place now that the plague has ceased. Among many points to be raised is the question of the extortions and injuries inflicted by Spain. The public temper demands a final decision on the matter, and the Spanish Ambassador is alarmed at the prospect of some check, and anxiously awaits the return of his courier, to allow him to delay these dangerous decisions by the help of hopes and promises; and meantime through the medium of those who attend Mass at the Spanish Embassy the English give him from time to time fresh causes for alarm.

Another project is to convey to the Crown various properties now dependent on the King only, and this with a view to checking the flow of those gifts which the King's liberality induces him to bestow on his servants. They intend, in fact, in view of possible complications to initiate economies, although *if war should be declared on Spain* they promise themselves abundant supplies from these kingdoms, owing to the popular desire *for war and the large offers that his Majesty holds should that take place.*

Yesterday with great solemnity they kept the anniversary of Gunpowder Plot. The King went in state to chapel and dined afterwards in public. The City had fireworks and feasting. An Act of Parliament has been passed ordering the solemn celebration of the anniversary every year.

I am going on with the purchase of grain, and hope to begin the dispatch of it presently.

London, 16th November, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Original News Letter, Archives of Modena.

624. Sir Thomas Glover, the new Ambassador to the Sultan, has left London. He takes with him a magnificent present from the King to the Grand Turk.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

625. The English Ambassador appeared in the Cabinet and said, "I do not know if I am to congratulate your Serenity or not. On all sides I hear that an accommodation will be, nay has been, reached, and that the Pope will yield. That seems to me impossible, for every day the Pope adds to the affront he offers by the citation of Master Paul (Sarpi) and the threats and judgments against that other one, Marsilio, and by forbidding trade, all of them actions which prove the contrary of what is asserted. But when I pointed out this objection I was told that the Pope, having made up his mind to yield towards the State, intended to remain firm against some individuals, in order to preserve his reputation in the eyes of the world. I come to your Serenity to learn the truth. I imagine that Don Francesco has not spoken on this subject yet, as he has not had audience, and it is to be supposed that the letter he brings will disclose the true intentions of his master. I beg your Serenity to keep me informed in this

1606.

matter and to pardon my curiosity, which may and ought to be excused by my official position as the representative of a Sovereign who has shown himself so zealous for the welfare of this Serene Republic."

The Doge replied that if anything of moment took place the Ambassador would be informed. Meantime no definite conclusion had been reached. His Most Christian Majesty had interposed, but as yet merely with the result that remarks had been exchanged. Don Francesco has been received in public audience only and his letters—in accordance with the custom between Spain and Venice—have not been opened out of regard for the Ambassador. But it is certain that the letter is merely a formal credential, conveying no positive indications; the King merely says he desires peace. The Doge promised that anything of importance would be communicated to the Ambassador.

The Ambassador then went on to say that *sub sigillo confessionis* he desired to impart a great secret about Spanish machinations as regards the election of the King of the Romans. "There is a passage in the Duke of Feria's instructions, ordering him to press on the question. The object is that if the brothers of the Emperor fall out among themselves the Duke can advance the Archduke Ferdinand or the King of Spain himself as a candidate. The Archduke Albert is not mentioned, as he is the least popular of the Emperor's brothers. But I know that the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine have sent to the Archduke Albert to say that if the sister of the Duke of Cleves and Juliers, wife of the Marquis of Brandenburg, is secured in the succession to her brother's Duchies they will guarantee Archduke Albert's election as King of the Romans, and this might actually take place, for it would not be difficult to gain over two of the Ecclesiastical electors at least."

The Doge returned thanks. As regards Marsilio and others the Doge declared that the State would always protect them, and also Roberto Megietti,* the publisher, as they imagined that the Ambassador referred to him when he spoke of trade being forbidden.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

626. Motion to authorize the Doge to inform the English Ambassador of what passed at the audience granted to Don Francesco de Castro.

Ayes 157.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 5.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

627. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday last I had an audience of the King. Almost all the Councillors were present. As instructed I said *that although negotiations were afoot for an accommodation of the differences*

* *See* Reusch, Der Index den Verbotenen Bücher, s. v.

1606.

between the Republic and the Pope, the movement of the Pope and the attitude of his supporters rendered the Republic uncertain of the issue, and she still continued to count on a corresponding movement on the part of his Majesty, as promised. The Republic intends to send an Ambassador Extraordinary to render thanks. I seemed to gather from the countenance of his Majesty, who listened with his usual attention, the pleasure he experienced, especially when I spoke of an Extraordinary Embassy, for he at once took me up cheerfully and repeated the expressions of his good will. "God knows," he said, "how I love and esteem the Republic, and how ready I shall be to prove it, for my feelings are based on an old predilection of mine for the form of that government. And as to the Ambassador that is coming he may rest assured of a hearty welcome and of every desire on my part to satisfy him." I replied in order to lead him on to an explicit repetition of his offers, which he made. I returned thanks, and then he said, "What is his Most Christian Majesty about?" I replied that he is still working away at an accommodation.

The King then rose to return to the Council, who were waiting him. I said that I was commissioned to purchase grain for your Serenity, and in your name I begged for licence to export. The King declared his willingness to do all that your Serenity desired, and said that by law if the price of grain passed a certain point the royal licence was required for exportation, and if that were now necessary he would cause it to be drawn up. As I was taking my leave the Earl of Salisbury approached me and begged to be excused if he could not receive me at once, as he had to wait on the King.

London, 23rd November, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

628. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I saw the Earl of Salisbury yesterday with a view to finding out what intention they have as regards the publication of the King's declaration in favour of the Republic. I repeated in substance what I had said to the King, and insisted upon the confidence with which the Republic looked for deeds corresponding to the promises made her, should occasion arise. From time to time I touched on this question of the declaration, with a view to ascertaining how far he held by what the King had said to me, for I am well aware of the great influence the Earl of Salisbury exercises over the King. I found that on this question of the declaration this Minister kept silence, and this leads me to suspect that they intend to go cautiously in this business and to watch events. I beg your Excellencies' pardon if I have thrown out a vain suspicion, but the caution I am bound to exercise on your service makes me diffident. The Earl replied that the King had informed him of all that had passed between us, and that I might rest assured that his Majesty would continue in the same mind. "But," he added, "it is perhaps as well that I should tell you what some people are saying here about this declaration of his Majesty,

1606.

for the differences between the Republic and the Pope will soon be accommodated by another Prince, to the augmenting of the Papal claims and pretensions, for the Republic will withdraw from the position she now assumes, and will be obliged to make public demonstration of obedience and subservience to the Pope, even on those points which she now maintains to be temporal. Thus his Majesty, who has no other object than to assist the Republic and to defend the sovereignty of Princes in matters temporal, and especially on those points defended by the Republic, will draw but little honour from his declaration in your favour, which will have served merely to give an advantage to the Republic in the concessions she will certainly make at the instance of other Princes, none of whom, though the cause is the cause of all, have done for the Republic what his Majesty has done, and yet it is they who in the long run will reap all the glory; and when the Ambassador Extraordinary arrives they say he will merely come to announce some accord arrived at to the prejudice of that very liberty which the King has pledged himself to support. That is what people say to me; but I do not believe it, for I am well aware of the prudence of the Venetian Senate." I replied that no action of a Prince, how magnanimous soever it may be, is safe from the adverse criticism of the ignorant or malicious; no action, how worthless soever, will lack its meed of praise from the same quarter; but such appreciations deserve to be met with contempt by the good. His Majesty's heroic and magnanimous resolution was taken with a sole view to the glory of God, the assistance of his allies and the benefit of Christendom; he declared from the outset that he ranged himself with the Republic all the more willingly that he was sure she would do all in her power to maintain the peace. In that sense he praised the dispatch of the Extraordinary Embassy to Rome and all those other demonstrations of regard for the Pope, which the Republic had adopted in order to induce him to take up a more reasonable attitude; he applauded the efforts of other Princes to reach an accommodation. "And so," I said, "I cannot see how anyone reasonably censures the attitude of his Majesty or the action of the Republic, and if an accommodation were reached it ought to be attributed chiefly to the declaration of the King; and if war be declared and carried on successfully the merit would also be his. To show their gratitude the Senate had resolved to send a special Embassy. And so you see how empty is all this adverse criticism. God grant they be not the handiwork of those who love not his Majesty's welfare." The Earl replied, "I know that these remarks may well be the work of ill-wishers, but they will not move his Majesty." "Nay," said I, "they ought to confirm him in his resolve."

London, 23rd November, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

629. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When I mentioned to the Earl of Salisbury what the King had said to me on the subject of the licence for the export of grain his Lordship replied that he had received no orders on the

1606.

matter, and that without such orders he could do nothing. When I insisted on the promise I had received the Earl replied, "My Lord, the King is Sovereign, and when he commands one must obey, but I cannot imagine how he can issue orders so prejudicial to his country and his subjects, from whom we daily receive complaints and lamentations on this subject of the exportation of grain. If he asks my opinion I certainly shall not advise it, for I know the ill-humour such concessions will waken in the public mind. We have an Act of Parliament which forbids the export of grain when the price has reached a certain point, which is taken to be an indication of dearth. That point is already long past, a proof of a veritable famine. I cannot see how, in these circumstances, the King can consent unless he wishes to take the bread out of the mouths of his own people and give it to others, especially when Parliament is on the point of meeting, and as it is composed chiefly of members for the boroughs and counties it is absolutely necessary to do nothing under their eyes which may give rise to tumults." I expressed surprise at meeting these difficulties in the way of operations, which were carried out daily and more especially this year, when there was a dearth abroad and an abundance in England. I cited among recent instances the agents of the Grand Duke, who had received a licence after some slight difficulty not on account of the grain, but because they had bought and embarked it all before they said a word on the subject. I pointed out that there was no dearth in England, for the crop was a full one, and there was still a quantity of last year's grain in the market; the rise in price was due to the scarcity abroad, not to the want at home. The grain that was sought for export was not of the quality they consume here, and they ought to be allowed to sell at such a great profit. "Your Lordship argues well," he said, "but still I am of opinion that each one knows his own business best. As to export, a great deal did actually go on, but while grain was still below the statutory price. As to the agents of the Grand Duke only a small part of the grain they bought exceeded the statutory limit, and even that caused them great trouble; but as the grain was already shipped and as the Grand Duke wrote urgent letters leave was granted." "They themselves," I replied, "tell me just the contrary; and I have seen the bill. All the grain exceeds the limit; public, and therefore presumably permitted exportation has been going on all this year; and I must add that much of this grain when it reached Italy was *sold at a profit in the States of the Church, where there is a famine.* I cannot, therefore, believe that the King will refuse to grant leave and to maintain permission to the Republic to export for her own sole use a quantity of grain so small that it can neither affect the prices nor alarm the minds of his subjects. The King has promised, and I rest assured that he will keep his word." "Enough," said the Earl, "I have told you what I think. It rests with the King to do as he pleases. Your Lordship can talk to him again on his return. Meantime without his orders I can do nothing." I begged him to do nothing to thwart the favourable disposition of his Majesty; and remarked that the Republic in return might be able to gratify his Majesty,

1606.

for example, in the case of some of those requests which his Ambassador Wotton prefers from time to time. I went on to say I had already bought and paid for a considerable amount, and had hired the vessels to carry it, and I begged him to grant me licence for that, all the more so that on his Majesty's return I was sure to obtain leave for the whole. The fact that I had not asked leave before was due entirely to his Majesty's absence. He excused himself on the ground that without express orders signed by the King he could not act. He said his Majesty would be here again in a few days and I could speak to him. I could get nothing more than this and took my leave.

On this subject I am bound to say that I do not know what the upshot may be, for though the King has passed his word, I fear that the authority of the Minister may be sufficient to cause him to draw back, and the fact that he has not spoken to the Earl of Salisbury makes me think that this is the line he will adopt for escaping from his promise. Whenever the King returns I will seek an audience, and insist as strongly as possible on the fulfilment of his pledge; but I fear it will be difficult for me to obtain audience, as that is their plan when they wish to avoid concessions. Though using all diligence and speed in the purchase of the grain I have taken care not to go so far as to be involved should any difficulty arise about the licence; and as a matter of fact I am only pledged to the first ship, about which I have already written.

London, 23rd November, 1606.

[Italian.]

Nov. 24. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

630. The English Ambassador attended at the Cabinet and introduced his secretary (Albertus Morton), a thing he had never done before. This he explained on two grounds; one that he was on the point of sending the secretary to England and the Doge might wish to entrust him with despatches for the Venetian Ambassador. He said that the secretary was well born, a close relation, and dear friend of one of the King's most intimate councillors, and in fact was a person who might be useful to the Venetian Ambassador.

The other reason was because Don Francesco de Castro had introduced his secretary, and if that was done as an indication of superiority the Ambassador of England could not let it pass unnoticed.

The Doge returned thanks for the offer of the secretary's services. He enquired if this was the secretary of whom the Ambassador had spoken a few days ago. The Ambassador said, "No; that secretary I dispatched in company with an English gentleman to England. They were bearers of a despatch of great importance, but when passing through Lorraine three horsemen set upon them, killed the Englishman, wounded the secretary, and carried off the despatch; hence the need to send this secretary home."

As to the second reason for bringing the secretary the Doge said it never was forbidden to Ambassadors to be accompanied by their secretary if they liked. That this was nothing new and

1606.

certainly no sign of hauteur, for it was more honourable to go alone to audience than accompanied.

The Ambassador returned thanks and then signed to the secretary to withdraw.

The Ambassador then said that he was commissioned to raise the question of the anchorage tax. The Doge promised once again to take information on the subject, with a view to seeing what could be done.

The Ambassador proceeded to render thanks for the letter which was found on Captain Turner. "I understand," said he, "that Turner tried to destroy it, and I do not wonder. He is the worst fellow alive, and I was quite right. In the proper quarter I have expressed my appreciation of the favour your Serenity has conferred." He then opened the letter and said, "This is addressed to a Jesuit at Gratz, who was to act as emissary between Turner and the Archduke. Turner writes that he had been in the Lazzaretto, which I do not believe, that I had secured his release, which is not true, and had introduced him to your Serenity, who had offered him a stipend, which he had declined. That your Serenity had asked him what provision the Archduke was making to support the Pope and that he had replied, 'None at all.' Turner adds that he had made friends with a priest who is agent for the Emperor here; and that he had also worked his way into the house and the confidence of the English Ambassador, and had hopes of seeing his despatches and of having some in his hands. He reports the presence of Colonitz and his offer of four thousand horse and two thousand foot. Turner adds a passage that I cannot understand, all the same he said in the presence of two other English Captains that he had found a merchant who was ready to supply him with money if he needed it, and in this letter to the Jesuit he repeats the statement. I do not understand it, and suspect that this is some cipher concerted between them."

The Doge returned thanks for the information. Turner had no money and had refused food, but gave way when told that by order of the government it would be administered to him. The prisoner was held at the disposition of the Ambassador.

The Ambassador returned thanks and asked for any information about Don Francesco de Castro.

The Doge, in obedience to the orders of the Senate, communicated the substance of the private audience.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

631. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Anthony Sherley is still here. Report says that his business is to recover forty thousand crowns he spent on freeing some Portuguese from slavery in Morocco. But every day some new fraud comes to light. Sherley endeavours to insinuate himself into the favour of these Ministers by laying before them suggestions made, as he says, by the King of Morocco. As he can produce no written evidence he does not make much progress. The English Ambassador, seeing him in favour with some

1606.

Ministers, spreads, wherever he can, a suspicion about Sherley. He continues to live in great splendour, though without money, and there is an idea that he is supported from some quarter for services very different from the objects which he publicly professes.

Madrid, 27th November, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

632. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Parliament met on Tuesday last. The King and Prince were present with the usual ceremony. His Majesty made a long and careful speech. He recommended the Commons more especially to study the means of carrying out the union of these Crowns, and made every effort to demonstrate the advantages of such a step. As this and other subjects of debate present many difficulties it is thought that this session will be a long one.

Meantime his Majesty is much exercised about the obstinacy with which the Scottish Ministers oppose the Ecclesiastical Reforms which he proposes. He dreads the results of this bad example, and has resolved to remove the leaders by banishing them in perpetuity, and to forbid the Ministers who are here to return home. He hopes that by the removal of these he may easily find the road to reform, which consists in nothing else than in reducing the Church to obedience to the Bishops, and thus establishing his own authority.

The news that the Dutch are going to send an Embassy here is confirmed. A like Embassy will be sent to France, for they mean to declare to both Sovereigns that unless they receive more vigorous help they will be compelled to seek support elsewhere. It seems that here they are *rather suspicious of the French Sovereign's action; they think he may be the adviser of this step in order to force the King of England to take upon himself the whole burden of supporting the Dutch*, or else to give a sufficient colour to his own action in assuming the absolute protection of the States. The whole question is receiving serious consideration, all the more so as the Dutch offer to keep a powerful fleet in the West Indies.*

A courier has arrived at last from Spain. He is said to bring instructions about the Irishman (Ball), who is still under arrest; but the Spanish Ambassador has made no move as yet.

I can add nothing to what I wrote in my last despatch about the purchase of the corn. I have not been able to have an audience of the King. But I fear lest the influence of the Earl of Salisbury should prove sufficient to hinder the conclusion of the business. He has once more refused me licence for the amount I have already bought, and showed himself more firm and hard than ever, so much so that I begin to suspect some hostile influence exerted from Italy by those who desire to force the Republic to accept their terms.

London, 30th November, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* See Birch, Hist. View, pp. 263, 264.

1606.

Dec. 2. Minutes of the Senate, Deliberazioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

633. That the English Ambassador be informed that we have told Don Francesco de Castro that out of a desire for the peace of the world and of Italy, if the Pope will freely remove his Censure we will remove our protest and hand over the two prisoners to his Most Christian Majesty, who will receive them in the Pope's name, but without prejudice to all our rights of jurisdiction over Ecclesiastics. That on the removal of the Censure we will send an Ambassador to Rome, who must be received as an Ambassador-in-ordinary; he will be instructed to thank the Pontiff for having opened the way to an amicable settlement. The writings in our favour shall be treated as the writings on the other side are treated at Rome. The changeableness of the Papal policy gives us no security that an accommodation will really be reached. We, therefore, continue our preparations.

Ayes 170.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

634. GIROLAMO CORNER, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have news that at Sapienza there is a prize brought in by an English *berton.* This prize I conjecture to be the ship "Rubbi," which was recently captured by a privateer.

Zante, 3rd December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Minutes of the Senate, Deliberazioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

634A. Instructions to the Ambassador in England. You are to communicate to his Majesty all that is taking place between Don Francesco de Castro and ourselves.

Ayes 142.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

635. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

During these last few days a rumour has been circulating in Court that a settlement between the Pontiff and your Serenity has been reached. The rumour persists, though I cannot find that it rests on anything solider than the news that Don Francesco de Castro and other Envoys * of great Sovereigns have arrived in Venice. The Queen asked me about it the day before yesterday, and so have many other gentlemen about Court. All are anxiously waiting the news that the courier from Antwerp may bring. He is late this week.

In these early days of Parliament the question of the Union is being pressed forward. Joint meetings of the two Houses take place almost daily. The King is so eager to see the desired

1606.

issue that he employs all his authority and weight to reach it. They have rather better hopes than previously, though the wiser heads consider the proposal as so inherently repugnant to itself that the enormous contradictions can never be resolved.

The question of the Spanish grievances is also under discussion. Everyone is amazed that the Spanish Ambassador has taken no steps since the arrival of the courier, and it is conjectured that the satisfaction offered is not adequate to the English expectations, more especially as the King has been heard to make use of very strong expressions on the subject. It is possible that popular feeling may force on vigorous action; but they will probably wait to see the issue of events in Italy.

The Earl of Northampton, one of the great Lords of this kingdom, a man of letters, member of the Privy Council, has seized the occasion of these differences between your Serenity and the Pontiff to complete a book on the late plot; starting from answers returned by the Jesuit who was condemned (Garnet) he has compiled a treatise hostile to the pretended superiority of Popes over Princes in matters temporal. The work is highly commended by all; by the King in particular. He has ordered it to be translated into French, Latin, and Italian, so that everyone may read it. The fact that the author has been and still is reckoned a Catholic is expected to lend the work a greater authority.

I am unable to report any progress in the matter of the purchase of corn. I have not yet succeeded in obtaining audience of the King; it is always put off on the score of his occupation with Parliament.

London, 7th December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

636. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While in the act of sending off my preceding despatch I was summoned to audience by the King. I went at once and renewed my request for leave to export grain, urging that the Earl of Salisbury's objections were met by the fact that the statutory limit of price had not been reached, and by the example of similar exportations which were going on continually, notably that made by the Grand Duke's agents. I expressed my conviction that his Majesty would keep his promise, more especially as this grain was required solely to meet the needs of the Republic, *and not, as in so many cases, to be sold again to the States of the Church and the kingdom of Naples.*

The King, who had clearly been very fully instructed by the Earl of Salisbury, replied that it was true he had fully intended to grant the request out of a desire to oblige the Republic, but that on learning about the current prices and the danger of riots, he must beg to be excused. This question of grain was one wherein he had only a limited authority; it belonged to the law, the constitution, the Parliament, which ought not to be

1606.

contravened in a matter of such moment as the people's bread. He could not face the possibility of riots. But what he could not grant at once he might be able to concede a little later.

I replied that the Republic had not the smallest intention of asking anything which could produce a riot. Such a prospect, however, was quite out of the question in a kingdom so wisely governed as was his Majesty's. I assured him that I would use such caution that the operation would attract no attention; finally, I undertook not to exceed the statutory limit of price. The favour asked, therefore, reduced itself to this, leave to a foreigner to export; nor was this even necessary, for by "foreigner" was meant private individuals, not Sovereigns. The King, after a slight hestitation, replied that my case and that of the Grand Duke were not the same; indeed my case had arisen as a consequence of action taken in the Grand Duke's case. As to buying at the statutory price, it was quite possible that in some places it might not have been exceeded, whereas in others it was greatly exceeded; the mean over the whole kingdom must be struck. I replied that in the districts where I had made my purchases it was natural to suppose that the prices would be high, owing to their proximity to the sea, a fact which drew purchasers to those parts. If then the price in those districts had not exceeded the statutory limit it was natural to suppose that it would be far below it elsewhere. It is difficult to see what more the inhabitants of those districts want, as all the business and the gains are in their hands; they sell the grain, their ships transport it, payment is made to them.

Finally, the King begged to be excused if he was now obliged to withhold permission, which he might perhaps, later on, be able to grant. He declared that he would never concede to others what he refused to the Republic. I begged him at least to allow the small amount I had already bought to be exported, as owing to his absence I had been unable to have an audience earlier, and I based my request upon the intention he had manifested and the example of others, and dwelt on the grave interests involved. The King rose from his seat and said that about that it was necessary to consult the Earl of Salisbury to see how it could be done; and with that he took his departure.

It is clear that the Earl of Salisbury is the hindering cause, and as long as he remains of his present opinion I see little hope of success. If your Excellencies are pressed it would be as well to make provision elsewhere, and as for the money advanced it will be easy to remit the amount that is over from the purchase already made, and to make a little profit on it. I shall see the Earl of Salisbury again on the matter of the leave to export the grain that is already bought. As the whole matter lies with him I will endeavour to find out some other way by which your Serenity may be served, for this is a country in which you can obtain in one way what could not be obtained in another (*essendo questo un paese nel quale spesso s' ottienne per una via quello che non si può fare per l'altra*). I think it possible that the King will make his excuses through his Am-

1606.

bassador resident in Venice, and I am of humble opinion that it would be as well to approach him on the matter, as that may possibly hasten on the time when, as the King says, he may be able to grant leave, an expression which I interpret as meaning when Parliament is dissolved.

London, 7th December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

637. The English Ambassador was invited to attend the Cabinet to hear the resolution of the Senate, dated December 2nd.

The Doge said he was glad to hear that the Ambassador found pleasure in duck-shooting, and that if the Ambassador went out again in colder weather he would find it still more amusing on account of the vast quantity of birds, but that he must clothe himself warmly.

The Ambassador replied that he had been greatly delighted with the double pleasure of killing and eating. This time he had only been out to learn how to stand it; if the cold came back he would with pleasure stand still more. He added that it seemed to him a pretty sport to kill on the wing, a custom they had not yet introduced into England (*et aggionse parerli bella cosa lo ammazzar li ucelli in aria, usanza a lui molto nuova, perchè non è stata ancora portata in Inghilterra*).

The resolution of the Senate was then read.

The Ambassador returned thanks for the information given, and asked what Don Francesco de Castro had proposed.

The Doge says that no definite proposals have been made. The Ambassador then replies that the matter standing so he will visit Don Francesco that very day and will know how to behave like a good Venetian.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

638. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador is pressing on the marriage of the Prince with the Infanta. It seems he is encouraged to hope that it may be concluded. But among other demands the Spanish insist that his Highness must come to Spain to fetch his wife. The Ambassador is indignant. But he is afraid of a match with the Dauphin, which the Grand Duke is said to be advocating. The French Ambassador laughs at these hopes which the English nourish. The Infanta is so far from marriageable age that even were a settlement made it could easily be broken.

As to the affair of Sir Anthony Sherley I have discovered with certainty that among his other schemes is one to hand over to the Spanish a sea port in Marocco. He goes about insisting on the ease with which it could be done, but as the plan requires the expenditure of money it is not so readily embraced, partly

1606.

because the Crown is in want of ready money and partly because they do not trust Sherley completely.

Madrid, 9th December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

639. Girolamo Corner, Governor in Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

My messenger sent to get news of the ship "Rubbi" returned yesterday and reports that he found no traces of the ship, only the people of Modon declare that they witnessed a fight at sea between two ships, which separated as evening fell. This leads one to the conclusion that the privateer was either Maltese or Spanish, for if she had been English she would have taken shelter in one of the Turkish ports. My agent further reports that at Sapienza there is an English *berton*, commanded by a Captain Antonio, and another at Coron, the name of whose Captain he could not find out.

Zante, 10th December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

640. Ottaviano Bon, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

On Saturday, the 9th inst., the Grand Vizir, Dervisch, was called to the Serraglio and made to enter by a secret door. The Sultan burst out at him in a fury and ordered him to be slain. He was surrounded, but defended himself, and the Sultan cried out, "Finish him," whereupon with sticks and swords they sent his soul to Lucifer, as he deserved.

Hassan Pasha, husband of the Sultan's aunt, has been made Lieutenant Grand Vizir; and Murad Pasha, General in Hungary, is Grand Vizir.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 11th December, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 13. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

641. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet, and the resolution of December 11th was read to him.

The Ambassador said, "Before proceeding to deal with current affairs I will, with your Serenity's good leave, produce a book in order to refute it in the places where I am mentioned." He then drew from his pocket a book bound in cardboard and said:

"First and foremost I ask leave to reply to this presumptuous writer. He is a certain Father Paulo Cominuoli, of Perugia, a Jesuit, as the title informs us. But I have studied the book not only with attention, but with avidity, for this is the first work bearing the name of a Jesuit that I have read on this subject. I affirm and will prove that it is the work of Possevino, masked as Don Paulo, in accordance with a common habit of his to publish under pseudonyms. I find I am named at page

1606.

75, where he honours me by placing me first among the many reasons for which your Serenity has been excommunicated, the admission of heretics to your State. I am also the subject matter of the fifth heading, where he says that the English Ambassador publicly in his own house causes Calvinism to be preached.

I reply that this charge is contradictory in itself, for if in his own house then not publicly, if publicly then not in his own house.

The author says that many Venetian gentlemen attend these sermons. Well," said the Ambassador smiling, "let that pass; I will only remark that this is '*spargere voces et præoccupare animos*,' and would recall the saying of the old Cardinal of Lorraine, that a three days' lie is as mischievous as a three months' lie. How can it be true that sermons are preached in my house when it is three months that I am without a chaplain.* This is gross ignorance on the part of the author, and I must say that if the Jesuits are thus badly informed when they are only as far off as Perugia, how are we to believe what they report of Japan, Germany, Poland, Muscovy, and other distant parts? Nor need I point out that the Pope has not excommunicated either the King of Spain nor the Archdukes for receiving Ambassadors from my master. I will only say that I am under the protection of a mighty Prince, absolute, independent, who knows no superior; resolute in himself, of high courage and power, who has no need to beg the Pontiff's leave for any act he may choose to do. This masquerading author has the impudence to pretend that your Serenity is excommunicated for having dealt with my master through me; well then I intend to prove out of this very fifth chapter of his that it is Paul V. who is excommunicated, for I will prove that Paul V. himself has dealt with your Serenity through me.

It may be news to your Serenity, but it is none the less true that the Bishop of Jerace, who preceded Monsignore Offreddo as Nuncio here, sent his confessor to me one morning to say in the most courteous terms that he understood that I bore myself well and discreetly; in short the message was most polite and friendly. Next day I returned the compliment by one of my secretaries. All this was the work of Possevino, whom I used to visit at the Jesuits' College and who thought me one of his lambs. He told the Nuncio that he had the entrée of the English Embassy, and persuaded him to send his chaplain to pay me this compliment.

A little later a despatch arrived from Rome, with orders from the Pope to open up a certain negotiation with me through Father Possevino. He sent to say that on the Pope's orders he had business to transact with me, and asked for an interview at my house. I sent back an answer that much as I loved and

* The Rev. Nathaniel Fletcher, son of Dr. Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, was chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton in Venice; he returned to England about the end of September. Mr. Bedell did not succeed Fletcher till 1607. *See* "Life of Bishop Bedell," Camden Society, p. 102.

1606.

esteemed him personally I could not, for various reasons, admit him, a Jesuit, to my house. But I was not such a boor as to refuse to listen to him, and as I was in the habit of visiting the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo to study certain pictures, and intended to be there that same afternoon, he might join me there. That he did, and our conversation lasted about an hour. On parting I told him that I did not give him leave to report any part of our conversation to the Nuncio; this I did because I know how the Jesuits represent everything in their own light, and I thought that he would make capital with the Pope out of our talk. I told him I myself would write fully to the Nuncio, which I did, and as I have kept a copy I should like to read it to your Serenity."

Letter from the English Ambassador to the Nuncio:—

That Father Antonio Possevino told the Ambassador in the Pope's name how highly his Holiness admired and esteemed his Majesty, as he would prove on every occasion, *salva la religione Cattolica.*

The Ambassador assured the Pope that his Majesty had an equal admiration and esteem for his Holiness, and would show it on every occasion, *salva la religione Cattolica.*

Then followed compliments on the visits exchanged between the Nuncio and the Ambassador.

After reading the letter the Ambassador said that he supposed the Pope had taken this step in order to win over the King of England in this crisis. The step was taken at the time when the plot was being hatched in England. The Jesuits were at the bottom of the plot. And the Ambassador here entered on a long indictment of the Society. "I sent the above letter to the Nuncio by my chaplain, and ordered him to tell the Nuncio precisely who he was. The Nuncio took the letter with his own hand, though the chaplain is for him a rock of offence. And thus by tacit consent the Pope has dealt with my master through me.

"I will now proceed to more serious matters, and will report my visit to Don Francesco de Castro, so that your Serenity may see that I carried myself as a true Venetian.

"After compliments, which were very long, I, who cannot bear saying 'your Excellency's servant' over and over again, began to broach the real subject. I told him of the general belief that the King of Spain desired peace and would secure it, and that my master had made declarations favourable to the Republic.

"Don Francesco asked if they were made out of opposition to his master because he had declared for the Pope?

"I replied that it was in the interests of Princes that my master had made his declaration.

"Don Francesco said that his master was ready to lose a city or two and to shed his blood for so just a cause as the Pope's.

"I must here say something very important; let your Serenity calculate how many men my master needs to defend his kingdom, and then count on all the rest. Be assured of the sincerity of

1606.

my master; the proof is that the whole idea is his own, and that of his own accord he approached the King of Denmark, and if he has not sounded the German Princes yet that is merely because he did not think the time was ripe, but now that affairs stand as they do and moving on these lines I must have lost my wits if we do not hit it off.

"I must add that the English Ambassador in France writes to ask if it is true that our master has declared himself; and it may seem strange to you that a person of such importance should not be aware of this; but I must say that the great prudence of the Earl of Salisbury prevents him from making unnecessary communications."

The Doge replied that they had seen and read the book by Don Paulo Cominicoli (*sic*), but were not aware that it was really by Possevino, who was known for a seditious and scandalous subject wherever he went. The Republic in this controversy would not fail to remain true to its ancient religion just as the King of England remained true to his.

Returns thanks for the renewed assurance that the King of England is ready to assist the Republic with all his forces, a resolution which shows his Majesty's large and generous and truly Christian mind. It is not impossible that some arrangement may be reached between the Republic and the Pope, but should war be declared Venice will rely chiefly on the assistance promised by the King of England.

The Ambassador said that he had forgotten to mention that when talking with Don Francesco he had remarked that the Papal authority had on one occasion been banished from Spain. Don Francesco and also the Ambassador-in-Ordinary denied this and said that they would admit it only if proved out of an authentic, juridic, and Catholic authority. The Ambassador went home and found the passage in de Thou's history, chapter 1, page 32. "Cæsar ut injuriam sibi a Clemente illatam ulciseretur nominis Pontificii authoritatem per omnem Hispaniam abolet exemplo ab Hispanis ipsis posteritati relicto posse ecclesiasticam disciplinam citra nominis Pontificii authoritatem ad tempus conservari."

The Doge remarked how clever and learned the Ambassador was.

Then Wotton proceeded to say that a certain Scotchman, a Captain who had served in the wars in Hungary, had told him that if peace was concluded between the Emperor and the Sultan it would be a great gain for the cause of Venice, for all lower Hungary would be ready to furnish men. This Scot is anxious to be taken into the service of the Republic. This is the third officer that the Ambassador has presented to the Doge.

The Doge said if the Ambassador would mention the gentleman's name it would be added to the list of volunteers.

The Ambassador returned thanks for the safe conduct granted to Antonio Dotto. He had hoped to perform that duty along with Signor Antonio, but as that gentleman is ordered to remain

1606.

in his house the Ambassador acts alone in begging the government to insist on reconciliation in the Dotto family.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

642. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England. to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have obtained leave to export the grain already purchased. The Earl of Salisbury sent to say that I shall have the warrant in two days. The grain shall be shipped and dispatched next week, and all papers referring to it I will send *viâ* Antwerp. I am in some hopes that I may later on obtain leave for the rest, when the price is lower.

As everybody is busy at present in Parliament there is little else to write about. The question of the Union, the main question, is more than ever involved in the usual difficulties. The longer they deal with it the less clear becomes the road to a solution. Indeed the negotiations are more likely to divide than to unite the minds of these two peoples; both are hostile and also tenacious of their own; seeking to gain rather than to give.

They have heard with disgust that Count Maurice, though superior to Spinola in forces, withdrew from the succour of Grœnlo, declining battle.

The translation of works upholding the case of the Republic is being carried on. More especially the work of Sig. Antonio Querini is admired and praised by the King. Lord Northampton admits that all the praise bestowed upon his work is due to that book alone. They are preparing what they call an interlinear reply to the work of Baronius. I am told there will be something from the King's pen included in it.

Expulsis Papalistis.

I have received your Serenity's despatches of the 17th of November, enclosing the English Ambassador's communication and the reply of the Senate; and truth to say I am not much surprised at the information contained in them; *for I am now confirmed in my suspicion that in view of the possible completion of an accord with the Pontiff, they have determined to stand aside for the present and to watch events. I see that they are now saying they were besought to grant that* which in reality they offered by the mouth of the English Ambassador, and which I myself replaced entirely at his Majesty's pleasure. It was he who brought up the question of a league of Princes. Would to God I had to deal with no other here than with this excellent King, a model of frankness and sincerity. But let them use what artifices they like I assure your Serenity they shall not make me budge an inch from my instructions.*

London, 14th December, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* *i.e.*, the public declaration of English support.

1606.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

643. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The rumour of an accommodation between the Republic and the Pope continues, but I have not heard that either the King or the Earl of Salisbury have said anything on the matter. It is true that both are absolutely occupied just now with Parliamentary business and have little time to think of anything else, and as long as Parliament is sitting I shall hardly have an opportunity of speaking with them.

It is said that some addition will be made to the laws against the Catholics because of information received that the Pope, being aware that the English Catholics, advised by certain Ecclesiastics, will take the oath of Supremacy in order to avoid confiscation, has sent strict injunctions that under no circumstances can such dissimulation be tolerated. This has caused great discontent among the Catholics, who find themselves obliged to forfeit their estates in perpetuity. And a few days ago notices were found posted in the public streets, threatening the present Government for the prosecutions it inflicted. This has greatly disturbed his Majesty, though there are some who believe that the whole thing is an invention of those who desire while Parliament is sitting to embitter men's minds and secure still severer legislation against the Catholics (*se bene da alcuni si crede che siano tutte inventioni de quelli che vorebbono con l'occasione del presente parlamento trovar materia di esacerbare gli animi et di far nascere qualche altra severa ressolutione contra di loro*).

The affairs of Scotland, too, are causing the King no small anxiety. It seems that he is far from satisfied with the conduct of certain ministers, both ecclesiastical and secular, and intends to go there as soon as possible in the expectation that his presence will restore to order the actual confusion, and that his authority will at the same time remove the difficulties in the way of the Union, which he so ardently desires.

The remaining ships destined for the voyage to the West Indies are being got ready, as the English are resolved to keep alive, as far as they can, their trading claims in those waters. This alarms the Spanish, who are aware that the Dutch are fitting out a new armada, and they dread lest it should effect a junction with the English, which would constitute a serious menace to their dominion. The Spanish Ambassador, who had already foreseen this danger and had on previous occasions made vigorous efforts to avert it, now keeps silence, both on this and on those other points on which the English claim satisfaction in virtue of complaints lodged. Everyone is waiting to see the upshot of the matter.

At last I have obtained the warrant to export grain. But the officials put such difficulties in my way that I was obliged to get the warrant signed twice over by the King's own hand. I think all this is done to exaggerate the favour conceded. This is not due to the King himself, from whom, if left alone, I would have obtained all that was asked. To-morrow, please God, I shall begin lading the grain.

London, 21st December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

1606.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

644. Copy of a letter presented by the English Ambassador in Venice to the Cabinet on January 18th, 1606-7. Addressed—

To the illustrious Lord, my honoured master, Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador-in-Ordinary of his Majesty of England to the Republic of Venice.

Our old friendship and acquaintance will, I think, render it agreeable to you to have news of me from this Canton, and that for a reason which will presently appear.

It is a year now since it pleased the Lord to call to himself my beloved wife. She left me a son, who is now nine years of age. My good friends some months later urged me to marry the young daughter of an illustrious family in this city. Her father has always filled honourable offices in his native state and served with honour and profit as Colonel under his Most Christian Majesty.

I now find myself in a very great credit here and related to all the leading families in Bern, Freiburg, and Neuchâtel.

The troubles of the Venetian Republic caused by the Papal Interdict have suggested to me that if my influence in this Canton could be of any service to the Republic in keeping these people favourable and ready to assist if occasion requires, it might not be amiss to offer it through your Lordship, who, I am sure, has the public weal and especially that of the Republic much at heart no less than I myself.

I know there will be difficulties in the way, the result of insufficient information as to the true nature and aims of these people, and to clear them up would require a personal interview. But to give you briefly some idea I will say that you must distinguish between Swiss and Swiss, between Canton and Canton, and the city folk are very different from the villagers. The latter, besides being short of men and also very unreliable, require much gold to move them; the former can be secured at less expense and with greater security. Nor is there any necessity to make a formal league which always gives rise to observation and suspicion; there are other ways of drawing profit without so much ceremony and on the quiet, about which, should it be desired, I would give information to you by word of mouth to whom soever and wherever might be agreed on.

I have thought right to lay this before you. Your Lordship will proceed as seems best to your wisdom. I might have employed my Graubünden friends, but for reasons to be explained by word of mouth I have refrained.

Bern, 24th November, 1606. O.S.

Your Lordship's most affectionate servant,
Paolo Lentolo.

Dec. 22.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

645. The English Ambassador presents the compliments of the season; and ventures to enquire the substance of Don Francesco's last audience. The Doge replied that Don Francesco had endeavoured to persuade the government to suspend the decrees of the Senate. The government had declined to do so. There were no new proposals made. The Ambassador said that "English ships are lying idle in the Thames, the dauntless Eng-

1606.

lish blood is boiling to rush to the defence of this great cause; all are impatient of these long negotiations."

The Doge replied that he was aware that the English had the ships and the men, but she ought not to move till the Pope moved.

The Ambassador says he has a charming present to make, in the person of an English Captain.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

646. That the English Ambassador be informed of our reply to Don Francesco, declining to adhere to his proposal that we should suspend the resolutions of the Senate for three months.

Ayes 116.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 12.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

647. Francesco Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador complains that the Spanish translation of the recent laws passed in England against Catholics, has been falsified. He has obtained no satisfaction as yet, though he has demanded its suppression. The Jesuits translated and printed this version with the additions and alterations, which your Excellencies will recognise on comparing the Spanish and Italian versions enclosed.

Madrid, 23rd December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

648. The English Ambassador complains to the Secretary Zaccaria Rosso of a report in the town that the King of England is not as warm as he was at the beginning.

He hoped that the Republic would stand firm and would find the coming year either peaceful or glorious.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

649. Ottaviano Bon, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Venetian Ambassador explains to Lieutenant Grand Vizir that the reason for the quarrel between Venice and the Pope is the determination of the Republic not to break with the Grand Turk. France has intervened and England declared itself for the Republic.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th December, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

650. The Same to the Same.

The new English Ambassador (Glover), who is coming to take the place of the present resident, has reached the Dardanelles and will soon be here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th December, 1606.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1606.
Dec. 27. Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

651. That the English Ambassador be informed that despatches from Milan announce the arrival of orders from Spain to the Count de Fuentes that he is to assist the Pope with arms; and that Fuentes has already issued orders for raising troops in Italy and Switzerland.

Ayes 179.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

652. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Acknowledges receipt of despatches containing a summary of the state of affairs between the Republic and the Pope. This will be useful in talking to the King and the Earl of Salisbury; especially as they are impressed by the idea that an accommodation has been reached. The King is pressing forward the publication of that book about which I have already written.

Parliament will be adjourned in a few days to meet in March. There is little prospect of the Union being carried. The King will come here for the adjournment, and then after a few days dedicated to the wedding of a Scotch Baron,* a favourite of his, he will leave for the country.

English and Dutch intentions as to the West Indies navigation cause the Spanish to stand on the alert. News has been brought by a vessel from those parts that all the inhabitants of the places exposed to landing and an invasion have been compelled to retire into the fortified towns, the villages have been burned, and the land laid waste, so as to deprive the enemy of provisions. This caused great ill-feeling and a sort of revolution. The act will encourage the Dutch to push forward those great preparations that they are said to be making with a view to this expedition.

The dearth of money in Flanders still continues. It is said that Spinola will be obliged to go to Spain to arrange matters, or at least to avoid being present if a mutiny takes place. He had agreed with the mutineers to give them Dist for security and to pay them twenty thousand ducats a month, but he finds he cannot meet this engagement nor the other necessary demands of the soldiery.

London, 28th December, 1606.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

653. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier has reached the English Ambassador in thirteen days from London. The Ambassador tells me the orders contained refer to commercial matters; *his own despatch about the false translation not having reached England yet. I am told,*

* John Ramsay, Viscount Hadington, married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, Earl of Sussex. James was grateful to Ramsay for having helped him to escape from the Gowrie conspiracy. *See* Birch 'Court and Times of James," I., p. 72.

1606.

however, that he has received orders not to take a high hand, as they are determined to maintain the peace.

Madrid, 31st December, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1607.

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

654. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and Prince returned to London four days ago, and Parliament was adjourned till the end of February. They are taking steps to raise a large sum of money for the needs of the Crown. The people show themselves very willing to contribute as long as this money is to be spent on a war with Spain or provided they are not forbidden to go privateering against the Spanish, but as matters now stand it will be very difficult to obtain anything from them. The King, however, has the power to reclaim upon just grounds so much land that has been usurped from the Crown that he will always be able to raise a considerable sum, or at least to induce his subjects to consent to his demands.

The King is highly indignant at the conclusion of peace between the Emperor and the Turk; he declares that is one of the results of that discord in Christendom for which the Pope is responsible.

Expulsis Papalistis.

The secretary* of the English Ambassador in Venice has arrived. He must have travelled very fast. He was immediately received in a long audience by the King.

London, 3rd January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

655. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I will carry out your Serenity's instructions as regards Steffano, the Frenchman from Toulon, who has carried off the ship laden with wine, belonging to the Pizzamani. I have already had him posted at all the ports. I fear he will not come here, however, for three years ago he committed a similar crime in England.

London, 3rd January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

656. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Jesuits, through Father Cotton, the King's confessor, are endeavouring to persuade his Majesty to secure the return of their Order to the State of Venice.

Paris, 4th January, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* Sir Albertus Morton, nephew to Sir Henry Wotton.

1607. Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

657. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday last the English Ambassador (Glover) made his entry in honourable style, and in a few days he will be presented to the Sultan; I will enter on close relations with him as with his predecessor.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

658. The English Ambassador having appeared in the Cabinet the Doge caused to be read to him the answer returned to Don Francesco de Castro.

The Ambassador returned thanks, and drawing a letter from his pocket he said he would communicate the news he had received from Rome from a priest who was intimately acquainted with that Court; "this news," he said, "has kept me laughing for four days."

The Spanish ministers have been proposing to the Pope that he should yield to Spain all the claims of the Church over Naples and Sicily in return for a large sum of money. It occurs to me that the mission of Don Francesco de Castro here may be to keep your Serenity in play until the negotiation is concluded at Rome. I, however, would point out that now is the time for your Serenity to form an alliance and that you will find my master ready.

The Doge replied that they had some information of this business, but did not see how the Pope could conclude such a bargain, which would be a violation of the Bull "Toties," * which each Cardinal swears to observe.

As to an alliance, if they began to negotiate for an alliance while negotiating for an accord it would be thought that they did not desire the latter. All the same there was a desire to enter into an alliance.

The Ambassador then asked for explanation of a rumour that was going the round of the Piazza, namely that the King of England had refused to allow the Republic to export grain from England, a rumour encouraged by those unfavourable to an Anglo-Venetian accord as a proof that the Republic can rely but little on the King. The Ambassador said that according to his information from England the contract was a private affair of the Ambassador Giustinian's.

The Doge replied that as the Republic was rather short of grain and, knowing that there was an abundant harvest in England, the Corn Commissioners had ordered the Ambassador to buy, but in a private name, so as not to raise the price, a small quantity of grain, and had sent thirty thousand crowns for this purpose. The Ambassador bought some, but not all the grain ordered, and then the prices suddenly rose to the statutory limit, beyond which export is forbidden without royal licence. The King was favourable to granting it; the Earl of Salisbury raised some difficulty. The Doge begs for the support of the Ambassador. The Ambassador consented. He then went on to say that Lord Salisbury

* Forbidding the alienation or re-infeudation of Church property.

1607.

had written to him, remarking that the Republic would have done better to have bought through Flemish merchants, who understand the business and the country and would not have bought in the neighbourhood of London, where the country is most sterile and grain consequently dear; but would have bought in the more fertile western counties, which are well known by those who are acquainted with England.

The Doge asked if there was any news from Milan about Crema. The Ambassador said he was waiting the post. The Doge informs the Ambassador that in Lucca there is an Englishman who is contracting to supply powder to the Pope; the Doge supposes that the King will not allow this to go on.

The Ambassador promises to write and asks for some further notes as to this man's name, etc. He says he knows that an Englishman has recently arrived in Rome and had a long interview with the Pope.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

659. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I will seek audience as soon as possible both of the King and of the Earl of Salisbury. Rumours of an accommodation with the Pope are rife, and all the Envoys at this Court have the same news. The Spanish Ambassador, who, after the King of England's declaration in our favour, has been very reserved on the subject, now goes about openly asserting that the accommodation has been reached and affirming his master's determination to maintain the peace in Italy.

The mission of the secretary of the English Ambassador in Venice was to give his Majesty a minute account of the state of affairs there. Some months ago the Ambassador dispatched another secretary, who was attacked and badly wounded in Lorraine, where he was obliged to stay. The secretary who has just arrived confirms the news of an accord.

I heard last week from the Chancellor of Scotland (Seaton), to whom I had sent some copies of the pamphlets in defence of the Republic; he tells me that there is a unanimous opinion in favour of the Republic and he himself, though brought up in Rome under Bellarmine and usually considered a Catholic, declares that he is amazed at these unjustifiable pretensions of the Pontiff and at the feebleness of the arguments with which Bellarmine endeavours to maintain them; indeed throughout this controversy the Cardinal has fallen below himself both in form and in substance.

London, 11th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

660. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

At length after long waiting the Spanish Ambassador has demanded audience of the Council, in order to bring up his reply to the claims of the English merchants for damages suffered in

1607.

their trade with Spain, but he has asked for it in such a way that it is clear he will give no satisfaction, and so the Council put off the interview in order to let him see that it is useless to come to them with inadequate redress. But meantime the whole affair is quieting down, and if nothing new supervenes it may die away altogether.

The Dutch lay in wait for certain Dunquerquers who were to sail from these ports, attacked and drove them back. The Spanish declare that while the terms of the treaty are rigidly enforced against them in trifles, in serious matters they are not observed in their favour.

The Court is entirely occupied with preparations for the marriage,* the King staying on for it very unwillingly, but as he himself says he consoles himself with dreaming of the chase. When the weather is better he will go to Scotland.

The ship with the six hundred quarters of corn left yesterday.

London, 11th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

661. After mid-day the English Ambassador sent to ask audience that evening or next morning through the mouth of a gentleman of his suite.

The Doge replied that the Senate was sitting that afternoon, and so he did not see how the audience could be granted that day unless it was a matter of great urgency; in that case the Ambassador would be received before the Doge went to Senate; the gentleman was asked to bring back an immediate reply. He went, and half an hour after the Ambassador himself was announced at the door of the Cabinet. He was introduced, and drawing a letter from his pocket spoke as follows:—

"Most Serene Prince, in place of my secretary I sent one of my gentlemen this morning to ask for audience; I should like to know if he performed his mission satisfactorily."

The Doge replied that he had. "He told me," continued the Ambassador, "that if the question were not urgent I was begged to defer my audience till the morning. I holding that the question was not only urgent, but superlatively so, have come here at once under the impulse of that zeal and devotion which I bear to the Republic and which teaches me that I ought to come to the Cabinet not only at this hour, but at every hour, and not only to knock at the doors, but to burst them open in order to get in. Not half an hour ago I received the following letter from my agent in Milan written in cipher: 'Lodovico Gambaloite, the man who in conjunction with the corporals introduced into a house in Crema thirty men, with a view to seizing the Lodi gate.' From this I gather that some of my agent's letters have been lost, for this is the first I have heard of this Gambaloite."

The Ambassador then communicated the news that the King of Spain was resolved to lend armed aid to the Pope unless an accord were reached with Venice; that Fuentes was raising three thousand men in the Trentino and Tyrol and other places; and other items of news.

* The Ramsay-Ratcliffe marriage.

1607.

He added that according to his information from Rome the Pope had begged the King of Spain to consign to him an Englishman, William Stanley, now in Flanders, who has a brother in Milan.

The Doge returned thanks for all this information and the Ambassador withdrew, the second bell having already rung.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

662. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King pointed out to the Ambassador that the feeling in Europe was not so strongly favourable to the Republic as she supposed; and that the forces of England were not to be relied upon for service in Italy.

Paris, 16th January, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

663. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King resents the mission of an Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy to negotiate a marriage between his son and a daughter of England. His Majesty has pointed out that there is no lack of Catholic princesses of equal and greater rank. The Secretary d'Urbina, to whom this remark was addressed, feigned ignorance but communicated it to the English Ambassador, who told me in the course of a conversation on the injuries which the English received from Spain. The Ambassador declared that they were not averse from a Savoy match, for though the Duke was poor his blood was ancient and he had weight in Italy.

Madrid, 18th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 18. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

664. The English Ambassador spoke as follows:—"I hear that your Serenity is arming, as the Pope is beating the drum all over Italy. I have come to lay before you a suggestion of my own. To-morrow is despatch day, and I suggest that it would be as well for the Republic to negotiate through my master for an alliance with the German Princes, if not with all at least with the chief ones. If I remember rightly when the Ambassador Giustinian raised the subject in England the King did not decline absolutely, but merely said he doubted if the time was ripe. I believe that he would now think the moment favourable, and I offer to write to him."

The Doge, while thanking the Ambassador, declared that the matter must be laid before the Senate and the time was too short to allow of an answer being returned by the next day.

The Ambassador replied that it did not become his years or his experience to make any suggestions to his Serenity, but he must say that he had served at the Courts of the Count Palatine, of the Landgrave of Hesse, and of the Duke of Saxony, and retained still some slight knowledge of that tongue, sufficient to make

1607.

himself understood, and that it would be an eternal glory to him should the Republic permit him to negotiate an alliance with those Princes. "If I received credentials from my master and instructions from your Serenity I would set out at once in the firm hope of success in carrying out a negotiation which would be so advantageous to our cause."

The Doge thanked the Ambassador and again said they would consult on this proposal.

The Ambassador said, "I must tell you what happened with a certain person who frequents my house and belongs to the Spanish party; this man said to me, 'Is the King of England really going to help the Republic?' I confess I was furious at the idiotic question, and told him I was amazed that the word of Princes should be treated like the word of a charlatan, and added that the King of Great Britain would send all his forces to support the Venetians, and should anyone attempt to bar his path he would get his head cracked. The fellow rejoined, 'Oh, then he would go to war with Spain?' I replied, 'And pray who tells you that? I have never said that my master has any desire to break with Spain; all I do say is that if Spain crosses our path we'll crack her skull, nor will she have any reason to complain, for she will have brought it on herself.'"

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

665. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been so taken up with the wedding that I have not been able to obtain audience; and now I hear that he is to leave the city to-morrow. He has put off all audiences till his return.

Four days ago the Ambassadors of Spain and Flanders were in Council upon the subject of the complaints against Spain. Their declarations were not satisfactory, but they promise a more favourable reply from Spain in a few days.

The Spanish Ambassador, in his master's name, presented the bride, who is a granddaughter of the Earl of Salisbury and married to Hay,* a jewel worth six thousand crowns.

London, 18th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

666. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago the King sent one of his gentlemen with express orders to inform me of an event which, although it closely touched his interests, had only reached his ears the day before, and which he did not intend to communicate to any Envoy other than your Serenity's Ambassador. The affair is that the Pope is adopting towards his Majesty and his kingdom a line of conduct similar

* This is a confusion between Hay and Ramsay. James Hay was already married in 1604 to Honor Denny. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1604. Sept. 15. He married secondly Lady Lucy Percy. *See* Carlyle, "Historical Sketches," p. 50.

1607.

to that which he is following towards the Republic. This gentleman then handed me a paper, folded like a letter, which he held in his hand, and said, "His Majesty begs your Lordship to read this, which is a brief address by the Pope to the Catholics of this kingdom. It was called forth by the legislation of the last Parliament and by the oath of allegiance, which were designed to meet the well-proved machinations against the peace of the kingdom and his Majesty's life. His Majesty finds in the brief much that is prejudicial to his authority and to that perfect liberty which every Prince is bound to sustain. Moreover he notes in it various doctrines which are calculated to feed and foment the spirit of machination."

I took the letter and returned suitable thanks to the King for this fresh proof of confidence. I began to read the brief, and send herewith a copy. As I read the gentleman pointed out to me that his Majesty was especially offended at the prohibition to take the oath, which seemed to imply that the Pope did not hold him for a legitimate Sovereign and claimed superiority even in matters temporal, and further there are phrases which appear to the King to approve the late conspiracy. Any way it is certain that this brief has greatly incensed the King and all his Ministers; and this will confirm them in their intention of supporting the Republic should occasion arise.

The King has received a letter from the new Grand Duke of Muscovy, in which he violently attacks the Jesuits as the authors of all the disturbances that have taken place in his dominions.

London, 18th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

667. Brief of Paul V.

Catholicis anglie Paulus P.P.v. Dat. Rom. apud S. Marc. sub an. pisc. X Kal. Octob. 1606. Pont. nri. ii.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

668. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fall of Franquezza is thought likely to bring about peace with the Dutch; for the war was kept alive chiefly by him on account of the money he made by it. In this opinion the English Ambassador concurs.

Madrid, 20th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

669. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After his Majesty's departure from the city the Council has been seriously occupied chiefly *with the affairs of Flanders. The Dutch point out that unless they receive more vigorous support they will be obliged to come to terms.*

London, 25th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1607.
Jan. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

670. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sherley, who on his first arrival gave out that he had important business to conduct with his Majesty on behalf of the King of Morocco, has now been proved a man of straw, and his plans for causing a port in Africa to fall into Spanish hands receive little attention. It is generally believed that his chief object is to raise money, an opinion confirmed by the presence of a number of his creditors, who are suing him here for frauds committed in Africa and in Portugal. These creditors, acting in accord with the English Ambassador, publicly declare that Sherley deserves severe punishment. The Government, however, do not agree, as they are unwilling to disgust a subject of a nation about whom they are suspicious, and yet on the other hand they thwart him in his negotiations; and so his debts compel him to live very quietly in his house and greatly diminish the repute he originally acquired by his splendour of living.

Madrid, 28th January, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

671. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that the Pope is endeavouring to secure the services of M. Valeran, an expert in cipher. M. Valeran has not made up his mind yet, being uncertain whether this would please the King or not. It was M. d'Alencourt who suggested him to the Pope.*

Paris, 28th January, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

672. That the English Ambassador be invited to attend in the Cabinet and to hear what follows:—

We desire to give information to his Majesty of the state of our relations with the Pope. We are very desirous of peace, and to obtain it we have informed Don Francesco de Castro that we are ready to give all just satisfaction to his Holiness, and we have condescended to make those proposals of which you are aware, and to go even further, provided our independence is not attacked. But we cannot repeal our laws without a serious injury to our liberties. All the same the Pope continues to arm, and Spain in her greed for extension urges him on; we, therefore, are also obliged to arm and to look to our own safety. As regards the proposals for an alliance, which your Lordship has often advanced, we are now ready to join with his Majesty upon terms to be discussed; and we have said the same to the King of France.

Ayes 125.
Noes 5.
Neutrals 19.

[*Italian.*]

* On the 30th January, 1606, the Council of Ten passed a resolution adopting the new cipher invented by Pietro Parthenio, in preference to the cipher proposed by Franceschi. *See* Cons. x. Secrete. Reg. xiv. 8. 130.

1607.
Jan. 30.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

673. The English Ambassador, after a long introduction, informed the Doge that the night before he had been in company of the Secretary of the Duke of Lorraine, who told him that he had come to Venice in order to contribute his bucket full of water for the extinction of the fire. The Ambassador praised the object and declared that he had never taken any steps in a contrary sense, except to urge the Republic to act like a prudent Prince. The Ambassador declares that he had not come to Italy to set the country in a blaze, but it was the duty of all who loved the Republic to urge her to remember herself, her glorious past, the justice of her cause, her duty to her friends. "I must say for my part I beg the Senate to make proof of me, for apart from what I have said so frequently before, I am bound to your service by a bond you do not know. There! the word is out by accident. I will tell you what it is. A few days ago a gentleman of wit and ability, who was recommended to me under pretext of negotiation with Rome, came to my house and said that he was commissioned by some of my friends, who wished me well and offered to give me five or six thousand crowns for a certain service, on condition that I kept the matter secret and did not display curiosity as to the source of the money. I confess I don't know what this service may have been, for I flew out into a perfectly justifiable rage (though perhaps it would have been wiser to draw him on) and said, 'Sir, I don't know you, I have never set eyes on you before nor you on me?' 'Oh! yes, you have,' he replied, and I added, 'I don't remember it and it does not signify, for I must tell you that I am a poor gentleman, but bred among the nobler arts, not venal, no traitor, and I would advise you to leave my house and never to return nor to venture to speak to any of my people.' 'I will,' he said, 'but I am not to blame, as I have only fulfilled my orders.' I do not say this in search of compliments, for I desire nothing more than the inward satisfaction a good man feels in the approval of his conscience; but I tell you this to show that our enemies use all means at their disposal, and so I am come to urge your Serenity to adopt the true way to put an end to this mischief. We have two open foes, the Pope and the King of Spain, who mutually support each other, not for their common, but for their individual interests, and as our foes are two so the defences are two, a Council and a League. As to a Council I will explain my humble opinion. I am persuaded that it would offer no difficulties and that the conjuncture of affairs is favourable, owing to the position of the Emperor, who is in great confusion at present. On the one hand the King of Spain is very anxious about the election of the King of the Romans, on the other the Duke of Savoy is urging forward the marriage of his daughter to the Emperor. The Emperor, as I am very well informed, is taking time to make up his mind about a future Diet. He is jealous of his brother Mathias and hates his brother Albert. In this confusion it would suit the Emperor very well to convert the Diet into a Council, to which all the Princes of Germany would have recourse. This in parenthesis, for it is not the true object of my presence here.

My real object is a league on the lines which I caused to be laid before the Senate a few days ago. I propose a league

1607.

upon a basis which is both highly popular and honourable, namely the conservation of the direct temporal jurisdiction of all independent States and Princes. I cannot see a single drawback or objection. If it is urged that it is a lengthy business I reply that without a beginning you can't reach an end. If it is said that this will annoy the King of Spain I answer, 'A pretty plight we should be in, by God, if we are to abstain from what is advisable through fear of him!' Nay, I will go further, and affirm that when the King of Spain and the other Italian Princes who don't stand with us see a compact body of allies banded for the liberation of Italy, they will give up their designs, for it is not their policy to throw their possessions into confusion. I, as always, offer to write, to run, to fly, were it possible, to lay these proposals at my master's feet; and I must inform your Serenity that not a post passes without my master speaking with the greatest possible heat about the affairs of Italy. Only yesterday the Secretary of the Duke of Lorraine told me that when the Count of Vaudemont was in England the King, both in private and at table, discussed the matter with a vehemence which amazed him. Your Serenity may rest assured that my master will prove himself not only the ally, but the advocate of this Republic. I beg your Serenity to receive my humble representations in that spirit of affection which I bear you."

The Doge replied that these schemes of Council and League which occupied his Lordship's mind were generous and worthy of his noble spirit. As to a Council it would be of the highest advantage to Christendom were it not for the difficulties presented by the tempers of the various reigning Sovereigns. It was well known that the King of England desired a Council on account of the benefit it would confer on all who believe *in Jesum Christum Crucifixum*; that, as the Ambassador had ably remarked, a Council would suit the Emperor's policy, as a check on all those who were endeavouring to enlarge the borders of their own authority at the expense of others; but, in view of the objections, the Cabinet (*questi Signori*) had not dwelt long on the scheme, which, as a matter of fact, they had fully discussed when first laid before them by the Ambassador. Yesterday the Senate had come to a resolution, which would now be read to him. It so clearly expressed the views of the Government that there was no need to enlarge upon it; and had the Ambassador not sought audience of himself, he would have been invited to attend, in order that the resolution might be communicated to him.

The Doge then assured the Ambassador of the full confidence which they reposed in him; and praised his answer to the individual who had tried to corrupt him, though it would have been better to have first probed deeper into his designs.

After the resolution of the Senate had been read the Ambassador said that he was very glad to see that the Senate fell in with his views, but he observed a difficulty of some importance, which, however, might easily be surmounted; "the league which I proposed to your Serenity was an idea of my own and not submitted upon the orders of my master, though I am fully aware that it is impressed upon his mind. The difficulty I feel is this that I see the Senate accepts the proposition not in an equality

1607.

of desire, but as emanating originally from the King. Now I am of opinion that it is highly important that your Serenity should appear as the principal; for the chief difficulty will be to convince the allied Sovereigns of the intention of the Senate. If I were to propose this negotiation to my master without being assured of the intention of the Senate, and then in the meantime the Republic should yield, so to speak, to the Pope, that would be a very serious matter. To proceed securely it is but right that your Serenity should order me to write to my master that you are ready to treat with him, and that you assure him of the resolute determination of the Senate; for the King cannot embark on the affair without some further security as to that determination, in the absence of which he is unable to approach his allies and the King of France."

The Doge replied that the resolution of the Senate was so clearly expressed that there was no need to interpret it, "for it exactly coincides with your Lordship's own propositions. You propose a League and the Senate answers that it will enter on the necessary negotiations when it is assured of the attitude of your master. If you like the resolution shall be read to you again. We do not see what can hinder this league even if we did come to terms with the Pope; for he cannot prevent us from forming an alliance for the protection of our States; the one event would not hinder the other. If your Lordship should write to the King and if the answer is that he is content, then we can enter on negotiations and draw up the usual treaties. Your Lordship may say that we shall give orders to our Ambassador to lay before his Majesty the same resolution that the Senate has just submitted to you."

The Ambassador declared himself satisfied and said he would lay the whole before the King as warmly as possible, at the same time he begged that the Ambassador Giustinian might be ordered to add his good offices.

He then opened a letter from Milan, containing information on the proposal to surprise Crema. Edward Stanley was one of the surprise party. He is an Englishman, brother of the Stanley who is serving the King of Spain in Flanders and whom the Pope wants to bring to Italy to serve him in the present crisis.

There was also news from Milan that the accord was considered as concluded and that the whole and sole honour thereof belonged to Don Francesco de Castro, and that neither France nor de Joyeuse had any share in it.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

674. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Council, in the King's absence, is devoting its attention to the questions committed to it, and chiefly to the question of letters of marque. They incline to grant them in view of the fact that Spain is trifling with the English claims, and in order to justify such an act they appeal to an ancient law by which reprisals were legal, if after a year no redress had been obtained. Everyone holds that this may lead to serious consequences. There

1607.

is a party, however, which favours Spain, and it is possible that any resolution may be put off on the expectations held out by the Spanish Ambassador that satisfaction will shortly be sent from Spain. The profit to be derived from letters of marque may, however, cause them to be issued.

London, the first of February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

675. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have gathered from members of the Council and from others that his Majesty holds firm to his resolve to assist and defend the Republic, though many of his advisers recommend him to cool down somewhat. The recent brief is taken as a warning to him to remain passive in this quarrel between the Pope and your Serenity. His Majesty makes little of this idea, and indeed on no other occasion has he ever shown himself so resolute. The secretary of the English Ambassador, who is here, has done all he can to confirm his Majesty in this attitude.

London, the first of February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

676. GIROLAMO CORNER, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Consul Biffis has been obliged to leave Modon without being able to obtain any satisfaction from the Turkish officials about the cargo of the "Liona," which was burned by the pirates.

Zante, 2nd February, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Collegio Secreta Lettere. Venetian Archives.

677. To the AMBASSADOR in England.

Gives him information of what has passed between the Government and the Ambassadors of Spain and France on the subject of the proposed league, and instructs him to explain to his Majesty how matters stand.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

678. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish, suspicious of the King of England's attitude, determined to break off negotiations with his Ambassador and to cause the Archduke to send a secret mission to effect a truce. The King of England took no heed of this till he saw six Commissioners of the States in Brussels; then he pointed out the dangers of a truce, and threatened that if they concluded it without him they would lose the support of England.

There are threats of an embargo.

One of Franquezza's favourites has been condemned to death; on the charge that he was in receipt of two hundred ducats a

1607.

month from the Grand Duke for the sale of State secrets. He has not been executed, as he is required as a witness against his master.

Madrid, 5th February, 1606.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. Expulsis Papalistis.

679. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Peace or a truce with the Dutch is deemed imperative here if war breaks out in Italy; the King of England has shown himself but little favourable to either, and accordingly the Council of State has resolved to gratify his Ambassador in some of the demands he has made on behalf of his nation. In accordance with this resolve the Duke of Lerma sent to beg the Ambassador to come to see him, as he was confined to his house by indisposition. The Ambassador went, and immediately afterwards he came to this house to report to me what had taken place, which in substance was this, that the Spanish desired to avoid any cause of complaint on the part of the English, but that the King of England made a bad return for such goodwill by opposing the negotiations for peace with the Dutch; nor was any motive for such a policy visible unless he hoped in this way to enfeeble the Spanish support of the Pope. If that were so the King deceived himself, for Spain was the strongest pillar of the Church, and as such would sacrifice everything to maintain the Faith. For that purpose levies of troops had been ordered and the formation of an army of nearly eighty thousand men, which would be employed to assist the Pope and to meet the needs of Flanders. The King of Spain would pawn his very person rather than allow the Vicar of Christ to be ill-treated. Forty-five companies of infantry (inseane di fantaria) were to be sent to Italy under the command of Don Fernando di Toledo, while the Viceroys of Sicily and Naples were also raising troops. Fuentes, too, was going to raise troops in Germany and Switzerland. His Majesty was convinced that had it not been for the King of England the Republic would never have shown so bold a front to the Pope; for she could never have resisted these two powers united, and from France she knew quite well she could look for nothing but words, as the Most Christian Sovereign could not turn his arms against the Pope without outraging the ancient title of his Crown, nor could he embroil himself with Spain, for she was in a position to injure him and his successor after his death, which, on account of his age and his loose life, could not be far off. The King of England had no real cause to harass the Pope, who in the interests of Christendom desired that peace with him should be maintained. The Duke enlarged on these views, and wound up by saying that some opposition to the peace might come from England, but that nothing would shake the King of Spain's resolve to support the Church of Rome if she was harassed, and he begged the Ambassador to advise his master to desist from counselling the Dutch against the peace. To all this the Ambassador replied that such a recommendation was superfluous for him, for his whole efforts had been directed to furthering the negotiations; but when

1607.

and it is not fair now to lay the blame on the King of England, but rather on the course of events which had shown the Dutch what they might hope for out of these Italian troubles. If there were difficulties now they had only themselves to blame. The Dutch would never abandon the English alliance, which was loyal, while they could not know what to promise themselves from Spain when they saw the daily injuries inflicted on the English; and so even if the Spanish agreed to leave them independent they would still hold by England. The truce was pernicious, for it would not be so easy to go to war again if they desired to. Peace would not be long in following if they would give Holland in dower to the Infanta and marry her to the Prince of Wales, instead of delaying the marriage ad infinitum. The kindly remarks attributed to the Pope were to be taken merely as an effort to detach her allies from the Republic, and were therefore to be considered as the indications of hatred for Venice, not of love for England. The Ambassador said he knew nothing about the assistance said to have been offered to the Republic, but his master was as just as he was intelligent, and if he had made such offers it was on account of the sound position taken up by the Republic, and not merely out of tenderness for her. The injuries he received in his own kingdom from the Pontifical agents were alone sufficient to turn him against their chief. Finally, the Ambassador declared that nothing was so inimical to the peace as the knowledge that Spain sets little store by alliances when weighed against her own interests.

I will not report some further remarks the Ambassador made, as I do not know what grounds he had for them, and indeed I have my doubts as to some that I have reported. I must not omit to say that in the course of his conversation the Ambassador let fall that neither peace nor truce would be effected unless five or six of the strongest places were handed over to his master. This induces me to suspect that negotiations may be further on than he endeavoured to make me think.

Madrid, 5th February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

680. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King cannot delay his return much longer. The weather is bad for the chase, many questions await his decision, and the meeting of Parliament is at hand. Though he is far away he is daily informed of the sittings of Council, and despatches by letter such business as cannot be delayed. Nothing is more present to his mind than the Union, in home, and the question of Italy in foreign affairs. The issue of affairs in Flanders is seen to depend very closely on the course of events in Italy; the Dutch being more inclined to continue the war, as they perceive the difficulties of their enemies. They are pressing forward the preparations for their fleet. *The English, too, are thirsting for war, as they declare that since the peace they have deteriorated on every point. The Spanish are using their usual means to win over the support of those without whose consent it would be impossible to come to the resolution of war.*

1607.

These last few days we have had a violent gale, which has not only destroyed many animals and villages, but has caused a flood,* which has submerged a large tract of cultivated land. Five Spanish galleons of the India fleet, while chasing some Dutch, are reported lost on the coast of France.

London, 8th February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

681. GIAN DOMENICO BIFFI, Venetian Consul at Lepanto, to the DOGE.

The case of the ship "Liona," burned. The Turks are in league with English pirates, with whom they share the plunder. He recommends strong representations to secure the closing of the ports against the English, which would compel them to go elsewhere. "As a proof of the understanding which exists between the resident English and the pirates I must inform you that the English Consul in Patras, named George Buler, has bought a large part of the cargo of the 'Liona.' (*Et aciò Vostra Serenità et la Illma. Sigria resti più certa della intelligenza che hanno questi inglesi che dimorano in questi mari con corsari non restaro dirgli come il Consule d' Inghilterra che risiede in Patraso, il quale e Zorzi Buler, ha comprato buon parte della mercantia che era sopra detta nave Liona.*) I was very sorry about this, all the more so as I was quite unable to remedy it, though I hope the Ambassador at Constantinople will.

I must further inform you that on the 14th of last month an English *berton* plundered the *berton*, "The Compass," from Nauplia, which had already been plundered by a Savoyard. The ship was subsequently taken to Barbary.

On the 5th of February three English *bertons* came into Zante; one from Sicily, and two from Leghorn. They have no cargo, and so I am obliged to suppose that they are all privateers, possibly of those who have an understanding with the Turk."

Zante, 11th February, 1607. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

682. GIROLAMO CORNER, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The *berton* "Carminati" left Nauplia for Venice with a cargo of acorns (*valonie*), gall-nuts, blankets, silk, grain, and other goods. She was driven under the cliffs of Milo, and on the 7th of January a Savoyard *berton*, flying the flag of Malta, hove in sight. They plundered the "Carminati," and after that she continued her voyage. But on the 28th January, forty miles off land, an English *berton*, flying the Flemish flag, bore down on her and signalled to strike sail, which she did. The master, supercargo, crew, and passengers were put in a boat with a few biscuits and the "Carminati" was taken away westward. The *berton* had a crew of 110 men, including a few Turks, the rest

* At Bridgewater and Bristol.

1607.

were English. It seems that she is the same ship that plundered the "Rubi."

Zante, 11th February, 1607. O.S.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

683. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors of Spain and the Archduke have been again in Council to complain; though they did so very mildly the Earl of Salisbury gave them a very sharp reply, raising the question of English grievances and saying that it was time to seek redress by other means than protests. It is clear that the Spanish are extremely anxious to preserve the peace, while the English, knowing where their interests lie, have no cause to desire it. The Earl of Salisbury took all the higher tone because he saw the embarrassments which are before Spain.

I must inform your Serenity that for some time past the Spanish Ambassador has been in receipt of sums far exceeding his ordinary needs; and it is conjectured that he has instructions to use this money to prevent any resolution hostile to Spanish interests.

The news of Spanish preparations in Italy and of the English King's declaration in favour of the Republic, excite the popular mind, and I constantly receive offers of help, to which I reply as I deem prudent.

The King returned three days ago. They say he will not remain long.

I am to have audience on Saturday, the 17th. I had to overcome some opposition moved by the Flemish Ambassador, who claimed audience first; but the King named Saturday for me and Sunday for him.

London, 15th February, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

684. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador (de la Boderie), with whom I am on intimate terms, reported to me a conversation he had had with the Earl of Salisbury, *in which the Earl had sounded him as to the real intention of his Most Christian Majesty in case of a rupture, as the Spanish seemed clearly determined to extend their dominions in Italy. The Ambassador told me that the English Envoy in France had held similar language to the King, who in replying had, on the whole, confined himself to generalities. The Ambassador thought that in England there was a very ready will to go to war, but that they feared lest, after a composition had been reached with the Pope, they might be left alone to face the Catholic Princes who recognise his authority. I suspected that these were ideas that the Ambassador himself had put into the Earl's mind in order to find out exactly how far they could count on England. The Ambassador said that Spanish preparations in Italy were calculated to remove from his master's mind his*

1607.

*scruples about the Pope and to induce him to proceed vigorously, especially if the King of England would do the same; that other Italian Princes might be counted upon, and that such a combination would remove all dread of Spain; while the peace between England and Spain could not last much longer, and the Earl's remarks had shown that the English are no more friendly to Spain than to the Pope.**

London, 15th February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

685. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The severities against the Count of Villalonga and his adherents continue. In the house of Franquezza a great quantity of jewels, gold and silver has been found buried under ground, and hidden away even in the privies; among this treasure are many reliquaries and bits of the True Cross, and accordingly the Inquisition has demanded from the Secular Court the person of the Count; but it is not likely that the case will be taken out of the hands of Don Fernando Cariglio. The arrested and proscribed amount to a large number; among them are some clerics, who at the request of the Count came to his house and carried away to the Church of the Mercede a coffin filled with jewels, as though it had contained a corpse; and there it was buried with all the funeral solemnities, torches and orations, which accompany the interment of human bodies. The Inquisition made an inquiry and found that the story was true. Thus the crimes of Franquezza go on growing; though he keeps up his courage in his prison of Ocagna.

There is news that the Dutch and English are manning a large fleet.

Madrid, 18th February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

686. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 13th, as I was closing my despatch, I received despatches of the 27th January and 2nd and 3rd February. The despatches for London I forwarded at once by express.

I had audience of his Majesty and said that I was instructed to assure his Majesty that the Republic was ready to join in a League against Spain with France and England, as proposed by the English Ambassador.

His Majesty listened to what I said and replied very briefly, pleading a headache. *He said he thought your Serenity desired*

* The meaning of this is explained by a passage in Sir Henry Wotton's despatch of December 29, 1606. R. O. State Papers, Venice. The scheme was that James should support Venice, provided he was asked to do nothing hostile to Spain, and Henry IV. was to support Venice, provided he was asked to do nothing hostile to the Pope. Giustinian thinks that de la Boderie intended him to understand that neither of the provisos was to be now considered as rigid.

1607.

an accord, but it was not enough to desire it, steps to effect it must be taken.

Paris, 21st February, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

687. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Villeroy remarks that the King of England is letting the States perish, and so the distant Republic could not place much reliance on his aid. The Ambassador replied that the King would not have come forward with this offer unless his resolve was taken.

The Ambassador begs for a definite answer about the League.

Paris, 21st February, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

688. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Rosny warns the Ambassador not to rely on England. M. de Fresne had proposed the League on his own initiative. That the accord should be made first, and then the League might be discussed. The King had spent four millions of gold in helping the Dutch. The whole of Spanish power depended on the Indies; once cut off from that the King could not hold out two years, as he had not two millions a year of revenue.

Villeroy, after three days' delay, informs the Ambassador that the King cannot give an answer about the League till despatches arrive from Venice and London.

Paris, 21st February, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

689. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I communicated to his Majesty, as instructed, your Serenity's reply to Don Francesco de Castro's proposal that your Serenity should suspend the execution of your laws for four months; and I dwelt on the justice of the motives which inspired that reply and on your firm resolve never to consent to any steps which would prejudice your freedom. The King, in the course of his answer, asked if I had any news of the departure of Don Francesco and the arrival of the Cardinal de Joyeuse, and if I knew what the Cardinal's mission was. I said I had no information, only I was sure that, as the King of France was so fully conscious of the justice of the Venetian position, he would never ask the Senate to accept any proposal which might be held contrary to its interests. "In France," said the King, "they think the affair is concluded." "That may be," I replied, "for it may seem to them impossible that the Pope should not yield sooner or later to reason. All depends upon the Pope's turning a deaf ear to bad advice and to the *councils of those who, under the guise of religion, are aiming solely at their own ends.*" The King replied,

1607.

"If he does not it will be the worse for him. But it is a serious matter *that the Spanish are so keen on the subject;* however, he who grasps too much holds nothing. I hear he blames me for having declared for the Republic, but what better reasons, I beg you, are there, why the King of Spain should declare in favour of the Pope? As I have frequently said this is no question of faith or religion, but of that independence which God has granted to Princes, and which every Sovereign is bound to defend with all his might." I praised his right loyal and magnanimous resolve. He then asked me what I thought of the *Brief the Pope had sent here*, and he added that his Ambassador in Flanders told him that the Pope had written to the Nuncio there to select three or four hundred horse and three to four thousand foot, all Italians, for his service in Italy. For this purpose the Nuncio had received money sufficient. This pleased the Dutch very much, who looked for good results next year from this weakening of the enemy.

A courier has just arrived with your Serenity's instructions that I am to communicate to the King what his Ambassador has advanced on the subject of a League and the answer given him.

The King has left on a hunting expedition. I would follow him in order to execute your Serenity's instructions did I not know that in dealing with Princes it is advisable to choose the right moment. I must, therefore, abstain for the present, as I know that the King is very much put out if his own Ministers, and much more foreign Envoys, dare to mention business to him at such a time. He desires to enjoy the chase in the company of very few and with a most private freedom. I shall wait his return, which is expected in two days.

London, 22nd February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

690. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Besides what I have reported in my preceding despatch, the King asked me if the Ambassador of the Grisons was still in Venice. I said I had no news of his departure, and the King went on, "This question of the Grisons will give the King of France an excuse for declaring himself openly; there can be no question now of regard for the Pope; the whole point is the observation of an alliance he has recently made with the Grey Leagues, which has exposed them to notable prejudice at the hands of Spain, and so the King is in honour bound to assist them. I declared for the Republic against the Pope in support of the authority of Secular Princes, let him now declare himself against Spain in support of his confederates and his own good name; everything will go well; his scruples about the Pope will be saved. His Ambassador in Venice (de Fresne) tells mine all sorts of things, but when my Ambassador in France broaches them there he finds nothing but a desire for an accord. This changeableness is painful to me, in good sooth, for I have only one heart and*

* Hercules von Salis.

1607.

one will, nor can I fit myself to any but a clear and simple line of conduct. The King of France has the very best reason in the world to declare himself for the Grisons, unless indeed he is afraid of Spain. I will declare for the Republic on the excuse of the Pope, let him come in, too, on the excuse of the Grisons. But shall I tell you something? I see him so given over to scruples about the Pope and affection towards the Jesuits that I hope for little. I hear he intends to introduce them into Rochelle (nella rucella). Just look at that; as if he had not in his own life had sufficient proofs of their machinations and treacheries." All this the King said with great heat of voice and countenance. I replied in general terms, as I had no instructions from your Serenity, and I framed my remarks to meet two objects, one to keep his Majesty firm in his favourable attitude towards the Republic, the other to persuade him that the fact that his Most Christian Majesty had not declared himself for the Republic was to be attributed not to any want of resolution on his part, but to the inevitable consequences of his position as mediator. But should he fail in that attempt it was not to be supposed that he would neglect the great interests at stake for himself, his realm, and his posterity in the preservation of the Republic and resistance to Spanish designs, as his Majesty had on other occasions acutely observed.

Your Serenity will gather in part from the above conversation what are the sentiments of the King. I should not venture to affirm anything for certain till I have expressly broached the subject of a League both with the King and with the Earl of Salisbury, without whom one cannot count upon anything for certain in the conduct of affairs here. I have not been able to see him yet, as he is slightly indisposed. But having obtained the above from the King's own lips and compared it with what I gathered last week from the French Ambassador, who had an audience of the King the day after mine, I went to visit the Ambassador, and I find that he has seriously discussed the question of a League with both the King and the Earl of Salisbury, though I cannot be quite sure from which side the proposal originally came; for on the one hand the Ambassador assured me that Lord Salisbury was the first to broach the subject, on the other he also says that the English Ambassador in Venice approached the French Ambassador there. This makes me think that he probably has instructions from home to find out something positive as to the attitude here. From the trend of his remarks I seemed to gather that he divines two different objects in these Sovereigns; France wishes an accord with the Pope and an alliance against Spain, while England is willing enough to enter the league against Spain, but under cloak of attacking the Pope, and both would act on the plea of the defence of their safety. It is very true that the main object of the French in making these advances is to assist the Dutch, in whose defence they wish to engage the King of England, and, taking advantage of the delicate position of affairs in Italy, they hope to draw Venice into the scheme. By bringing about an accord with the Pope they would leave Spain as the sole opponent. I gather, however, from the French Ambassador that the English

1607.

Secular Princes in this present disagreement between your Serenity and the Pope.

London, 22nd February, 1606 [n.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

691. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King came back to the city on the evening of Saturday, the 5th of last month, and I immediately, in obedience to your instructions of the 3rd, took steps to obtain an audience, which was granted me on the morning of the 6th.† I informed his Majesty how matters stood about Rome, and communicated to him the representations made by his Ambassador in favour of a League and the answer returned to him.*

*The King listened attentively, and then after some compliments he said, "**My Lord Ambassador, I have heard what my Ambassador has proposed and what has been answered on the subject of a League, and I wish to declare myself on this point. The justice of the cause, my relations with the Republic, my declaration in her favour, all lead me to assist and aid her in this crisis with all that lies in my power, precisely as though I were bound to her by an oath of alliance. If we are to come to an alliance it will be necessary first to sound the Princes whom it is proposed to include, and above all his Most Christian Majesty. When I am once assured of his determination and when he has declared himself so unequivocally that he cannot draw back, I am ready to enter the league and to bind myself to all that the power and condition of my kingdoms will permit me. Write to the Republic to secure the adhesion of the King of France in such a form that we can entirely rely on his not withdrawing; and that can be done by discussing with him the terms of alliance, for one Sovereign may make one set of terms, another another, according to the nature of his dominions. As for me, as soon as I am assured of his resolve and that he will not draw back I am ready to enter the League and to do all that my kingdom permits me. I say this to you because I do not seem to discover in the King of France such determination as is necessary, nor has he so far made any demonstration, far less declaration such as I have made, and yet his relations with the Republic and also his own interests, which counsel him not to allow Spain to grow too great, called for some such demonstration."** Here the King stopped and I said, "**Sire, I understand all that you have been pleased to tell me and I rejoice to see your growing resolve to assist the Republic, a resolve upon which the Republic relies most absolutely, as indeed does the whole world. As to the League, which was suggested by your Ambassador, the Republic replied in the terms it has adopted in order to show that, as the time for the effectuation of promises is approaching, she is ready to offer every facility for carrying into act the promises and offers made by your Majesty. It was necessary for the Senate to be sure of your Majesty's mind on**

* The decipher reads 5th, but the original ciphered despatch reads 25th, which is undoubtedly right. "Of last month" "del passato" should really be of this month "del presente." † Original cipher reads 26th.

1607.

this point, which has been raised by one of your Majesty's Ministers, and also because, as your Majesty was the first to draw near to the Republic by your declaration, it was only right that she should not enter on an alliance with others until informed of your Majesty's views. I gather that there is no doubt about these, for your Majesty says that you will enter the League when once assured of the intentions of his Most Christian Majesty. About those intentions I hold that there can be no sort of suspicion, although, of course, Sovereigns are governed by their interests. As your Majesty will remember pointing out to me on another occasion, the King of France cannot help taking our part vigorously. Your Majesty says that as yet he has shown no signs of it; but I would ask how could he while he has the negotiations for an accord in hand? How could he who condemns the Spanish for having first declared for the Pope and then come forward as mediators, declare himself for the Republic without laying himself open to a similar condemnation. If the King of France is not with us he must be either with the Pope or neutral; on the Pope's side he will never be, for the Spanish have already taken that place; and how can he be neutral in a question which embraces his entire interests, and when the very safety of himself, his kingdom, and his posterity is at stake. I can see no reason why he should stand neuter; nay, seeing that his Ambassador has made the same suggestion to our Cabinet as was made by your Majesty's Envoy, I am sure that the King, as he began to treat for an accommodation, now begins, in face of the Papal obstinacy and Spanish fomentations, to show his real idea, which was to keep such violent attempts in check, on the ground that they were prejudicial and dangerous to his interests." At this the King broke in and said, "That is very true, but pray answer me this, if the King had really had an accord in view as his object would he not have succeeded far more easily by plain speaking to the Pope, telling him not to meddle in such affairs with others, otherwise he would find the King opposed to him? You will say that he owed something to the Pope and could not, in an affair which he hoped was well advanced, adopt such a tone. But I answer that he had the excuse of the Spanish to his hand and more especially in this request put forward by the Grisons so opportunely."

"And who assures your Majesty," I said, "that this request was not got up by the King himself to open a way for him? But to reply to your Majesty's question. I consider that the King of France desires to effect this accord with the Pope and to have the honour of being mediator; and had he declared for the Republic it is true he might have frightened the Pope, but he would also have enraged him to such an extent that he would have entrusted to others the mission whose glory the King so ardently desired. But just as there is no reason for any declaration on the King's part while negotiations are on foot, so there is every reason, nay, necessity for such a declaration if the negotiations fall through, and, therefore, I think we may count upon his intention." I dwelt especially on this point that we could safely count on the King of France, not merely because his Majesty had mentioned the subject, but because my audiences with him showed me that he was deeply suspicious of the movements and

1607.

the aims of his Most Christian Majesty in this affair, an attitude of mind which of itself is enough to place difficulties in the way of the conclusion of the League. In fact the King repeated many of the remarks he had previously made, for example that the statements of the French Ambassador in Venice are at variance with the King's remarks in France; that he himself was incapable of aught but transparent frankness; that he was not such a subtle statesman as others; that the Republic must assure herself of the attitude of France, as to his own there could be no doubt, for he had never shown any signs of wavering. Then, the French Ambassador having been mentioned, his Majesty said to me, "The day after your last audience the Ambassador waited on me, and in course of conversation I said to him, 'Well, my Lord Ambassador, how go things in Italy?' He answered at once, 'Sire, an accord will inevitably be reached. As soon as Don Francesco de Castro leaves Venice the Cardinal de Joyeuse will arrive, bringing with him the terms of the agreement.'" The King went on to say he was glad, for he desired the peace of Christendom, and the Ambassador then endeavoured to extract from him what he would do if occasion arose, but the King perceived his drift and answered that if an accommodation was secured there was no need to discuss ulterior action. I remarked that perhaps the Ambassador was endeavouring to bring to his Majesty's notice some fresh proposal. "I don't know," replied the King, "but what is the use of such ruses?" From this your Excellencies will gather that there is great jealousy and suspicion between these Sovereigns. I think that the King of England suspects France of desiring to land him in a war with Spain, which would be a gain to French designs.

The conversation continued for some time on these lines, I constantly endeavouring to bring it back to the original point, the League, and to extract from his Majesty some more definite statement of his intentions. The King asked if the courier recently sent from Venice to France for information on this proposal had returned yet. The King said he calculated that he must have got back a few days ago and that shortly we should have news on the point, and if the answers were satisfactory as to the King of France's intentions then he would enter on a discussion of what he himself would do. That is the substance of my audience with the King, from which I gather that he is willing enough to form a league, but requires first to be assured of the intentions of the King of France and that he will not draw back at the last moment. As to the nature of the assistance he will render, I think he stands firm to his original design to render it in accordance with the nature of his kingdom.

The King then went on to remark the affection of the King of France for the Jesuits and his trust in them. He understood that the King was endeavouring to secure their return to your Serenity's dominions; but that the nobility was ill-affected towards them, and rightly, for besides their bad qualities they were, he said, a race of men who never failed to attempt revenge on those whom they deemed to have injured them; though in this case they were the injurers, not the injured. He said he heard that there was

1607.

some division of opinion, though the Senate was very firm in its resolve to suffer no diminution of its freedom. I replied, pointing out to him that such variety of opinion was habitual in the Cabinet, nay, absolutely necessary because from the conflict of opinion there arose the choice of the better line of policy to adopt. The King then went on to praise your Serenity personally, and then told me some story about certain priests arrested in Venice as conspirators. After that I took my leave. I must not omit to mention that the Duke of Holstein (Osden), the Queen's brother, having written to the King to say that he had been offered service with the Spaniards, but desired, before accepting it, to know the King's will, his Majesty replied that he was on no account to enter Spanish service, but to wait a little, for possibly the King himself would employ him in a more satisfactory manner in this Italian business.*

I must add that while I was in the ante-chamber, waiting to be introduced to the presence, the King sent out his second son, the little Duke of York, with an harquebus on his shoulder. He came right up to me and said he was thus armed for the service of the Republic. I answered that the Republic would be very proud of so big and brave a captain, and that under his leadership she was sure to win a great and signal victory.

London, 27th February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

692. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my audience with the King I sought an interview with the Earl of Salisbury. I repeated in substance what I had delivered to the King, but said nothing of the King's reply to me, leaving Lord Salisbury to answer, in order that by a comparison of what he said with what the King had said I might gather some light as to their real intentions on the subject of a League. He told me that he had not spoken to the King since my audience, but he gave me the same answer as the King had done, namely that assistance would be forthcoming, but that it was necessary to be assured of the intentions of the King of France. He said that if the King of England was once assured on that point he would open negotiations.

I seemed to discover in the Earl a considerable inclination towards a league, and I allowed him to embark on remarks connected with it, only answering where necessary. I will not weary your Excellencies with the prolixity of the dialogue; I will merely resume the chief points.

First, he told me that this proposal made by the King to the Republic was first of all discussed by the French Ambassador in England and himself, but that on fresh orders from France the French Ambassador drew back. I showed surprise, and he sent for several of Ambassador Wotton's despatches to show me the passage, but failed to find it. He went on to give me the reasons why it was unlikely that at the present juncture the King of France would take up arms; his general desire of peace; his eagerness to act as mediator; his regard for the Pope; the ecclesi-

* See Wotton's despatch of 2 February, 1606. R. O. State Papers. Venice.

1607.

astical leanings of some of his advisers; his natural caution. The Earl went on to remark that even if the intentions of the King of France were assured the interests, religion, and aims of the three principal members of the proposed League were so diverse that the natural consequences could not be avoided for long. I replied that the question of self-defence was quite sufficient to overcome such diversity. He went on to say that his opinion was and always had been that an accommodation would be reached, though for some time past he had not dared to say so to the King, for he was so warm a partisan of your Serenity that he flew out at any who differed from him in opinion. He gave me many reasons for his views, the most remarkable being that the Spanish sincerely desired an accommodation, and that in no other affair had they ever acted so straightforwardly. Their reason for this conduct was the hope that they would successfully conclude the Flemish business, and in order to do so they did not desire a disturbance in Italy. I replied that this was partially true, but we must bear in mind that the Spanish, being complete masters of a vigorous and restless Pope, were sure to wish to extend their authority in Italy; and that although an accommodation was to be desired still we must prepare for a rupture, especially in face of the present armaments. The Earl concluded by saying that it seemed to him advisable to negotiate for this League whether an accommodation were reached or not, for it would be of great service to the Princes who entered it. For this purpose he had, the other day, taken the opportunity to rouse the suspicions of the Archiducal Ambassador by telling him that in view of these rumours of general armament the English Government intended to muster their militia and concentrate a large part of their fleet; and when the Ambassador said to him, "You mean war with Spain, then?" he had answered, "No; but as we support the Republic and Spain supports the Pope it is possible that it might come to war." The Earl said that he had used this expression on purpose that it might reach Spain, where the effect would be excellent. I asked if the preparations in France were really going on. He said he was informed that they were. I pointed out that this was another proof of the favourable attitude of the King of France towards the Republic, to which he answered, "Enough; we shall soon know the truth; and, as I have said, I think it wiser not to abandon this idea of a League." I confirmed the affectionate disposition of Ambassador Wotton towards the Republic, a point he touched on, and then took my leave and departed.

From all this your Excellencies will gather what is the bent of English opinion on the subject of the League. They seem to me to be ready for it, but to suspect the King of France, and are deeply impressed by the withdrawal made by his Ambassador in Venice. His Majesty desires, however, to continue the negotiations.

London, 28th February, 1606 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

693. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In obedience to orders he has sounded M. de Villeroy on the subject of the League. Vileroy *said that their Ambassador in*

1607.

England had touched on the subject with Cecil, but had gathered a mere expression of opinion rather than any indication of a desire to carry the proposal into effect. In fact I seem to discern a wish on the part of France, if the League is concluded, to include the King of England, but if an accommodation is reached, to include the Pope instead. It is daily made clearer that France will not break with the Pope, though he would not mind breaking with Spain.

Paris, the first of March, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

694. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador will execute his Serenity's orders to buy two big fierce dogs to be sent to Constantinople.

London, the first of March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Minutes of the Senate. Roma. Venetian Archives.

695. The English Ambassador is to have audience to-morrow; motion made that the following be communicated to him: Although Don Francesco de Castro has been in consultation with us twice and the Cardinal de Joyeuse once, the question of Rome remains where it did at the time of your last audience. The Pope maintains his pretensions, and we, in doubt as to the issue, continue our preparations.

Ayes 160.
Noes 2.
Neutrals 8.

[*Italian.*]

March 3. Collegio Secreta Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

696. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and said:—

"Most Serene Prince, in certain districts of my country when the possession of a piece of land is in dispute custom requires that the claimant should, at least once a year, stand upon the land and cry aloud that it is his, otherwise his rights are lost; so it seems to me in these troublesome times I must appear here now and again to keep alive the claims of my master in this controversy, both as a Sovereign, as an ally, and as an interested party. If that was ever necessary it is so now, when so many Envoys of other Sovereigns are here in Venice, each with his claim; the Lieger and the Extraordinary of France, the Lieger and Extraordinary of Spain, the Envoy of the Grisons, the Secretary of the Duke of Lorraine, an Ambassador from the Emperor expected, Envoys of other Princes, and lastly myself, who in truth would rather be employed upon my proper mission, to demonstrate the renewal of amity between the Republic and the King, than as a mediator in such troublesome and difficult circumstances. Among these Envoys some display great zeal for the Pope, some for the peace of Italy, some urge the necessity

1607.

to curb Ecclesiastical ambition and pretensions, some profess the common interests of Princes. This diversity of aims and counsels calls on your Serenity's side for the greatest prudence and on ours for straightforward speech. Let others speak for their masters, this morning I will speak for mine. I am fully informed of his mind both by letters from the Earl of Salisbury and also by a despatch from the King himself, received two days ago."

The Ambassador went on to say that his Majesty renewed his offer as first made, and added that he had no curiosity to pry into the conduct of the Republic, but would be quite content with what they chose to tell him. He was sure that the Republic would not refuse suitable terms of peace, but equally certain that she would never accept dishonourable conditions; nor would she ever allow herself to be intimidated by a third power. Briefly, the Republic should adopt that line of policy which her prudence indicated in this controversy which, now that it had become public property, required to be far more thoroughly ventilated than when it lay covered by the silence and mute ignorance of the vulgar.

As to the League he had written most warmly about it, and if he had no communication to make that was only because there had not been time enough for an answer to reach him.

"I have nothing to add this morning, except that the King, Queen, and Princes are quite well and all the Court very gay, more especially on account of the entertainment at the house of your Serenity's Ambassador, where many Lords, Councillors, and Ladies met at a splendid banquet. My brother and the secretary I sent to England were present, and have told me of the flattering terms the Ambassador applied to me."

The Doge returned thanks, and informed the Ambassador that the Duke of Savoy and the Marchese di Castiglione were expected as Imperial Ambassadors. He endeavoured to impress two points on the Ambassador, first that the Republic had made no definite reply as yet to representations of the Envoys from France and Spain on the point of suspending her laws; she would endeavour to secure peace, but would never submit to any diminution of her independence; and secondly that the chief assistance to which the Republic looked was that promised by the King.

The Ambassador said that as regards the case of the English officer arrested at his request and reported to be very ill, he had sent Doctor Santorio to visit him, and he reported him very well. He repeated his charges against him and said that prison would not injure him, for he was quite used to it. He had been in prison in Germany for a long period and escaped by a miracle. He would, however, out of compassion beg for his release at the end of the week, but hoped that he would be banished from Venice after coming to the Ambassador's residence to hear the charges against him.

The Ambassador presents a petition for the admission of a boy, who was still under age, to the Seminary of San Marco.

The Doge said his requests would be granted.

[*Italian.*]

1607.
March 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

697. GIROLAMO CORNER, Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has sent out the "Foscarina," and the English "Bonaventura" to rescue the shipping blockaded in Modon by pirates.

Zante, 8th March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. Expulsis Papistis.

698. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador said that the Nuncio had told him that the English Ambassador gives out that he has news from Venice, assuring him of the rupture; and that the Republic had declared to the Ambassador of England that she would never come to an agreement; that a League between England and Venice was being negotiated and that the King of France would enter it. To this the English Ambassador replied vaguely, thinking to help his cause by awakening suspicion, and admitting that in Spain he had learned the maxim that appearances will do as well as reality.

The French Ambassador went on to say that besides the preparations for war they were proposing to send Anthony Sherley out with twelve ships to scour the seas, for they think he is equally well suited to injure both England and the Republic. His knowledge of Venice has helped him in this. He has offered to the King one hundred pieces of artillery, lying at Bilbao, the property of the bankrupt firm of Valemen's, one of whom, Jeremy, is in his company, and is now desirous of going to Holland. But whether either will be sent is uncertain; only both are more made of than before. It is rumoured that Sherley will get the Order of St. Iago, and an increase of his salary from one to two hundred crowns a month, in the hope that he will keep up his relations with England. He goes on taking everyone in; but they do not grudge the money, for they trust by this example to win over other English.

Madrid, 8th March, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

699. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King this week has shown extraordinary desire to receive despatches from his Ambassador in Venice, and not having them he is much perplexed. *I imagine he is in expectation of hearing what may be the attitude of the King of France.* I am told that his Majesty waxes warmer and warmer on behalf of the Republic, and continues to use the same expressions as he employed to me upon the subject of assistance. To-morrow he leaves the City for his usual amusement of the chase. He will be away about a month. Parliament meantime continues to sit, and is engaged on nothing but the question of the Union, wherein greater obstacles are discovered every day, and every day the ill-feeling

1607.

on both sides grows deeper. An English member of Parliament,* speaking against the Union, used terms of contempt for the Scottish nation, whereupon the King showed such resentment that Parliament was obliged to punish him by suspending him from debate, and committing him to the Tower during the King's pleasure. The King is so determined in this matter that it is thought he will carry it through. The main difficulty of the moment seems to be this, that the English insist that if the Union takes place the Scotch must give up their alliance with France.

They have put to death two priests who were caught in the kingdom after the order for their expulsion. This greater severity is attributed to the Papal Brief. It greatly incensed the King, and is likely to do more harm than good to the Catholics, both because it has caused this increased severity and because of the despair which begins to fill the minds of Catholics at the rigid attitude of the Pope.

A ship has arrived from Leghorn in a very few days; she brings wine and other things, the present which the Grand Duke is accustomed to send every year to the King and the great nobles at Court, by means of which he hopes to keep them well affected towards him, so that he may have leave to use the ships and men of this nation.

The agent of the States told me that his masters are well aware that the negotiations for an accord which the Archduke is carrying on aim only at their final subjection and are intended to free the hands of Spain in the Italian crisis; they are, therefore, determined to reject all proposals and to continue the preparations for the war; everything is ready for the fleet, which was only waiting good weather to set sail.

London, 8th March, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

700. Ottavio Bon, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Has experienced great difficulty in obtaining orders for the punishment of pirates and the recovery of the goods captured on board the "Liona."

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

701. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lords of Council have with great justice pointed out to his Majesty that his continued absence from the city, especially while the question of the Union is on, is very injurious to the negotiations. His Majesty accordingly has, though much against his will, decided to stay here and to use all his authority to secure the conclusion of the business this session. This points to a favourable condition of the question and the probability that

* Sir Christopher Pigott. *See* Gardiner 1, 330.

1607.

his Majesty will obtain the satisfaction he desires. It is thought that when the Union is carried the King will build upon that foundation many other devices for the increase of the power and greatness of his kingdoms. For there can be no doubt that when these kingdoms are united, which were formerly not only separated but hostile, his Majesty will improve the conditions of his greatness very much. They say he will pay particular attention to his navy, which is the main sinew of his power, and also to his finance, and it is certain that with a little attention he can augment his revenue; for it is well known that all alone in a short space of time he has effected a considerable increase. Nay, at this very moment there are individuals who are ready to offer for only a part of the revenue more than they draw at present, besides a donative of four hundred thousand crowns for a term of seven years. And although it seems that the King's character up to now has been more inclined to spending than to saving, all the same those who know how matters stand declare that this had to be so at the beginning of his reign, but that when the Union is once established, which has hitherto chiefly occupied his thoughts, he will devote his attention to the interests of himself and his successors.

The present state of affairs in Flanders causes some anxiety, for the interest which the King of France is displaying in the protection of the States, though it affords some hope that it may lead to an open rupture with Spain, also rouses the jealousy of the English for their ancient rivals the French. They have, therefore, learned with suspicion that the Dutch are about to surrender some strong places as security for French aid, and some difficulties have arisen over the money due from the King of France to the late Queen, which with the consent of the present King was devoted to assisting the Dutch.

The ships that have been ready to sail to the East Indies for some time now are on the point of departure. Others are being prepared for the West Indies. During the last months some vessels have been seized by the Spanish out there, and these new ones will be sent fully found and armed, so as to keep that navigation on foot.

London, 15th March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

702. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After a long interval the Spanish Ambassador has had an audience of the King; this gave rise to a rumour that he was commissioned to tell the King that his Catholic Majesty had resolved to support the Pope in the Italian crisis, and that the King had communicated his resolve to support the Republic. I am not yet assured of the truth of this rumour.

I hear the King said that he had news that in the Valtelline the Grisons had begun some movement. He is curious about the Cardinal de Joyeuse's mission. Only one of the priests sentenced to death was executed; the other agreed to take the oath of allegiance, which was offered them as an alternative.

1607.

The one who suffered gave great satisfaction at his death, however, by declaring that though he recognised the Pope as his superior in matters spiritual, in matters temporal he had always recognised the King as his Sovereign, and would be the first to defend with his blood and his life the independence of his King were it attacked by the Pope under the cloak of his spiritual superiority; that he trusted this declaration would be acceptable at the Tribunal of his Divine Majesty, before which he was shortly to appear.

London, 15th March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

703. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The more the Ambassador of England goes about declaring that a rupture has taken place and proclaiming ill-will between the Crowns of Spain and England the more attention do the Spanish ministers devote to the affairs of that kingdom. They hope that, owing to the venality of that nation and the small worth of its Sovereign, they may be able to achieve something profitable. All those who come from England are welcomed here; the poor are supported on charity and the others are attached by the conferment of honours and pensions, and in the pursuit of this policy the King in a single day distributed four crosses of the order of Sant Iago, one to Sherley, one to a Scot named Lindsay (*Linz*), and two to a couple of Irish youths who came here almost secretly, and who have been created pages-in-waiting, in order to bind them all the closer to this Court.

Madrid, 18th March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Minutes of the Senate. Roma. Venetian Archives.

704. That the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR be invited to attend in the Cabinet and to hear as follows:—

Both Don Francesco de Castro and the Cardinal de Joyeuse have urged us to send our Ambassador (to Rome) before the censures are removed, to re-admit the Jesuits and to give our word that we will not enforce our laws while the question is under amicable discussion at Rome. We have replied that our dignity will not allow us to send our Ambassador before the removal of the censures; that the Jesuits were punished not for obedience to the Interdict, but on many other serious charges, and the Pope ought not to mention the question of their recall; and as to passing our word, which is the chief point of all, we thank the Sovereigns who have interested themselves in the matter, but we will never submit to anything which may damage our prestige; we can assure them, however, that in the application of our laws we will proceed with moderation.

With this answer the Cardinal de Joyeuse has left for Rome; Don Francesco stays on here. As we cannot count upon the issue we continue to make our preparations.

1607.

We are expecting the Duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Castiglione here as Imperial Ambassadors.

We hope that the King of England's kindly intentions towards us will be carried into effect.

Ayes 159.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Minutes of the Senate. Roma. Venetian Archives.

705. To the AMBASSADOR in England.

We enclose a copy of our communication to the English Ambassador here, and instruct you to repeat the same to his Majesty and to Lord Salisbury.

Ayes 159.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

706. The English Ambassador sent to excuse himself from appearing, on the ground of indisposition. A secretary was sent to read to him the resolution taken yesterday in the Senate. At the passage about the impossibility of assenting to the representations made in favour of the Jesuits the Ambassador said, "A prudent and praiseworthy resolve." At the end of the reading he asked to hear it again. He returned thanks for the confidence thus shown to him.

He added that they might possibly take his excuse for not appearing at the Palace as a sign of laziness, as his indisposition was of slight moment and he was able to walk about. But he had taken a dose that morning and had had one or two attacks of fever; he hoped, however, to come soon to the Cabinet.

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

707. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's despatches, *informing me of the assistance voted for the Grisons. It is thought that this may be the beginning of some movement;* as the Duke of Lennox assured me that his Majesty was informed from France *that the King was urging on the Grey Leagues. They are glad of it, for it may prevent his Most Christian Majesty from interesting himself too much in the Dutch. The English policy is to depress the Spanish it is true, but not to the aggrandisement of the French. In my last audience his Majesty said the French attitude in the Italian crisis might be gathered from their conduct towards the Grisons.*

There is news that an English merchantman,* worth two hundred thousand crowns, on its way back from the Levant, was arrested at Messina and her crew imprisoned on the plea that they were pirates. The merchants have resolved to apply for

*The "Trial." *See* Gardiner, I., 349.

1607.

redress not to the Privy Council, but to Parliament. *As Parliament is largely hostile to Spain and is not open to the usual influences, it is thought that Ministers are acting with greater vigour than they have hitherto displayed.*

After waiting a little longer than he intended, the King left for his sport in the country the day before yesterday. The question of the Union is so far advanced that they hope shortly to reach a conclusion.

The Duke of Holstein is expected.

London, 22 March, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 27. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

708. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet, and after being congratulated on his recovery he said that it would be a matter of satisfaction to his Majesty to hear about the Jesuits, and begged his Serenity to communicate some account of the proceedings against that Society, which may help them to understand and guard against their artifices. "To those Fathers may aptly be applied the phrase of Tacitus, 'Genus hominum principibus infidum, sperantibus falax, quod et in civitate nostra vetabitur semper et retinebitur.'"

The Ambassador said that he had communicated with the Earl of Salisbury, who is among all the privy councillors the most devoted to the Republic. The Ambassador said that he had taken steps about that Stephen Stor who had undertaken to supply the Pope with powder and whose name the Doge had communicated to the Ambassador a few days ago. He had written to his Majesty on the subject.

Turning to private matters he said that there were two outlaws, one of Vicenza, the other of Venice; some of their friends who were his friends had begged him to interfere on their behalf; Hieronimo Monte is the Vicentine, and Agustin Carpan the Venetian.* Hieronimo Monte was forced in self-defence to commit the crime he did on Easter Sunday and in church; and the Council of Ten recognised the extenuating circumstances by not putting a price on his head in foreign lands.

"As for the other, the gentleness of his nature made me love him in a way, and he me; nor can I deny that he took shelter in my house, but two days before the sentence, for the Embassy, as long as I live in it, shall never be sanctuary for criminals,

* Wotton's *protégés* would appear to have been great ruffians. *See* Consiglio X., Processi Criminali, reg. 22. April 9, 1605. Girolamo da Monte and a band of bravos attacked Mauritio Cavagion and two of his sons in the Cathedral of Vicenza, and slew the father and wounded the sons. The cause of the quarrel was a dispute about a seat in the church. Mauritio was chased up to the Episcopal throne and there fell. Girolamo avoided arrest, but was tried and condemned to perpetual banishment by the Ten. The sentence could not be revoked under ten years. Augustin Carpan was an even more desperate villain; his crimes must be left in "the decent obscurity" of a foreign tongue. *See* Consiglio X., ut. sup. July 20, 1605. "Che Augustin Carpan, imputato di haver più et più volte nel spatio di un mese in circa in Muran, in casa di un Anzola Mazina, havuto comertio carnal con Antonia fiola de Hieronimo Verglierzin et di Iseppa furlana, nutta di anni otto in nuove, havendo quella non solamente defiorato et sverginata ma anco sodomitata et rotta et guasta cosi dalle parti davanti come da dietro." Carpan avoided arrest, but was condemned to perpetual banishment; all his property was confiscated, and five hundred ducats of it were deposited in the Mint as a dower for Antonia should she either marry or go into a convent. Anzola Mazina, who was arrested, was condemned to imprisonment for life; all her property was confiscated, and five hundred ducats of it were deposited in the name of Antonia.

1607.

great or small, after sentence, but while guilt or innocence hung in doubt it seemed only natural that he should seek refuge in the house of a friend. He swore to me with tears in his eyes that he was not guilty, but that all this came upon him from the machinations of a certain courtezan; enough! It may move your compassion if I say that he is a man of extraordinarily quick and lively spirit and has been expelled from Ferrara, Bologna, and all Spanish dominions, so he knows not where to go."

The Doge said the question should be referred to the Council of Ten, but it was extremely difficult to obtain releases, for they required a unanimous vote.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

709. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador demanded the release of some British subjects captured while trading in the Indies and sent to the galleys. This was refused, on the ground that they were captured in forbidden territory; it can only be obtained on the personal application of the King. This the Ambassador declines to recommend, and adds that this discourtesy will be repaid to the Spanish resident in England. To-day the English Ambassador went to audience and borrowed my carriage, so as to show the excellent relations between England and Venice.

Madrid, 28th March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

710. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King in discussing the attitude of the King of England said that the Republic should place no reliance on his assurances, but should treat his words as wind. The Ambassador replied that he could not believe the King of England would not keep his promises; had he had other intentions his Ambassador in Venice would not have proposed the League. The King replied that had matters come to a crisis the King of England would not have had the courage to make this proposal for fear of the King of Spain. He went on to say that it would be time enough to treat of an alliance when the differences with the Pope were arranged, and that his view was to include the Pope in place of the King of England.

Paris, 28th March, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

711. PIERO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Villeroy tells the Ambassador that M. de Fresne's proposal for a League was made in his own name. It would be time enough to talk of a League when the differences were arranged.

1607.

De Rosny tells the Ambassador the same thing and says that little reliance is to be placed on the King of England.

Paris, 28th March, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

712. Ottaviano Bon, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The new English Ambassador (Glover) has tried to achieve two designs, employing therein the greatest secresy; the one was to obtain one of our churches for the introduction of his particular religion. In this he failed, for the Grand Vizir and the Mufti on hearing of the proposal to introduce a new sect rejected the application. The other was a claim that all nations not represented here by an Ambassador shall sail under the English flag; this he secured by the help of some presents and on the ground that the English alone of Christian Powers supplied the Sultan with powder and arms; and a very ample instruction was drawn up in this sense. But when the French Ambassador heard of this damaging action he made such vigorous representations, based on his ancient capitulations, that further steps were suspended and the orders recalled, and the French Ambassador is now in treaty to have them annulled and his own privileges confirmed.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th March, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

713. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Parliament is discussing the naturalization of the *Postnati*. This motion if carried would in the course of a few years produce the Union automatically. This is violently opposed by those who do not desire the Union. The King complains bitterly that his advisers, by representing the achievement of the Union as an easy affair, have committed him to a labyrinth, in which his honour is involved. Two evils are indicated, one the revival of the ancient enmity between the two countries, the other the growth of Parliamentary as opposed to Royal authority. Both France and Spain are pleased at these difficulties; Spain because as long as they last England can come to no resolve prejudicial to that country, France because they do not desire to see the termination of their ancient alliance with Scotland. The Scottish claim that either the King or the Prince shall reside there. They have addressed a letter of complaint to the King after the last attack upon them in Parliament.

London, 29th March, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

714. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

While the question of the Union is in suspense the question of the injuries inflicted by the Spanish has been raised in Parlia-

1607.

which is asserted on the strength of an old Act of Parliament.* I am told that some of the injured parties will receive letters under the Privy Seal, addressed to the King of Spain, explaining that the King of England is obliged to yield at last to the just claims of his subjects, as it has always been impossible for them to obtain satisfaction for their injuries. The Earl of Northampton, a member of the Council *and much in the Spanish interest*, has privately made strong representations to the Spanish Ambassador here, urging him to secure the satisfaction of claims and especially the liberation of the ship (the "Trial"), which was arrested at Messina. The results of this conference are said to have been highly satisfactory to both parties. *The Earl displays great attachment to the Spanish Crown; his influence is very powerful and the Spanish count on him to prevent any decision hostile to Spain, and endeavour by every possible means to keep him attached;* but so pressing is the demand for recall advanced by the English Ambassador in Spain on account of the way he is treated that I believe he will soon be satisfied and another will take his place, with the title of agent only as a sign of resentment.

The King is much annoyed by the publication in Flanders of the life and death of the Jesuit executed as an accomplice in the plot (Garnet).

Owing to want of money a general mutiny is feared.

The ships destined for the East Indies sailed some days ago.

London, 29th March, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 4. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

715. The ENGLISH AMBASSADOR came to the Cabinet and said:—

Congratulations on the accommodation. Every Ambassador is claiming that he has had a share in effecting this peace. The Ambassador claims that after the Senate the King of Great Britain has been the chief agent. Though such a just cause must have many secret partisans the King of Great Britain alone will have the glory of having declared himself openly. Protests that his master is quite satisfied. "Your Serenity, it now remains for me, who have, through your grace, been a spectator, in this beautiful theatre, of the beginning, the progress, and conclusion of this great affair, conducted with such gravity, prudence, vigilance, magnanimity, it remains, I say, for me to be a witness, though with untaught voice, to the world, and may be to posterity, how glorious has been this action. And I am sure that your Serenity, having passed the height of the storm, will not make shipwreck of any portion of your liberty now that you are in port. Meantime I am glad to note that notwithstanding these hopes of honourable peace, preparations for war are going forward; and this reminds me of an Irish proverb which is commonly in the mouth of all that savage people, 'while treating with your foe double-bar the door.'"

The Doge returned thanks. He said the Cardinal was to have left Venice for Rome on the 2nd of this month, and will be

* Gardiner i. 351.

1607.

back again in eight or ten days armed with authority to remove the censures. The Doge acknowledges that the advantages gained by the Republic are due in large part to the King's declaration.

The Ambassador renews his petition, at least for the Vicentine gentleman, if he has gone too far in pleading for Augustin Carpan. Doge repeats that such liberations are difficult to obtain.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

716. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a rumour in Court that a truce for six months has been concluded between the Archduke and the States. This causes some surprise here, as it has been effected without informing his Majesty. The Earl of Salisbury sent for the Agent of the States to learn the truth, and that person later on informed me that his masters had dismissed the first Envoys of the Archduke with the answer that unless they were recognised as independent and unless the name of the King of Spain appeared in the treaty they would not negotiate, believing that such demands would break off all negotiations, but that the Archduke presently sent back, accepting them upon permission from the King of Spain. The agent said that as yet he had had no information that his masters had concluded the treaty, and that he had informed Salisbury that he might be assured no step hostile to the friendship at present existing with his Majesty would be taken.

I seemed to gather that the Dutch would accept the truce, with a view to a peace that would secure their freedom and their religion, and also to rouse both England and France to more active support. The States unless supported cannot stand alone, more especially as Count Maurice has announced that unless he has six thousand more men than he had last year he will be unable to make head against the enemy; moreover, a serious and painful malady from which he is suffering renders him more desirous of peace than of toil. I asked the agent what would become of the fleet in case of a truce; he replied that he thought the truce would affect the military operations only.

The Spaniards are spreading a report that they have driven the Dutch out of an island in the East Indies, called Terranata, but seeing that they add a number of improbable details the rumour is not credited.

On the third was celebrated the joust in honour of the King's accession to the throne. It was more magnificent than usual, as they employed the preparations made in honour of the King of Denmark, which his hurried departure rendered useless. No Ambassadors were invited.

London, 5th April, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

717. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received despatches informing me of the arrival of the Duke of Savoy and of the negotiations of the Cardinal de Joyeuse

1607.

and Don Francesco de Castro. The King and his ministers display an extraordinary interest in the matter, especially as they have information that through the Cardinal's good offices matters are taking a pacific turn. His Majesty is daily growing more anxious about this truce in Flanders. He has openly complained to some of his Council *that he fears that Spanish gold has corrupted some to prevent* the Dutch being helped as they ought to have been by England. *I am told that the King regrets not having followed the counsels of the King of Francee, whose conduct ought to be less suspected than that of Spain.*

London, 12th April, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

718. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is entirely occupied with the question of the Union. He came back to London, and finding that the obstinacy of the Lower Chamber made the difficulties greater every day he resolved to attend an extraordinary sitting of both Houses, where he made a very warm address, which was his last effort to reach his aim. Failing this they say he will dissolve Parliament and summon another in York, which, being incommodious, will make the Houses despatch their business the quicker. At present they are waiting to see what effect this speech of the King will have. The King has even said in private that since the malignity of certain individuals is endeavouring to hinder so great a public benefit he will be forced to carry it through by his own absolute authority; this is considered a motive more powerful than all the others to induce his subjects to an ultimate assent to his will.

At another sitting of Parliament the question of reprisals on Spain was discussed, and matters went so far that, when it was pointed out that this might lead to a war, a large sum of money was immediately promised to his Majesty in the common name. All the same no resolution has been taken in this matter, and seeing that news has been received that the ship which was seized at Messina (the "Trial") has been released, though only on payment of a certain sum, it is possible that the heat of these resolves will cool down.

The Scots continue to write to the King, complaining of the contempt which the English show them, and they beg the King to desist altogether from his plans, as on account of this attitude of the English they can never assent to the Union. This causes great anxiety to his Majesty, all the more so as report says that the Scotch are urged on by the French.

London, 12th April, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

719. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On receipt of your Serenity's despatch of the 19th March I immediately sought audience of his Majesty, which, contrary

1607.

to the custom of this Court, was granted me for that same day. I thanked the King for his resolution to assist the Republic. The King confirmed his determination to support the Republic, and said, "*I have written to my Ambassador in Venice that upon this subject of a League he is to reply to the Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty that I would be ready to embrace all such proposals as tend towards the common defence. But my Ambassador informs me that the French Ambassador has not stood firm by his first proposal, and says that his master is bent upon making an accommodation. I desire, therefore, that the Venetian Government should know who are its true and loyal friends upon whom it may count in all circumstances.*" *I saw that these words referred to the irresolution of the King of France, and I did not wish to leave him with the impression that the Republic was abandoned by his Most Christian Majesty nor did I wish to minimize the merit which the King very naturally attributed to himself; and so I said that I was sure that when the time came his Majesty's resolutions would be imitated by others. This seemed to please his Majesty.*

I then went on to explain the present state of the negotiations of the Cardinal de Joyeuse and of Don Francesco de Castro and the deliberations on the point. The King highly praised the resolve not to send an Ambassador before the censures were raised and not to re-admit the Jesuits. As to the efficacy of the laws while friendly negotiations were proceeding at Rome he asked if they were to be suspended. I said "No," that they were on the contrary reaffirmed, for the reply of the Republic that "in the use of its laws it would never depart from the ancient piety and religion of the state and its ancestors" contained an affirmation that the laws would be used. The King praised the wisdom of this reply. When I told him that although the Cardinal had left for Rome the Republic continued to make preparations. "Quite right," he replied, "that is the way to facilitate negotiations." He asked if the Duke of Savoy had reached Venice. I said he was expected, and the Marquis of Castiglione, the other Imperial Ambassador, was already there.

London, 19th April, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

720. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador has received an extraordinary express from his master, with news that the accommodation has been effected; this news reached the King from the Grand Duke by express. *It is possible, now that the affair is settled with the Pope, that France may think of renewing negotiations here for an alliance.*

The King would not believe in the terms of the truce between the Archduke and the States until the agent showed him the letter of his masters. The King then remarked in public that as the States were now admitted to be independent by the

1607.

openly in their support, and could treat their agent as an Ambassador.

I include a note of the terms of the truce, to which the agent adds two other clauses; the treaty is to be ratified by Spain within three months, and is to apply to land operations only. Neither the Ambassador of Spain nor of the Archdukes have given any intimation of this as yet to anyone, and it seems that the Spanish Ambassador blames the Archdukes for having made such disadvantageous terms.

London, 19th April, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 21. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

720A. That a notary of the Ducal Chancery be sent to inform the English Ambassador that to-day the Cardinal de Joyeuse removed the censures, and that particulars will be communicated on Monday in the Cabinet, where the following shall be read to him:—

It has pleased God to terminate our quarrel with the Pope. It was agreed with the Cardinal and with Don Francesco de Castro that the Cardinal should remove the censures in the Cabinet. We in return withdrew our protest. The prisoners were given to the Pontiff to please the King of France, without prejudice to our right to judge ecclesiastics. The Orders may return to our dominions, all except the Jesuits; and after the removal of the censures we will elect an ambassador to Rome.

We communicate this to you as a sign of our regard for the King, your master, who, we are persuaded, was a principal cause of this result by his generous, heroic and spontaneous declaration in our favour. We profess eternal gratitude. We beg you communicate this to his Majesty, and we have instructed our Ambassador Giustinian to do the same. We beg to express our saisfaction with yourself.

That Ambassador Giustinian be instructed in the above sense.

Ayes 141.
Noes 3.
Neutrals 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 24. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

720B. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and apologised for his absence yesterday; he had wished to present some Englishmen who had arrived in Venice with warm recommendations from the Earl of Salisbury, who is cousin germane to one of them. They had not had time to prepare suitable clothes, as they had nothing with them but their travelling habits, and the Ambassador had been obliged to make this delay. He now begged leave to introduce them that they might kiss his Serenity's hand.

The Doge replied that the Ambassador was quite at liberty to take his own time. What was to be communicated was the details of the accord with the Pope, and that could wait a day more or less. That the gentlemen might be introduced either before or after the communication, as the Ambassador thought best.

The Ambassador said they had better be introduced later on, and meantime they could visit the halls of the palace.

1607.

The resolution of the Senate, dated the 21st inst., was then read, and the Ambassador replied in a very low voice.

He thanked the Senate for this mark of confidence. He congratulated the Doge on his successful steering of the State through these troubles, which will render this year memorable for all time.

He congratulated the nobility on its courage and intrepidity, and was forced to say that the other Princes and States of Italy had let slip a whole year with their hands in their belts in a shameful indifference.

As for himself he professed complete satisfaction and a conviction that the entire honour and prestige of the Republic had been preserved. He will report all to his Majesty, and is sure he will be content.

He is glad that, on the conclusion of the accord, the Republic has taken under its protection those who have written in favour of the State, and has liberally rewarded them. "I am all the gladder because the enemies of the Republic have told his Majesty that the chief clause in the accord provided that your Serenity should give up to the Pontiff, Father Paul, and those who have written in your favour. On hearing this I informed his Majesty that the reverse was the case. I could not believe that the Republic, which had refused to give up Marco Sciarra to Sixtus V., would give to Paul V. those who had written in defence of so just a cause." He returns thanks for the pardon granted to the gentleman of Vicenza on his request. If these and other favours have been sown on thin and arid soil they will never bring forth thorns of ill offices; the Ambassador will always do all that in him lies for the service of the Republic.

After an exchange of compliments the Ambassador said that while he was in the country he had received the following:—

"Rome, 30th March.

On Sunday at four o'clock of the night peace was concluded with the Venetians on these terms:—

First, the decrees issued by Venice shall not be annulled; but the crowns of France and Spain pledge themselves to see that never at any time shall they be put in execution.

The imprisoned clerics shall be given to the Pope.

The writings that have appeared are declared heretical; and the Republic pledges itself, if the Inquisition cites or the Pope claims the writers, to do all it can to assist in their arrest.

The Jesuits are to remain in the territory of the Republic, but not in the city. The King of France guarantees their restoration within a year.

The Republic promises to observe the Interdict for three days before the Cardinal de Joyeuse arrives with the brief of absolution, and shall then send an Ambassador to render obedience."

After a few more compliments three English gentlemen were introduced and most courteously received by the Doge, who declared that when he saw one of that nation it was the same as seeing one of his own.

The Ambassador replied in their name, as they did not know

1607.
April 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

721. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Agent of the States came to give me information about the truce. Their object was either to arrive at a definite peace by means of the truce, or, if that failed, to incite England and France to more vigorous assistance. I think, however, that peace is their main object; they think that they have laid the foundation-stone of that by the acknowledgment of their independence, though they are rather suspicious that when the Italian question is settled the Spanish may begin to raise the point again. After the death of the Infanta without offspring they hope to draw the other provinces to side with them. As to the causes which determined the States to accept the treaty, he told me very frankly that they were, the advantageous nature of the terms and the irresolution of the Kings of England and France in coming to their aid.

The agent told me that the King was greatly disturbed when he heard of the truce, and declared he would never believe it till it was published; he said it was impossible that the Spanish and the Archdukes should ever have consented to such terms. But when he was at last convinced he complained that the States had concluded the treaty without informing him, *nay, had even kept it secret. He said that Spain had begun to find out the true way to subjugate them.* Lord Salisbury holds similar views. *It seems that Salisbury had also hinted that if the war ceases the States ought to repay their debt, which amounts to two millions of gold. The King dislikes this truce because the continuance of war protected him from the Spanish,* and because he desired to be mediator of a peace which would have shown how closely allied he was to Spain; and it is even possible that things standing as they do he may set himself now to negotiate a peace; *indeed I seem to have gathered some inkling of such an intention from the agent of the States.*

The instructions to the French Ambassador here *were chiefly concerned with this question of the truce, and intended to discover the mind of the King on peace or war.*

The rumour of the capture of the island of Terranata in the East Indies is contradicted.

London, 25th April, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

722. TERMS of the treaty between the ARCHDUKES and the DUTCH.

The Archduke agrees to treat with the Low Countries as free provinces, over which their Highness have no claim.

Each party to keep what they hold.

The Dutch to have time to deliberate. Absolute suspension of all military operations eight days after publication of the present.

The decision to be made known before the first of September.

Done in Brussels, 13th March, 1607.

Uvrienduen (Vereyken?).

[*Italian.*]

1607.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

723. ACCEPTANCE by the DUTCH.

The States, as free States over which the Archdukes have no pretensions, accept the foregoing declaration.

Done in Brussels and the Hague, the 10th April, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

April 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

724. OTTAVIANO BON, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ill-feeling between the French and English Ambassadors (de Salignac and Glover) is on the increase. The French Ambassador refusing to sit down under the affront has now enlightened the Sultan and his ministers about the way in which he has been supplanted. He has obtained the renewal of his capitulations with the most ample confirmation of his right to the covering flag for all strangers, and a declaration annulling what the English Ambassador has recently obtained and withdrawing the capitulation recently granted him; and this because the English Ambassador, in spite of the insistence and gentle request of the Grand Vizir, always refused to present the original of his capitulations. *(Et questo per non haver mai voluto esso Signor Ambasciatore d' Inghilterra, per istanza et modesta forza che gli habbi fatto il Bassà, presentar l' auttentica capitulatione sua)*; and as the French Ambassador has no intention of stopping there, but intends to have the English Ambassador proclaimed as without authority and unable to protect even his fellow countrymen, I fear the civil question may soon become a criminal one, for the minds of both these gentlemen are violently excited. I do all that I can to smooth matters down. I must inform you that the Grand Vizir asked me to tell him what was the legal position of foreigners without a representative. I declined to answer, as I did not wish to mix myself in this business; but when the Vizir pressed me to tell him the truth, as a favour to himself, I was forced to say that foreigners were covered by the flag of France. This has somewhat displeased the English Ambassador. I have justified my conduct to him, pointing out that I had only told the Vizir what was notorious and admitted even by the Ambassador himself.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th April, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

April 27.
Minutes of the Senate, Roma. Venetian Archives.

725. That the following letter be sent to the King of Great Britain.

Giving him information about the accord arrived at with the Pope. Thanking him for his good offices.

Proposing to send an Ambassador Extraordinary.

Ayes 62.
Noes 61.

Amendment to omit clause about an Ambassador Extraordinary.

Ayes	82.	Ayes	95.
Noes	2.	Noes	14.
Neutrals	24.	Carried.	

[*Italian.*]

1607.
May 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

726. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador had an interview with the Earl of Salisbury on the subject of the accord with the Pope.

London, 2nd May, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

May 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

727. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the subject of the truce the Earl of Salisbury said that the terms were so advantageous to the Dutch that we must believe that either great necessity or some subtle object had induced the Archdukes and the Spanish to grant them. I pretended that I could discover no ulterior motive, and he added that in the opinion of some the movement in Italy was the cause, but the truth of this would soon be apparent, for now that an accord had been reached a pretext for not ratifying the treaty would soon be found; others think that the Spanish now hope to subdue the States by pacific means more easily than by war, for they can flatter the populace, and finally win over their leaders. I said, "How can that be done, when the States have been declared independent?" He replied, "My master, on reading the capitulations, interpreted that point of independence as applying only to the right to treat (*interpretò quel punto della libertà dechiarito per la sola trattatione*), and perhaps that is the strict meaning of the words."

The King is expected to-day in London to attend the Chapter of the Garter, which is held each year on St. George's Day. Meantime the Lower House has prepared its reply to the address delivered to them by the King; and as his Majesty has very wisely flattered the small fry with soft words and shown his displeasure in vigorous terms against some of the great, who were seducing the others to oppose his will, it is hoped that he may at last effect that union of the two kingdoms which he so ardently desires.

At this beginning of summer the plague begins to give signs of spreading. The King and Court will leave immediately, and I, as do the Ambassadors, will endeavour to take up my abode in the country, as near as possible to the place where the King lodges.

London, 2nd May, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

May 7.
Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives.

728. The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet and presented a petition on behalf of two Englishmen.* Both are English, but one might be almost reckoned a Venetian, because he is married to a Venetian wife and has resided so long there. They are agreed on the principal points, but are at variance about the question of weights. The Ambassador had proposed

* Ruberto Arnall and Eliseo Sopheme, both Englishmen, have a suit which they desire to submit to the Clarissimi Signori Sopra Gastaldi, for arbitration without appeal.

1607.

arbitration, but one of the litigants is principal, while the other is merely agent, and so finds it absolutely necessary to proceed by means of the Courts.

The Doge said the two suitors would be summoned and heard on the subject.

The Ambassador begs a permit for Alberghino Alberghini of Salò to bear arms.

The Doge promised to forward the petition to the Council of Ten.

The Ambassador expressed the satisfaction of certain English gentlemen, who were in Venice for their pleasure, at the reception they had met with. They had repeatedly expressed the same to the Earl of Salisbury. The Doge said that the officials at Padua would be instructed to show them all civility when they go there.

The Ambassador quoted a passage from a letter from the Prince of Wales, in which he said that if he were of age he would come in person to serve the Republic.

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

729. Instructions to Zuanne Bembo, Captain-General of the Sea.

He is to carry out the instructions of September 24, 1605, as regards English ships.

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

730. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Four days ago a certain broadsheet was published here under the title of "News from Venice." It was submitted to the King, and contained certain points of religion contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, which they say are taught by preachers in Venice with toleration of the Senate. This paper was brought to me at once, and as I saw that it contained falsehoods prejudicial to the unblemished fame of the Republic for piety, and being unwilling to allow time for the spread of the libel, by seeking an interview with the Earl of Salisbury, I sent my secretary at once to him to complain and to demand the instant seizure and burning of all the broadsheets and the severe punishment of the printer; for his Lordship and all the world knew that the quarrel with the Pope had nothing to do with religion, but only with merely temporal points affecting the preservation of liberty. The Earl was much annoyed at the occurrence, and declared that he had no knowledge of the matter. He at once issued the necessary orders, and sent to inform me that he would keep me acquainted with the result. According, shortly afterwards, he sent to say that he had caused to be suppressed and burned all the broadsheets found at the printer's and bookseller's, and had forbidden them to keep them on pain of death; that as to the printer he would have proceeded to punish him, but on examination he found that the printer held the Archbishop of Canterbury's

1607.

report spread here, and not out of any bad faith. The Earl expressed his regret for the annoyance I had experienced.

I thanked his Lordship for what he had done, but said that as the matter had been made public it required a public rectification; that this was a good opportunity for showing how sincere and candid was the king's intention, directed solely to preservation of the common liberty; that as to the Archbishop of Canterbury I could not understand how a man of his prudence and virtue could have lent an ear to so vain and frivolous a matter or have allowed a common salesman to have coloured these lies under the King's name; though I was convinced that there was no bad faith in the matter. I displayed great heat in the affair, both to check these ecclesiastics who are always ready to use both tongue and pen to help their cause, and also to show to other Catholic Ambassadors how earnest your Serenity is in support of your true and native faith, in order that they may report this at Rome and to their own Courts.

I must say that I believe every copy of these sheets has been destroyed, for I secretly endeavoured to get one, and only succeeded in securing the copy I enclose.

The Ambassadors of Spain and Flanders begin to throw off the mask about this truce. I gathered that the Archdukes hope by means of the peace to unite all the provinces under them, *and to remove the Spanish altogether, introducing a more liberal form of government, but this may be merely the idea of the Ambassador, who is a good Fleming.* They have more hopes from the King of England than from the King of France.

The Earl of Salisbury and the High Admiral have both earnestly begged your Serenity to liberate or to grant safe-conduct to Edward Peutres, an Englishman, banished, as they say, from Venice for two years upon a slight offence. It is desirable to keep these two great Lords favourably disposed.

London, 9th May, 1607.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

731. News from Venice.

An extract of certaine poyntes and articles of religion, which now are publicly taught and maintained *in the city and state of Venice, against the doctrine of the Church of Rome,* sent over from Venice into England by way of true and certaine intelligence and reported unto the King's Majestie.

In Venice, the 13 of March, 1607.

Imprimis. The preachers doe preach heere loude against Free-will; teaching the people that we have Free-will only to evil, and that if we doe good it cometh not from us, but from God.

Item. That our justification is given us gratuitly by ye death and passion of Jesus Christ; that we cannot be saved by any merit or intercession of saints; laying all our salvation on Jesus Christ only.

Item. The Church is not tied to any particular place, and that he that maintaineth it is a devil and sonne of predicion.

1607.

Item. That it is altogether necessary that the people reade the Olde and New Testament, to know the will of God, and that it is no more time to put their salvation to the discretion of their confessors, who are become cousners, juglers, merchants of their souls and shopkeepers of their bodies.

Item. They affirme also that sermons are more needful than masses, and doe prove that by sermons infinite people have been converted to God, and that none have been converted by hearting of masse.

Item. The Senate doth permit this doctrine to be preached, to take away the errors of the people, and to put downe the authoritie of the ecclesiastiques, who are gone out of the way of religione and reason, and doe command Princes as their pages and slaves.

This doctrine is thought will hinder the peace. If this seed be fallen in good ground the fruite will appeare. God of his grace make us worthy of his mercy.

Reader I presume, that the occasions of the disagreements between the Pope and the renowned state of Venice are unto the world alreadie so well knowne (being well neere at open warres thereupon), as that almost nothing is more notorious then those proceedings. But this one thing I thought good to note by the way, that this is assureedly the worke of God for some great and special purpose, and who knoweth but that God hath appointed it as a meanes to pull down the pride of the whore of Babilon? For it is very observable that the first falling from the Pope in England was occasioned by the ambitious intermeddling of the Pope in some matters meerely temporall, and not for religion; but after that, upon those groundes occasion beeing offered was happily apprehended and pursued, to examine the authoritie of that usurped power, and also the grounds of their false Doctrine, whereupon the Prince armed with resolution proceeded so far that in tract of time the Pope's usurped power in matters, both spiritual and temporal, became heere utterly abolished, and the light of the Gospel clearly manifested. Even so also may it be by God appointed that these proceedings in the hart of Italy by the Popes arrogancie occasioned, may bee a means to shake to the ground the false foundation of the Church of Rome and hir doctrine, which is already ready to fal. The Lord grant that the issue may be happie unto his Church. Amen. God save the King.

Imprinted at London for Francis Burton, 1607.

[*English.*]

May 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

732. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the conclusion of the truce despatches arrive so frequently for the French Ambassador, and he has such frequent audience that it is clear the matter in hand refers to the effect likely to be produced by the treaty. The King of France desires that the two crowns should adopt a common line of action; but the English, as yet, reply in vague and general terms. But it seems that in an

1607.

interview with the Earl of Salisbury his lordship expressed some of the suspicion which they feel here about the designs of the French King and the possibility of a matrimonial alliance with Spain. His Majesty's refusal to embrace so favourable occasion as the recent movements in Italy indicates that he desires to remain on good terms with that Crown. The intimacy between the Pope and the Crown of France would be quite sufficient to effect any such designs.

The French Ambassador sought to justify his master's policy; but about the States nothing definite has been settled.

London, 16th May, 1607.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

733. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King's agitation of mind about the Union still continues. No sooner is it supposed that the business is concluded than fresh difficulties crop up; and the King is now forced to desire the Union not only because it is useful, but also for his own reputation's sake. Like all great minds opposition fires him. On the other hand some of the popular leaders show such hardness that everyone wishes his Majesty has kept out of it (*ne fosse digiuna*), as it is evident that this business breeds temper in the King and in both nations.

Complaints of the Spanish continue, but the Union absorbs all thoughts. The Prince de Joinville is expected here. As a relation of the King he will be entertained at his Majesty's charges. The King may intercede for his restitution to the favour of his sovereign.

London, 16th May, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

734. FRANCESCO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the death of Captain Juan Alvarez, Sherley wished to take command of the fleet; but as Spanish policy is directed to feeding him with fair promises, they now tell him he is destined for a post in the Levant. He has neither money nor credit, and the Constable declares that they cannot rely on him, and must have security from him before putting arms in his hands.

Madrid, 20th May, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

735. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador had audience of the King to communicate the news of the accommodation between the Republic and the Pope.

The Ambassador congratulated the King on the fact that by his attitude towards the Republic he had largely contributed

1607.

towards the achievement of his real object, which, as the Ambassador could bear witness, was never any other than to see the question closed peaceably with the preservation of the freedom which was granted to sovereigns by God. The King expressed his complete satisfaction at the issue. He congratulated the Republic, because by her example she herself and other Princes will be freed from the annoyance of such claims for the future *(perchè si sarà con questo esempio lei et altri ancora per l'avenire liberati dalle molestie che da simili pretentioni le potevano essere inferite)*.

The King went on to say that he had seen the terms of the accommodation, as they were sent from France, from which it appeared that the Republic had yielded almost all the points claimed by the Pope; but that both his Ambassador in Venice and myself represented the matter differently, showing that the Republic had completely saved her honour. I assured him that such was the case, and that any other statement was the work of the Roman ecclesiastics and of ill-wishers. The King then proceeded to ask about the probable fate of the theologians who had written in defence of the Republic, naming them almost all. I replied that they would be quite well off, as the State had made provision for them. The King showed indignation at Fra Marc' Antonio Capello, who had fled, and declared that the Republic ought never to re-admit him to its dominions.

London, 23rd May, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Collegio, Secreta, Esposizioni Roma. Venetian Archives.

736. The ENGLISH AMBASSADOR came to the Cabinet and said:—

That he had communicated the real terms of the accord, and it was well he had done so, for false articles had been sent to England containing such disgraceful clauses that the King could not believe them; for example, that the Republic had pledged itself that its laws would not be enforced.

The Ambassador then proceeded to lodge a complaint. "His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople writes that by ancient custom all foreigners in that city who are not represented by an Ambassador are understood to be under the protection of the Ambassador of Great Britain. The Ambassador opened negotiations with the Grand Vizir, and obtained a confirmation of this claim under the seal of the Vizir; but the French Ambassador raised opposition and the Venetian *Bailo* supported him, so that the Grand Vizir sent to tell the English Ambassador that he would suspend the affair, and that it would take strong evidence to countervail the testimony of the Venetian in favour of French claims.

Now, supposing this to be correct, have not we just cause to complain of the *Bailo?* Surely, in a question between two powers both friendly to the Republic, the Venetian Envoy ought to have remained neutral. If this were true we have great cause to complain. But I am rather inclined to hold that the British

1607.

effect may have jumped to the conclusion that the difficulties which had another source came from the *Bailo*. All the same this is the news I have from the British Ambassador in his letter of April 1st. If he wrote this with a view to my passing it on to his Majesty he has made a mistake, for I am devoted to the Republic, and then my commission does not extend beyond Italy; but if I may venture to advise I think it would be well to inform your Ambassador in England of the state of the case."

The Ambassador then went on to petition in favour of Matteo Guagnini of Verona, condemned to prison for eight years. Padua and Vicenza know the Ambassador well on account of favours won for them; Verona, although the first Venetian town he reached on his coming, does not know him yet, and had he to stay there at night he would find no one to give him lodging. He appeals to the great benignity of the Doge towards him, which emboldens him to think that if he asked he would receive not this gentleman, but even a second Abbe of Nervesa.*

The Doge, in reply, said that they had information about the affair at Constantinople, and the suspension of the negotiations was due entirely to the French Ambassador, the *Bailo* having had no part in it.

The Ambassador said that he imagined that it was so, but he had felt it his duty to raise the question.

As to Guagnini, the Doge pointed out how difficult it was to obtain such graces from the Council of Ten; and all the more so in this case, as both Guagnini and his adversaries had large followings, and in a great city like Verona quarrels between the two families might easily occur. He promised, however, to bring the matter before the Ten.

The Ambassador replied that the quarrels of great families were not always displeasing to Princes. But he begged this grace, as the sentence had only nineteen more months to run, and at the end of that Guagnini would be quite free.

The Ambassador then read letters from the British resident at the Hague, who was always well informed. The Ambassador cannot believe that the King of Spain, after spending so much money, will consent to the terms of the truce.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

737. Zorzi Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

News has come from Scotland that certain inhabitants of the mountains that look towards the islands and Ireland have risen and opposed armed forces to the King's officers. The reason is that as these people were always turbulent some of the Scottish gentry offered to subdue them, and a few months ago obtained leave to do so. When this was known the people rose. The rebels do not exceed three thousand, though their numbers may increase, for they have elected chiefs and given other signs of growing tumult. No steps have been taken here, as they do not wish to exacerbate that haughty race; especially as the Earl of

* Brandolin, one of the two criminous clerics, whose arrest had caused differences with Rome.

1607.

Argyle—the greatest person in that kingdom—who was destined to the command against the rebels, promised to reduce them speedily without any further trouble. All the same the matter has greatly disturbed his Majesty.

There has been some trouble with pirates in these narrow seas, and a royal ship has been forced to retire.

Further news of trouble about English shipping in Spain.

There was a rumour of an engagement between the Spanish and the Dutch fleets, in which the Spanish got the worst; but it is not confirmed.

London, 23rd of May, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

738. ZORZI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Brussels, confirming the engagement between the Spanish and the Dutch, and the defeat of the former with four ships taken and eight sunk.

The King, finding the difficulties in the way of the Union increasing daily, seems inclined to dissolve Parliament, with intent to summon it again after arranging the opposition. And in order to show that by his prerogative alone he can do more than he has hitherto done, he has issued certain constitutions tending to the depression of the Puritans, who include the chief opponents of the Union.

There is no further news from Scotland, and it is expected that the movement will die away without more trouble. Orders have been sent to the Earl of Argyle that he is to use dexterity rather than force. The Scottish are renewing their demand that the King should spend some time among them, but it is not likely that they will be gratified.

The ship that was sequestrated in Spain has arrived.

The King has taken the Prince de Joinville to some of his country houses.

London, 30th May, 1607.

[*Italian.*]

Original Manuscript. Marcian Library, Cl. VII. Cod. MCXX.*

739. Report on England presented to the Government of Venice in the year 1607, by the Illustrious Gentleman Nicolo Molin, Ambassador there.

Serene Prince, my illustrious and excellent Lords, the duties of my mission impose upon me the obligation to render some account of the island and kingdom of England, which at the present time has risen to a position of the highest rank, and by fortune and by chance presents qualities very different from any other State. I know, too, that some account is expected from me of two Sovereigns, whose kingdom is new and offers many points for consideration and comparison with the States of other Princes. I am aware that to discharge such a duty properly would require a man of other qualities of mind and other strength of body, but I could not refuse to discharge this duty without incurring

* There is another codex in the Marciana, and one at the Museo Civico which Barozzi used when publishing the "Relazioni d' Inghilterra."

1607.

grave reproach, and this necessity in which I find myself must be my excuse, while I further plead indulgence on account of a severe cold contracted on my journey and which will not leave me. In order to spare your Serenity the tedium and myself the fatigue of a long discourse I will confine myself to the most important topics.

Then follows a geographical description of England:—It is well supplied with rivers, "but above all it enjoys a very temperate climate, both heat and cold being far milder than with us. England breeds no poisonous beasts nor rears those that are imported. And so it is the common opinion of doctors that if that people could keep from drunkenness, to which they are greatly addicted, they might enjoy both long and happy life. The land is not really flat, but is broken into little hills, so low, however, that seen from a distance they cannot be distinguished from the plain. The country is most fertile to dwell in and produces abundance of all that is necessary, but comforts and luxuries are imported from abroad, though the export of commodities exceeds the importation of luxuries. The articles in which the country abounds are, as everyone knows, wool and cloth of all sorts, and so important is this branch of trade that I am credibly informed that the export exceeds five millions* a year in gold. Then there is tin, lead, leather, coal, meat, butter, and other grain of all sorts, which goes chiefly to Spain, especially just now that the two nations are on good terms.

It lacks especially drugs, sugar, all kinds of fruit, which come from France and Spain, wine, oil, silk, cloth of gold, woven stuffs, gall nuts for dyeing. On account of these and other important trades and because of its convenient position, the country is not only frequented by strangers from all parts of the world, but the English make voyages in their ships to those places where they think any profit is to be gained; and so this island is held to be comfortable, pleasant, and rich beyond all other islands in the world.

It is divided into two kingdoms, and England is separated from Scotland by the Cheviot hills (*Chemosa*) and the rivers Solway and Tweed (*Solveo et Zuedo*)." Molin then says that for brevity's sake he will not name the various counties nor the dioceses, but he notes that the counties have different customs and different speech, there being five or six dialects all different from each other. He then proceeds to describe London, the metropolis of England, "and rightly considered one of the chief cities of Europe for its size, its site, and its population, which in common opinion surpasses three hundred thousand souls. It is full of shops and of warehouses and of all that may serve to the comfort or the use of man. Many noble churches testify to the piety of the earlier English, but they are desecrated and abandoned, only the walls remaining, and serve now chiefly as a walk where business and other affairs are carried on, rather than for the divine service for which they were built. Then there is the Tower, a right noble pile for age, but not for strength, as it has neither bulwarks nor bastions nor other fortifications. The royal treasure, which I shall presently describe, is kept there. There is also an arsenal of arms; but its chief use is as a ward

1607.

for prisoners of State. There is London Bridge of nineteen arches, spanning the river. The Bridge is covered with shops, which make it very narrow and spoil its beauty, and if two carriages meet there they can hardly pass one another. The river is the Thames, which besides its beauty is of the highest service for the large number of ships from three to four hundred tons burden, which come in upon the tide from all parts of the world, although the city lies upwards of sixty miles from the sea. Not only is the city flourishing in trade and commerce, but it is especially rich in the privileges enjoyed by its inhabitants, the merchant-burgesses and craftsmen, from among whom about twenty-five are elected, called Aldermen, who govern the City absolutely, almost as though it were an independent Republic, and neither the King nor his Ministers can interfere in any way. The other cities of the kingdom follow the example of London. I said merchant-burgesses, for the nobles, as in France and Germany, reside almost entirely in the country.

It is a common opinion that the wealth of these citizens is very great and entirely the fruit of trade and commerce, which is carried on by means of companies. At present there are two such companies, the Muscovy Company, trading to Muscovy, Poland, Russia; and the Levant Company, which includes Italy, The members of the Levant Company have often thought of dissolving the Company, as many of them are of opinion that the Turkey trade is of no profit at present; and I was asked if your Serenity would permit free export from Venice, for in that case they promised to give up the Levant trade route. Your Serenity will remember that I reported and supported this proposal, as it seemed to me to be the sole and sufficient method for stopping English privateering in our waters, which is still going on. I know for certain that many English ships sail from those ports under the name of merchants with a small amount of cargo, but their real intention is piracy. They are content to remain abroad in exile for a while, for they are quite sure that after a little, by the help of bribes, the only way in this country to overcome all difficulty, they will be able to return home and enjoy their gains. I held the proposal to be of great importance for your Serenity, who, as I was well aware, had frequently given strict orders to your representatives at Constantinople to hinder and thwart in every way, even by considerable presents, English trade in Turkey, as being very prejudicial to our city and nation, by the competition in price of goods purchased there, and also because the English now carry their own tin straight to Constantinople instead of to Venice, as formerly, whence it was taken in our ships to the Levant. But I never received any answer or instructions on the subject, and I imagined that your Serenity's wisdom had noted some objection which had escaped me. The result was that the Levant Company was re-united, confirmed, and enlarged. There was a proposal to found another Company to introduce East and West Indian goods; but as, by the terms of the treaty between England and Spain, the English are forbidden to trade to the West Indies—though this clause is differently read by the English—the whole proposal remains imperfect and inconclusive, though many private individuals do send their ships on that voyage.

1607.

In order to explain what these companies are and how they are managed, I must state that the Levant Company, and the others as well, is a close guild of men (*uomini descritti*) trading in the Levant, and no one who is not enrolled in the company is allowed to trade in any territory belonging to the Turk. The Company has its Directors (*capi*), elected by itself, and it is bound, without any support from the Crown, to maintain at its own charges the Ambassador in Constantinople and the Consuls throughout that Empire, to supply the so-called 'donatives' and to meet all necessary expenses. By royal patent the Company used to enjoy the customs on currants and sweet wines on a payment of 24,000 crowns a year, but now this privilege has been taken from it and has been given by the King to the Lord Chamberlain. His Majesty gives the Company no more than the protection of his letters; for the rest, this company and the others also, govern themselves. In this way many have acquired fortunes of one hundred, one hundred and fifty and two hundred thousand crowns, some even passing four and five hundred thousand.

But leaving this point, which is generally well known and not highly important, I will, before touching on the Sovereign and his Ministers, dwell briefly on the forces of the kingdom.

In the past the power of this kingdom was divided, Scotland being united to England only in the person of the present King. All the same the difference and opposition of temperament between the Scottish and the English are considered to render the kingdom not stronger, but weaker than it was. So violent is their hatred of one another that they scheme against one another's life in all sorts of absurd ways; and many of the leading Scots would have returned home had it not been for the efforts which the King made to stay them."

Molin then proceeds to give a sketch of English history in its relation to France. He says that for three hundred years England held Normandy, Brittany, Guienne and Gascony; and for sixteen years was absolute Sovereign of France, Henry V. being crowned in Paris in 1418. Now only the title survives. All the same, in spite of such serious losses, England remains so powerful that it would be difficult if not impossible to conquer her by force.

The navy has fallen off greatly from the days of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., when it consisted of upwards of a hundred ships fully manned and found, with officers on full pay, ready to put to sea in force at a moment's notice. Now it numbers only thirty-seven ships, many of them old and rotten, and barely fit for service. "I know not if this is the result of negligence or of a desire to save the money; any way these few vessels and those of private persons and even foreigners, which the King could use on occasion, would be sufficient not only for defence, but to a certain extent for offence as well. These ships, scattered about the kingdom, represent a fleet of upwards of two hundred sail, not counting the foreigners. Nor would it be difficult to fit them out, for England is as well supplied as any country with artillery, powder and arms, and, more important still, is full of sailors and men fit for service at sea. It is true that if England remains long at peace and does not make up her mind to keep up a larger navy and to stop the sale of ships and guns, which is already going on, she

1607.

will soon be reduced to a worse condition. For the King does not keep more than three vessels armed, and that not as they used to be, and private individuals have no need to keep theirs armed for the Crown is at peace, privateering forbidden, the Indian trade half stopped; and people do not know what to do with their ships, and so take to selling them, and their crews take to other business.

As to the land forces they would be innumerable if one took into account all who are fit to bear arms in defence of the country. For one county alone of the thirty-nine, the county of York, numbers 70,000 men, of whom at least the half are capable of bearing arms. But owing to the small care, or rather absence of any care, to drill them these men would be of little service on a sudden attack; indeed they might produce more confusion than aught else, as witness the year 1588, when the Spanish armada sailed up the Channel to attack England, which threw the whole kingdom into such panic that though the Queen sent out her chief officers to muster all troops for the defence of the coast the operation could never be carried out, and the Queen herself was forced to mount her horse and take the field as an officer, to command, to encourage, or to punish those who showed themselves backward in taking arms for the defence of the country. She soon discovered how badly served she had been by her Ministers, for although herself was present there was great difficulty in putting together twenty thousand men, and those only half armed. When news came that the armada had been driven north by the storm and was all wrecked, she returned thanks to God for the protection he had bestowed upon her island and herself, confessing that had the Spaniards effected a landing her Crown was in the direst peril. After this orders were issued to arm and train the troops, and for a time that was done, but I am now informed that they are in a worse state than ever; although their natural adaptability to arms would render it an easy matter to bring them to a perfection; for, as everyone knows, there is not a nation in the world that fights with a greater disregard of death.

Their principal arm of offence is the bow and arrow; their number is incredible, as everybody is trained to use them, not only because they like to, but in virtue of an Act of Parliament, which compels each head of a house to keep a great supply, even for the children, and all the strength and the hopes of England lie in the bow and arrow. It would seem, however, that for some time past this exercise also has fallen into disuse like all the other things.

The cavalry is considered no less necessary for defence than for offence, and as far as light horse goes, would be very numerous if it were only good, for England abounds in horses; but they are weak and of little last, being fed on grass only. Heavy horses, fit for men-at-arms, are not bred in any part of the island except a few in Wales and some belonging to the royal stables. Neither the King nor the nobles take any pleasure in this breed; they are quite content with their hacks. All the heavy horses are foreign, though there is an ancient law obliging certain persons to breed them for the service of the King and country, a law but little observed.

1607.

The kingdom is strong in the defences supplied by nature. It is surrounded by the sea, and sea quite different from any other kind of sea. Nowhere else is there known such currents as flow on the coasts of England or Brittany opposite it, nor a tide that varies so remarkably, there being a difference of twelve or fifteen fathoms between high and low water. The result is that the island being a fortress in itself the Kings have never paid much attention to special fortresses, considering them either as superfluous or even dangerous, the civil wars having taught them that special fortresses give courage to those who wish to upset the established order, and that if fortresses do not exist whoever is master of the open country is master of the kingdom. And so in case of civil war fortresses are ruinous, in the case of foreign war they are useless, and reliance is placed upon the general fortress-nature of the island, upon the fleet and the vast population; and they promise themselves that in case of attack by a foreign foe, every man would rush to defend his country. Consequently there is only one fortress of any moment in England, that is Berwick on the borders of Scotland. This place the English have always held most carefully, experience having taught them that they were liable to attack by their natural and bitter enemies. Since the Union, however, Berwick has fallen into neglect. There are other forts for the protection of their harbours, but of small importance. They rely for their defence on their fleet and the arrangements they have made in case of a suspected attack.

Passing now to the question of the revenue; and first, of the Treasury, it is the common opinion that the King has not a sou, for the late Queen sank a great deal of money in her wars with Ireland and Spain, and it is a wonder that she did not leave debts rather than cash. Then the present King was obliged to spend a large amount on his succession and to make many presents, especially to those who had served him so long in Scotland, where the poverty of the kingdom had forbidden him to do so. When he came to the rich and opulent throne of England he showed the liberality of his nature. It is commonly calculated that between money, jewels and real estate he must have given away two millions, mostly to the Scottish, though some English, too, were participators. The consequence is the Crown is in debt, but not deeply. It owns jewels, plate, hangings of most beautiful quality, valued, they say, at three millions of gold.

The ordinary revenue is of two kinds; the income from Crown lands bringing one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, which equal about five hundred thousand crowns. I must say that if the Crown would let out its land on new leases it would draw beyond a doubt three times as much, for the rents have not been raised for the last three hundred years, yet everything has gone up four or five fold. All the same the King may be said to make all he can out of it, for when he wants to reward anyone he lets out part of the Crown lands at the old rent, and the tenant then raises the rent three or four times over. In this way the King rewards his servants without putting his hand in his pocket.

The other source of revenue is the customs dues. All exports and imports pay duty, but once inside the country they circulate

1607.

freely. This brings about 700,000 crowns. Then there is the revenue of the kingdom of Scotland, which may amount to 100,000 crowns. Ireland not only yields no revenue, but even causes a loss. Among the taxes is one called Wardship. It was founded by William the Conqueror, who bestowed lands on his followers on the condition that during a minority the revenues reverted to the Crown. This has always been farmed out at 80,000 crowns. Grave abuses have crept in, and the subjects cry aloud to heaven and do all they can to avoid such an inheritance, which brings a plague and ruin upon their estates. Those who farm this impost are always the great Lords, and in order to enrich themselves the more easily they have gradually introduced this usage that if a man possesses two acres in ward and one hundred free the two acres bring the hundred under the operation of the wardship, and so there is hardly an estate that is not subject to this burden. Moreover, if a father dies leaving his children minors and debts on the estate the whole income of the estate goes to the Crown and to the farmer, and not to the payment of the debts; when the children come of age they are confronted with their father's debts, which might have been paid off during their minority. There is another evil, that on the death of the father many persons apply to be appointed guardian, and if, as often happens, they are not relations, they ruin the estate of the unhappy wards. If the wards are of good estate and rich their guardians marry them to a daughter or a niece, assigning them any dower they please; should the ward refuse to marry the estate is obliged to pay the amount of the dower of the lady he has refused. Various efforts have been made to shake off this burden, but in vain; Parliament offered the King one hundred and twenty in place of the eighty thousand crowns he draws and also à donative of four hundred thousand crowns, but as the mastership of the wards is in the hands of the Earl of Salisbury, who is supreme, and as he draws a large revenue from it, the bill was rejected. In fact the ordinary revenue of the Crown does not exceed 1,300,000 crowns.

To pass to the extraordinary; it consists of subsidies which may vary in amount, but taking the practice of the late Queen they amount to about 600,000 crowns a year. This sum can only be obtained with the consent of Parliament. I must mention an expedient adopted by the late Queen and employed last year by the present King, and that is the issue of obligations under the sign manual and privy seal. On these money is raised. These loans were never paid off by the late Queen, though the King declares his intention to do so.

The ordinary expenses of the Crown amount to about a million. The King's private expenses are 500,000 crowns, a very considerable sum, in spite of the fact that the Court has the ancient privilege of purveyance and carriage, both being paid at a very low rate; what was worth ten not fetching more than two; an intolerable burden on the subjects. And if the officers contented themselves with taking only what was required for the use of the Court that might be endured, but the mischief is that if the Court requires, for example, twenty couple of cappons the officers call for a hundred, which are resold at market price, to their

1607.

enormous profit; and in this way they soon grow very rich. What I say of the cappons applies to everything else.

Parliament thought to remedy this abuse by offering certain concessions to the Crown, if only they could be rid of the tyranny of the Court officials; but the interested parties have had such weight with his Majesty that he has refused any kind of compromise, to the great damage of his subjects.

Upon his fifty gentlemen pensioners, who on State occasions accompany his Majesty, he spends about forty thousand crowns; upon his salaried servants he spends one hundred thousand; on the scanty garrisons of the ports about sixty thousand. He keeps three hundred archers of the guard; a hundred of them are always in attendance. The guard and its officers cost about twenty-five thousand crowns. He usually keeps three ships in commission, and these and the salaries of the dockyard officials cost about one hundred thousand crowns. His stable and the expenses of the chase amount to sixty thousand crowns. A hundred thousand crowns go in minute expenses; the total is about a million; so that without the subsidy there would be a balance of three hundred thousand crowns, but this and the subsidy as well is consumed by the malversation of his Ministers. The King himself gives to his favourites with a lavish hand. In the revenue I have not included confiscations, which amount to a very large sum, because the King gives away all that he receives. No sooner is it known that a confiscation will take place than five-and-twenty applicants appear, and the King is very openhanded.

I must now proceed to speak of the Government. It is quite different from that of other kingdoms. It is based not on imperial or civil law, but upon municipal law, as is the case with the Serene Republic; these laws were established by William the Conqueror, and, as is natural, they are all in favour of the Crown, not of the subject. They are very intricate, full of contradictions and difficulties. Were it not tedious I could point out some. I will only say that all justice, both civil and criminal, is in the hands of special officers; but all that concerns the State is absolutely in the King's discretion; he, like his ancestors, is absolute lord and master. It is true that the Kings either for their own convenience or to enhance their dignity or for some more recondite motive, as I think is more probable, established a council consisting of the great lords of the nation and the deepest in the King's confidence. This Council follows the King about and has always board and lodging in the Royal Palace. The Council spares the King the trouble of governing, and not only do all subjects transact their business with it, but Foreign Representatives as well, and one might say it was the very ears, body, and voice of the King.

The three or four great officers of the realm, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, as well as the great officers of the Household are admitted to this Council, which is called royal. Its members are all either great Lords or their dependents. It is entirely subject to the royal will, for it is not to be supposed that the King would admit any to an office of such importance except great Lords and those who are in his confidence. Besides these, as the number of the Council is not fixed, his Majesty is

1607.

wont to summon others without any consideration of their nobility or ecclesiastical rank, but simply because they please him and are acceptable. And one sees in England what is frequently seen in other Courts, the lesser merit winning the higher place; and this is the result of the King's will.

The Government is in the hands of the Council, who rule as the King desires; but occasion may arise where the public weal or ill is concerned, such as the introduction or the amendment of laws, supply, etc.; in such cases the King, out of modesty, is accustomed to continue the old practice and to summon Parliament in its three Estates of the Realm, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons. It cannot be denied that originally and for many years later the authority of members was great, for each one was permitted, without fear of punishment, to speak his mind freely on all that concerned the State, even to the touching of the King's person, who, to speak the truth, was rather the head of a Republic than a Sovereign. But now that the Sovereign is absolute, matters move in a very different fashion. This absolute authority dates from the reign of Edward III. in 1327. The authority and power of Parliament was greatly curtailed, and while now possessing its ancient shape, it has lost its original independence and authority; for no act is valid unless it has received the royal assent. Parliament can pass no law, nay, may not even assemble without the royal consent. The Crown, too, by various means, secures the exclusion of those whom it does not like and the inclusion of those upon whose support it thinks it may count. The Sovereign has now reached such a pitch of formidable power that he can do what he likes, and there is no one who would dare either in Parliament or out of it, except at the grave risk of ruin, I do not say to oppose him, but even to make the smallest sign of running counter to his will.

It is true that the present King, who came to the throne as quietly as could possibly be desired, wishing to show his gratitude to his subjects, announced that he intended to leave the elections free. He thought that so gracious an act would be met with respect and reverence on the part of his people, and that they would grant him all he wanted and agree to every request he made. But he presently repented and saw that the course pursued by his predecessors was the true one. For in the Lower House were some members who, moved by public zeal or private interest or a blend of both, persistently opposed all his demands, and that so boldly that more than once his Majesty regretted having adopted a policy different from that of former Sovereigns. This was the cause of the opposition to the Union and of the difficulty in the way of subsidies. The latter he overcame, not through the goodwill of Parliament, but through their pockets; for he gave out that unless the subsidy was voted he would be unable to repay the money he had borrowed.

The owner of this most fair and noble island, which embraces England and Scotland, is James Stuard (*sic*) VI. of Scotland, I. of England, who came to the throne by legitimate succession and right of blood. He was never named, however, as her successor by the late Queen during her life; not that she had any objection to him as her heir, but because of that jealousy which Princes feel

1607.

even towards their own children. It was only when she knew herself to be dying that she indicated rather than actually declared him as her successor. Her last moments approaching, the members of Council who were present asked her what might be her will in this matter, and she replied not to a "rogue" (*rogh*)—which in English means a low-born fellow—but to one who wore—and here her speech failing her she made with her hands the sign that signified a crown. Asked if she meant France she shook her head, as she did when Spain was named; when asked if she meant Scotland she assented. A few hours later she died.

She was counted the most remarkable Princess that had been seen for many centuries. In all her actions she displayed the greatest prudence, the proof of which is that for forty-three years she preserved her kingdom in peace, in spite of religious dissensions which filled it with dangerous humours. So well could she suit herself to the moment that she overcame every difficulty, and although there were some troubles in her reign they were of slight importance. With constancy and admirable magnanimity she always withstood and defeated her foes. She supported the Dutch at a time when they were not as firm and strong against Spain as they now are; for she was well aware how vital it was for her own kingdom that Spain should not be master of the Low Countries; and so with manly courage she strove and warred with them for many years. But, not to enlarge on the qualities of the late Queen, I will merely say that she was right prudent, most diligent in government, present at all negotiations, far-sighted in council, punctual in execution. She won the love of her people, who mourn her to this day; she struck awe into her foes, and in short had all the qualities that can be looked for in a great Princess. Immediately on her death the Council was summoned and many gentlemen not of the Council attended, for during an interregnum all titled persons may assist. There was a unanimous resolve to summon the King of Scotland as their lawful Sovereign, in spite of the law against aliens; but having been born in the same island they concluded not to reckon him an alien.

So then King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England is now on the throne. He was born in 1563, and will complete his forty-third year on the 19th of this month.* He is sufficiently tall, of a noble presence, his physical constitution robust, and he is at pains to preserve it by taking much exercise at the chase, which he passionately loves, and uses not only as a recreation, but as a medicine. For this he throws off all business, which he leaves to his Council and to his Ministers. And so one may truly say that he is Sovereign in name and in appearance rather than in substance and effect. This is the result of his deliberate choice, for he is capable of governing, being a Prince of intelligence and culture above the common, thanks to his application to and pleasure in study when he was young, though he has now abandoned that pursuit altogether. He is a Protestant, as it is called; that means a mixture of a number of religions; in doctrine he is Calvinistic, but not so in politics and in police; for Calvin denies

* June.

1607.

authority not merely spiritual but temporal as well, a doctrine that will always be abhorred by every Sovereign.

That nation embraces three religions, the Roman Catholic and Apostolic, the Protestant and the Puritan. This latter, besides the ruin of souls, tends also to the ruin of principalities and monarchs, for it is entirely directed to liberty and popular government. Now, as the word liberty sounds sweet to everyone and is readily embraced, we may believe that a third of the population is Puritan, although the King and his Ministers employ every art to destroy them. But many members of the Council are themselves Puritans, and support the Puritans from interested motives, so that harshness is not employed against them, and their errors and transgressions are excused and palliated, and the sect instead of declining is on the increase. The Protestant religion, which is the King's, is Calvinistic in doctrine, but very different in theory of government. It admits Bishops and high ecclesiastics, and of course the secular and royal authority. This religion embraces another third of the population it is thought. The King tries to extend this creed. His great desire is to have one religion, as there is one King. Another third or perhaps a little more maintain with the greatest constancy and singular display of virtue the Catholic religion, which, as your Excellencies are aware, began to decline in the reign of Henry VIII., when the King desired to divorce Catherine of Aragon and to marry Anne Boleyn. The King won the great Lords over to him by the grant of ecclesiastical lands, which amounted to about half the real estate in England. His Majesty caused the clergy to continue their functions in the Church; but the new Sects of the Lutherans and Calvinists were not slow to seize so excellent an opportunity for spreading. When Edward VI., a mere boy, not fit to govern, succeeded, the Mass was banished and the Catholic faith completely destroyed. On the death of Edward his sister Mary ascended the throne and set herself with all her might to restore the Catholic faith; but the seed of heresy had struck root and she encountered insuperable difficulties, and although the Catholic religion was practised throughout the kingdom that was more through fear of the laws, which were very harsh against heretics, than from any love, which is the true foundation and base of religion.

Elizabeth succeeded Mary, and at the opening of her reign she was much opposed by her Ministers, who, as I have said, were all interested in ecclesiastical property. They did all they could to gain her over, and the chief argument they used was this, that as she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, whose marriage was never recognised by Rome, it was certain that if she made submission to Rome she would at once be proclaimed a bastard and incapable of succeeding to the throne; and although the Pope might make large promises to restore religion in England, yet she might rest assured that, if not this Pope, one of his successors would on the smallest occasion raise this difficulty. This would give birth to a thousand evils, for the Popes claim power to make and unmake everything in this world as well as in the next. It was, therefore, her best policy to establish the Calvinistic creed and to declare herself head of that Church, confirming her mother's

1607.

marriage and thereby her own legitimate succession. This she resolved to do; and thereupon the Pope Pius V., urged by others who were moved by worldly rather than by spiritual interests, fulminated excommunication against her, though not till some years after she had ascended the throne. Meantime, though the Catholic religion was proscribed, everyone did as he chose in his own house nor were inquiries instituted against anyone; so that except for the public exercise of religion, freedom of conscience may have been said to exist in England. Those who wished to set England in a blaze, finding that the excommunication failed in this intent, turned to other methods and persuaded the Pope to send Jesuits into that kingdom. The Pope immediately despatched many English Jesuits, for without a knowledge of the language, which is very difficult, it is impossible to make any progress; these, then, in secular garb carried on a propaganda in favour of the Holy See. They taught the doctrine, held by the Jesuits at Rome, that subjects of a heretic Sovereign are freed from the oath of allegiance, and may with a clear conscience embark on rebellion, sedition, conspiracy. This doctrine made great way among restless spirits, and bred many conspiracies against the Queen's life. The result was a number of severe laws against the Catholics, with which I will not weary your Serenity. I will only say that a Catholic recusant is obliged to pay eighty crowns a month, if he can; if he cannot he loses two-thirds of his property; if he be poor or an artizan the officers visit his house once a month and carry off everything, even down to the bed. If a man hear Mass or harbour a priest or Jesuit, or even be seen speaking to one, he is convicted of *læsa majestas* and loses life and property. A Catholic is outlawed, and if he be creditor he has no action against his debtor; if he be injured by word or deed he has no redress. The King hopes by these measures to annihilate the Catholic religion; but God, who is over all Sovereigns, has endowed the unhappy Catholics with such strength and vigour that they survive each storm and tempest. It cannot, however, be denied that the Jesuits by the inculcation of their doctrines have done much harm to the faith; for there is an infinite number who, through fear of the laws, live a life contrary to their conviction. If representations are made to the King and his Ministers on the injustice of these laws they reply that it cannot be helped, for every Catholic in the country must be reckoned a foe. Things grow worse and worse, and a recent Act of Parliament has taken from the Catholics the custody of their children. Unless the Lord God open a way it is to be feared that the Catholic faith will disappear; and the cause of all this severity is the harsh—not to use another title—doctrine of the Jesuits.

The King is a bitter enemy of our religion, not merely because he holds it to be full of abuses and corruption, but because of this said impious and unjust doctrine. He frequently speaks of it in terms of contempt. He is all the harsher because this last conspiracy against his life seems to him, as it is in fact, the most horrible and inhuman that ever was heard of. He said himself to me that the murder of a King had happened before, the extinction of a house had been dreamed of before, but the ruin of a

1607.

whole kingdom along with the King and his offspring, that truly was without parallel; and yet it is understood that the Jesuits had a hand in it.

His Majesty is by nature placid, averse from cruelty, a lover of justice. He goes to chapel on Sundays and Tuesdays, the latter being observed by him in memory of his escape from a conspiracy of Scottish nobles in 1600.* He loves quiet and repose, has no inclination to war, nay is opposed to it, a fact that little pleases many of his subjects, though it pleases them still less that he leaves all government to his Council and will think of nothing but the chase. He does not caress the people nor make them that good cheer the late Queen did, whereby she won their loves; for the English adore their Sovereigns, and if the King passed through the same street a hundred times a day the people would still run to see him; they like their King to show pleasure at their devotion, as the late Queen knew well how to do; but this King manifests no taste for them but rather contempt and dislike. **The result is he is despised and almost hated. In fact his Majesty is more inclined to live retired with eight or ten of his favourites than openly, as is the custom of the country and the desire of the people.**

The Queen is very gracious, moderately good looking. She is a Lutheran. The King tried to make her a Protestant; others a Catholic; to this she was and is much inclined, hence the rumour that she is one. She likes enjoyment and is very fond of dancing and of fêtes. She is intelligent and prudent; and knows the disorders of the government, in which she has no part, though many hold that as the King is most devoted to her she might play as large a rôle as she wished. But she is young and averse to trouble; she sees that those who govern desire to be left alone, and so she professes indifference. All she ever does is to beg a favour for some one. She is full of kindness for those who support her, but on the other hand she is terrible, proud, unendurable to those she dislikes.

By this marriage the King has had four children, two boys and two girls. The eldest, Henry, is about twelve years old, of a noble wit and great promise. His every action is marked by a gravity most certainly beyond his years. He studies, but not with much delight, and chiefly under his father's spur, not of his own desire, and for this he is often admonished and set down. Indeed one day the King, after giving him a lecture, said that if he did not attend more earnestly to his lessons the crown would be left to his brother, the Duke of York, who was far quicker at learning and studied more earnestly. The Prince made no reply, out of respect for his father; but when he went to his room and his tutor continued in the same vein, he said, "I know what becomes a Prince. It is not necessary for me to be a professor, but a soldier and a man of the world. If my brother is as learned as they say, we'll make him Archbishop of Canterbury." The King took this answer in no good part; nor is he overpleased to see his son so beloved and of such promise that his subjects place all their hopes in him; and it would almost seem, to speak quite frankly,

* The Gowrie conspiracy.

1607.

that the King was growing jealous; and so the Prince has great need of a wise counsellor to guide his steps.

The nearest relative the King has is Madame Arabella, descended from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., which makes her cousin to the King. She is twenty-eight; not very beautiful, but highly accomplished, for besides being of most refined manners she speaks fluently Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, reads Greek and Hebrew, and is always studying. She is not very rich, for the late Queen was jealous of everyone, and especially of those who had a claim on the throne, and so she took from her the larger part of her income, and the poor lady cannot live as magnificently nor reward her attendants as liberally as she would. The King professes to love her and to hold her in high esteem. She is allowed to come to Court, and the King promised, when he ascended the throne, that he would restore her property, but he has not done so yet, saying that she shall have it all and more on her marriage, but so far the husband has not been found, and she remains without a mate and without estate.

I have remarked that his Majesty is devoted to the chase and to his pleasures, and hates all the trouble and anxiety of Government. He readily leaves all to the Council. It seems to me, therefore, desirable to say something about the Council, which numbers twenty-five persons at present, though its number is not fixed and depends on the pleasure of the King, who has the right to introduce even foreigners, though that has never taken place. There are four Scots on the Council; the rest are English. They are all great Lords, either by birth or by the favour of the King. Most of them are Earls, a title of the highest esteem in England, bear a coronet on their arms, and are served on bended knee, though as Earls they have no power to judge suits even for a penny, nor to imprison, much less to punish, but it is all smoke and vanity, of which the English race is full.

The Council usually follows the King unless he goes privately on a party of pleasure, and then it stays with the Court, ordinarily in London. Their power is great, nay excessively great; not that they have it of right, but because they have slowly usurped it. It was never greater than now, thanks to the indulgence and carelessness of the King. Though divided among themselves upon many points they are united on this, to preserve their authority, which they use not merely to aggrandize but to enrich themselves as well. The Council deals not only with affairs of State, but of finance and of justice also; there is no one who sooner or later is not forced to apply to Council, and everyone, therefore, seeks the protection of some member, and that can only be gained in England by presents and gifts. Who receives most is most esteemed. And these gifts they take not only from British subjects, but from foreigners and Envoys of Princes as well. So great is their authority that they are like so many Princes. No one else is of any account, and many ancient and noble families are downtrodden and despised; which breeds a great hatred of these Lords, who are openly styled "kinglings" and "tyrants," for in very truth they permit themselves any action that suits their turn.

Greatest and most eminent of all is Robert, Earl of Salisbury,

1607.

first Secretary of State, whose authority is so absolute that he may truly be called the King. About him then I must say something, so that your Excellencies may judge if that kingdom be well governed or not.

The grandfather of this person was a man of low estate. There are those living who remember seeing him a taverner. He then became groom of the wardrobe to Henry VIII. and acquired a small estate, enough to let him send his son to school at Canterbury. This lad showed extraordinary promise and, in the reign of Edward VI., he entered the service of the Duke of Northumberland, the King's tutor, in the quality of secretary, but not *in capite*. There he became well informed about many State secrets, and acquired a great reputation. He continued in the Duke's service till his execution under Mary. Then, seeing that the Queen could not live long and that her sister Elizabeth must succeed, he set himself to win her regard, and served her as spy and adviser. When Elizabeth came to the throne, as he had foreseen, she did not prove ungrateful; she made him first Secretary, then Treasurer. He became rich and powerful, and he and Walsingham may be said to have governed England as long as they lived. He had two sons, one the Earl of Somerset (Exeter), the other this Earl of Salisbury. His father, noting his greater ability, gradually introduced him into the management of affairs when he was about fifteen or sixteen, and so the length and excellence of his training rendered him capable of sustaining this great burden and of adding to his fame. On the death of Elizabeth it was thought that he would fall, chiefly because the new King was well aware that the father of Lord Salisbury was the prime author and adviser of the death of Queen Mary, the King's mother, and people generally held that he would take vengeance on those who had done so unjust a deed as the Queen's execution, and would reward those who had served her. But things have turned out very different, for the latter are neglected and despised, the former favoured and caressed. And so the Earl not only retained all the authority he had enjoyed under Queen Elizabeth, but gained much more. It is true that the support of George Hume has been of great service to him. Hume is now Earl of Berwick *(Barwich)*, and is the most intimate and the most favoured of all the King's servants, though no one can say why, for he is a man of weak character in every respect, ungracious, ungrateful to his friends, incapable of winning friends, lacking in all the qualities which make a man beloved; in short, everyone wonders how he has reached such a pitch of favour with the King. Hume, grown rich by great presents, is the chief cause why Salisbury is maintained in his present place of reputation and power, which are so great that he often cancels and annuls the graces granted by the King himself, and claims that everything must pass through his hands. He is a man of about forty-eight years of age, short, crookbacked, but with a noble countenance and features. He speaks his own tongue admirably, French very well. In matters of State he is of great weight; he is astute and sagacious and a bitter persecutor of his foes, a characteristic he has proved in fact, for he has had many enemies, but all have fallen, though men of high estate, as for example

1607.

the Earl of Essex, the greatest favourite the Queen ever had, and yet by his intrigues Salisbury broke his neck for him. On the other hand he is a friend to his friends, and ready to do them a service, though he is more ready for revenge than for affection. He is haughty and terrible, he uses violent language to all sorts of people, a bitter foe to the Catholics, and as long as he lives and governs there is no hope of any alleviation for them. He is closely united in affection and relationship with the house of Howard *(Euard)*, a most ancient and noble family; there are three or four Howards in the Council, and partly by his authority and reputation, partly by these alliances, Salisbury moves and guides the Council as he likes; and with truth it may be said that he is the Prince of this kingdom. Of his wealth I will not speak, for it passes the bounds of all belief. The whole of it is in specie invested in various markets of Europe, but under various names. I am told that in Holland alone he has five hundred thousand crowns, which by itself gives him a sufficient income; and this is said to be the chief cause of his liking for the Dutch.

I will omit any mention of other members of the Council, for though they may be Salisbury's superiors in birth, they are his inferiors in weight. I will only say that his dependants are of no account.

Before proceeding to deal with the foreign relations of England, I will say a few words as to what one may conjecture to be the temper and the intentions of the King. And although this is always a difficult subject to handle, owing to the ease with which one may be deluded in matters so intimate and so liable to change with changing circumstances, nevertheless, from the actual conversations I have had with the King himself and with Salisbury, I seem to discern that the King is greatly inclined to peace and quiet, and, as we say, to "the enjoyment of the Papacy." He does not desire war with anyone unless it is forced on him, and although he has many claims against France, whose title he still bears, and against Spain [on the subject of Cleves], etc., still they will never induce him to take up arms, as he does not think it wise to go to war over ancient pretensions. He thinks there should be a limit to claims, and when they are more than fifty years old they ought to be dropped, for if Sovereigns began to examine what provinces belonged to their ancestors two or three hundred years ago and took up arms to recover them, it is clear we should never be at peace; the Emperor, in particular, as legitimate successor of the early Emperors who, as one knows, owned half the world, would never be at rest. These and similar discourses indicate a mind made up for peace, and he in common with all the English thinks that there is no Prince so firmly established on his throne as is the King of Great Britain, especially as the Crowns of England and Scotland are now united; and they hold that they possess a world entirely to themselves and separate from the rest, and that they neither need nor fear anyone else.

To begin with, his Majesty lives in very distant relations with the Pope, whom he looks upon both as a spiritual and a temporal Prince. As a temporal Prince he holds the Pope in no regard,

1607.

for he is too far off and can do little harm and little good, more especially as the Papal States are a dominion subject to variations, as his Majesty observes, owing to the continual change of Sovereigns. It is obvious that any good one Prince may do is arrested by the brevity of his reign and undone by his successor; and moreover the Popes are chiefly concerned to enrich and benefit their own families, and are therefore entirely dependent on those sovereigns who are best able to furnish fortunes to their relations.

As a spiritual Prince the King hates and abhors the Pope, calling him a monster and declaring that there exists no Sovereign and no Court so imperfect and corrupt as those of Rome. When his Majesty gets on to this topic he talks at great length and tells horrible stories that shock the ears of his hearers. He says he cannot understand how so many Sovereigns, wise as they are, not only esteem but adore such a Prince, though the wonder ceases if one considers that they do so for their own temporal ends, so that under cloak of religion they may achieve whatever seems good to them. All the same it causes him anxiety when he considers the number of Catholics in his kingdom, who either through innocence or maliciousness allow themselves to be swayed by the Pope and to plot against the king's life and for the destruction of his kingdom. This alarms him, and, therefore, increases his hatred and fury against the Catholic faith.

His relations with the Emperor are cool but not unfriendly. He has a great respect for the nobility and antiquity of the empire, and, moreover, is of opinion that were the Emperor a man of spirit he might easily unite the German and French princes into a compact body for any great enterprise. His Majesty considers this Emperor very poor-spirited, and says so quite openly. He also bears him a grudge for having refused to release a German in whose favour the King had sent a mission to the Imperial Court.

There are many reasons why the relations with the King of France should not be good. In the first place the French and English are bitter enemies, as is usual between neighbours; and although there is the sea to divide them still the ships of each enter the other's ports, and frequent conflicts arise with the officials, which, reported, if not falsely, yet with exaggeration, to the sovereign, gives rise to continual misunderstandings. The King lays claim to France though he does not insist; but this claim serves all the same to keep the nations apart. Personally the King likes the French rather than otherwise, having been born and brought up in Scotland, which, as is well known, is intimately connected with France, Scots enjoying certain privileges as native Frenchmen, and the King of France being furnished with a bodyguard of Scotchmen. I must not omit to report what a Scot of high position said to me, that if the King of England were to attack France he could not look for any sure support from Scotland. The King allows his second son, the Duke of York, to draw a stipend from France as captain of a body of Scottish lances. This post originally belonged to the eldest son of the King of Scotland, but when the two crowns were united the King thought it beneath the dignity of his eldest son to be a stipendiary of France. Accordingly after much negotiation the post was bestowed on the King's second son.

1607.

When M. de Rosny was in England to congratulate the King on his succession he did his best to unite the crowns of France and England by a treaty. The King of England but recently come to the throne, not yet alive to his true interests, and uncertain if he could conclude a peace with Spain, showed every disposition to carry out the league, and matters went so far that the terms were actually drawn up in writing; but when the Council explained to the King that this was not to his true interest he informed M. de Rosny that he must take more time for consideration before signing. The negotiations remained incomplete, although the rumour was carefully spread that the treaty was concluded, and this the French maintained with great cunning, for it not only redounded to their credit, but they held it to be an admirable weapon for preventing the peace between England and Spain, which at that time was their principal object.

His Catholic Majesty sent Don Juan de Taxis as his Ambassador to England to conclude a peace, which he eventually did. But although his Catholic Majesty had always maintained close relations with the King of England while he still lived in Scotland, yet he would not allow the English Ambassador to enter Spain until assured of the King's mind; the reason for this was that the King of Spain observed that the councillors of the late Queen were all retained in office, and as these had always supported the Spanish war he thought they might induce the King to follow the same policy. But when he was once assured that the King of England was most disposed for peace, the Ambassador was allowed to enter, and by large presents to all sorts of people he made such way that the longed-for peace was concluded, in spite of the French. The peace being concluded on the terms I reported, the Spaniards began to lay the foundations of an alliance. Besides the use of presents they also endeavoured to gain the support of the Queen, who, they thought, as a woman and much beloved by the King, would have a large voice in affairs. The task was not difficult, for the Queen was thoroughly disgusted with the French Ambassador; but the Spanish were utterly deceived, for the Queen had not the smallest weight in affairs of the government.

Another object of the Spanish was to effect the marriage of the Infanta with the Prince of Wales; but they did not desire to pledge themselves beyond a certain point. The negotiation is still on foot, but feeble. If I were to declare my opinion I should say that if England really makes an alliance with Spain the marriage will take place. But they have an idea, repeatedly impressed upon me by the Earl of Salisbury, namely, that the Crown of England is like a maiden, to whom two powerful princes are paying court; if she favours one she angers the others; her policy, therefore, is to preserve herself isolated and alone, more especially as she is in a position to do so quite easily, as she need neither fear nor want anybody; and in this way she may preserve the love of both her suitors.

I must not omit to say that the common opinion is that this peace cannot last long; this view is founded on the fact that the English, moved by hatred of Spain and their own interests, desire war, for the peace has stopped them from privateering by which they grew rich, and under the pretext of attacking enemies

1607.

they plundered friends, as is only too well known to your Serenity. Moreover, the terms of the peace are frequently violated, for example, by the permission to take service with the Dutch, by the assistance rendered to them, which is in direct defiance of the clauses and by the navigation of the Indies, another manifest infraction. On the other hand the Spanish adopt a certain harshness towards the English who trade to their ports, all of which, however, is greatly exaggerated and amplified in the reports by the English officials, partly because the English are by nature proud and vainglorious and expect that everyone should not only court but, as it were, worship them (*perchè essendo l'Inglese per natura superbo et glorioso crede che ogni'uno sia obligato non solo d'accarezzarlo ma, per dir così, d'adorarlo ancora*), partly from the desire which, as I have explained, they feel that the two crowns should go to war once more, as it is so profitable. Any way my opinion is that during the life of the present King, who is so desirous and anxious for peace, things will remain quiet, unless indeed the rupture come on the Spanish side, which is unlikely as long as the Dutch war lasts, for the Spanish know by experience what the union of the Dutch with the English crown means for them.

With the King of Poland and with the Muscovite, owing to their distance from England and the absence of any conflicting interests, relations are excellent. As I have said, there is a company of merchants trading to those parts and everything goes on to the satisfaction of both parties.

The King of Denmark, brother of the Queen, is naturally on very intimate terms, more especially as he is a Lutheran, and though that is not the same as the religion of England it is sufficient that it is opposed to the Catholic faith. Some slight friction arose over the Danish claim to the Orkneys, but Denmark will not press the point, being well aware that she would gain nothing and would lose the friendship of England.

With the heretic princes of Germany relations are not cordial. More than one of them has proposed to his Majesty to declare himself head of the reformed religion as they call it, and to pledge himself to an alliance offensive and defensive. But the King, who dislikes change and loves peace, has let the matter drop, a thing that a prince of greater spirit would probably not have done. If it be true that the King of Denmark is going to visit England this will perhaps be the chief cause of his journey, this and the question of the election of King of the Romans, a title to which the King of Denmark aspires.

The King speaks of the Grand Turk with disdain. He hates him and wishes that the Christian Powers, instead of fighting among themselves, would unite to drive him out. This idea is so firmly fixed in his mind that he frequently expresses it in terms of great decision, declaring that he would always take the lead if other princes would do their part. He says he keeps an ambassador at the Porte not for his own pleasure or interest but to satisfy his subjects who are merchants there, and who bear all the charges of the Embassy; he has no other share in it beyond consent.

1607.

About the Archdukes I have little to say; the same considerations apply to them as apply to the Spanish, and they are in fact one and the same thing. I must not omit to report that at my departure the King was highly displeased with the Archdukes for refusing to hand over to him the two English prisoners, against whom there was serious evidence of being accomplices in the late conspiracy, one of them [named Owen] is believed to have been the chief and author of it all (*uno de' quali nominatamente* si credeva anco che fosse stato capo et auttore di essa*). The Archdukes pleaded that this person was a servant of the Spanish Crown, and that it was necessary to approach the King of Spain first, and as he had held high posts in the Flemish wars they could not surrender him to a king who might interrogate him not only about the plot but also about Flemish affairs. The King did not admit this excuse, and many thought that the matter could not rest there as it seemed monstrous to the King that he should be refused the accomplices in so diabolical a conspiracy.

Distance and absence of conflicting interests renders the relations between Savoy and England neutral. Since his first congratulations the Duke has made no recognition of the King. I shall accordingly pass on to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. His Majesty is deeply attached to his Highness, who is a relation through the house of Lorraine. His Highness keeps a secretary at the English court, but without letters of credence, though he is recognised and honoured as a secretary. His charming manners render him highly agreeable to the King. The Grand Duke omits no opportunity of ingratiating himself, and not a year passes without the despatch of some present, such as wine, preserves, horses, bales of silk and cloth of gold. When I was in England there was some talk of a marriage between the King's son and a daughter of Savoy or of Tuscany, but all without any basis, for this I can say that when the rumour reached the Queen's ears she was very angry, and said she would sooner drown her son than marry him to a woman who was not a King's daughter. There was another and more probable rumour that the King's daughter Elizabeth might marry the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but all was talk. All I can say is that as long as the King lives he will do all he can to avoid a Catholic match. Nothing need be said about the other princes of Italy

The King is very well disposed towards the Dutch, but not so well disposed as they would like, and as public opinion, perhaps, desires. They would have liked the King to undertake their protection openly, as did the late Queen, from whom they received support in money and all else. But since the King has made peace with the Spanish and the Archdukes he seems to have grown cold towards the Dutch; and I am well assured that there is nothing else that moves the King to a certain regard for them but religion. If that reason were removed he would certainly abandon them, for he has frequently expressed the opinion that it is impossible to wish well to rebels, and that all princes ought to hold this view in order to prevent their subjects from revolting. On this topic he expatiates when

* *Sic* cod. mcxx. "Nominato" cod. dcccciii. "Nominato Owen" cod. cic. 805.

1607.

speaking of the Dutch. All the same, be it on account of religion, be it on the score of interest, his Majesty desires their preservation. The interest, or rather the debt, which they owe to the crown of England is about two millions in gold. As security the crown holds two fortresses in Zealand and garrisons them. These fortresses were consigned to the late Queen as security for four millions which she had advanced from time to time. Of this sum they have paid back two millions, and the remainder they are pledged to repay to the King in annual rates of eighty thousand crowns a year until the extinction of the debt, though as yet they have disbursed little or nothing. His Majesty does not insist, either on the score of their common religion or because in fact he thinks it the policy of his crown to support them. This conduct does not escape the complaints of the Spanish, who affirm that this is tacit succour, and a breach of the treaty of peace. His Majesty also allows his subjects to draw salaries wherever it pleases them, but while the Dutch have in their service as many English and Scottish as they wish, the Spaniards find great difficulty in raising any; for though the King consents in appearance he privately causes it to be known that his subjects should abstain and that he will never hold for good and faithful friends those who take service with princes of another creed. And so the Catholics, in order not to declare themselves, and the Protestants, through liking for the Dutch, abstain from taking service with the King of Spain. In these two ways the Dutch receive a help which is of no great moment, and would not be conceded were it not for the conformity in religion and the support of the Earl of Salisbury, as the King has no liking for them except on the grounds specified. All this is well known to the Spanish, who, seeing that they cannot succeed on these lines, have taken to another course of action, namely, to persuade his Majesty to interpose and to induce the Dutch to make peace with Spain. They have given him ample and absolute powers to propose to the Dutch any and every sort of condition, and in short, as the phrase is, he has *carte blanche*, and the King of Spain will accept any terms and capitulations, provided they recognise his supremacy (*dandogli ampla et assoluta potestà di proponere ad essi Olandesi ogni et qualunque sorte di condizione et come si suol dire carta bianca, contentandosi il Rè di Spagna di qualsisia accordo et capitolazione purchè sia da Olandesi conosciuto per Superiore et Principe loro*). The King has been at great pains in this business, both to satisfy the Crown of Spain, which has besought him so warmly, and also to free himself from the continual difficulties which arise, owing to Dutch and Spanish ships meeting in his ports, when incidents take place that call for the interposition of the authorities, which cannot take effect without offending one or other party. But all has been in vain, for the Dutch declare themselves resolved, after spending so much blood and money, to maintain the liberty they have acquired, and they say that if the King of Spain likes to deal with them as with an independent Prince and free Republic they will treat with him and make peace on reasonable terms, but that if this point is refused they will not listen to any terms of any sort soever. And so it seems that the peace will never be

1607.

effected, for it is not to be thought that the King will ever consent nor will the Dutch yield except upon extreme necessity. The Spanish urge the King to press the matter home in his own interests, for if peace is not made the Dutch will become masters of these seas, as they keep, as a rule, upwards of a hundred armed ships in commission, and although these are scattered about in various places, yet one may say with truth that they are masters of those very seas for supremacy in which the ancient Kings of England undertook long and costly wars with the most powerful Sovereigns of Europe. The King knows this, but he thinks that upon a sign from him the Dutch would surrender all they have acquired. This is true as long as they are at war with Spain, for it is not to be supposed that they could carry on war simultaneously against two of the most mighty Princes in Christendom; but if, in the course of time, which ripens all things, they were to make peace with the Crown of Spain, I am not sure that they would be so ready to yield, as the King of England promises himself; for the profession of the sea declines steadily in England, while it steadily acquires force and vigour among the Dutch. I have been told by a person who has adequate means of knowing that the Dutch have upwards of three thousand ships with tops (*navi di gabbia*), and more than forty thousand sailors, which seems incredible, though all who know those waters are aware that it is true.

The Spanish have tried another device, which certainly would be very prejudicial to the Dutch if it succeeded; they have told the King that it is not to the interest of himself or of his subjects to allow the herring fishery in the northern waters about Scotland to be open to the Dutch. That fishery yields upwards of two millions of gold annually, though many say more, as the herrings are taken all over Europe. This same consideration was brought to the notice of Queen Elizabeth, who though very avaricious, like most women, and sometimes in straits for money, would never meddle in the affair; for she held that any injury inflicted on the Dutch might prove an injury to herself; and up to the present it seems that the King is of the same opinion; although he listens to Spanish proposals to rent the fishings to their dependents. In short the King appears to be rather favourable than otherwise to the Dutch, but not so favourable as they say or as people think; and one may conclude that as long as the Earl of Salisbury lives their affairs will be fairly well off, but if he dies or falls they will have cause for anxiety.

Towards your Serenity the King is excellently disposed, and frequently praises your good government; he desires to gratify you on all occasions, but it is not possible to secure the full fruit one might reasonably expect, for he is wont to leave everything to his ministers, who are so guided by self-interest that unless one employs the ordinary Spanish methods one cannot secure what one desires. One may, however, be sure that the King, as far as he himself is concerned, is ready to assist the Republic with all the commodities of his kingdom, ships, artillery, saltpetre, powder, corn, men, etc. It is true, however, that should necessity compel us to employ them we must bear in mind that the English and Scottish are in great part heretics and pertinacious heretics,

1607.

which is worse; moreover they are not accustomed to hardships, and they say themselves that if they miss [their three Bs], beer, the drink of the country, beef, the flesh of oxen, and bed, they are done for; and this is the reason why the English are better sailors than soldiers, for on board ship they can have all these things. And so if your Serenity should be under the necessity of employing this nation, I am of opinion that it would be far better to enlist the Irish, who are almost all Catholics, bred in the country on milk, vegetables, fruit, etc., and for this reason are looked upon as savages quite able to support all hardships without suffering.

His Majesty has always shown all due regard towards the Republic. I have had proof of this on various occasions, especially when his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein, tried to take precedence of me; and in the present controversy between the Ambassador of your Serenity and the Archiducal Ambassador upon the point of precedence I can affirm that when the question first arose his Majesty was much surprised at the Archiducal claim, and declared it to be baseless. Upon this point during the whole of my Embassy I have always been on the alert that your Serenity's prestige should take no harm, and I have faithfully obeyed your instructions of the 7th of June of last year."

The Ambassador then recapitulates the arguments he used to upset the Flemish claim based on the rights of the Duchy of Burgundy. He says he especially explained the point to Sir Lewis Lewkenor—the receiver of Ambassadors—but he was entirely of the Spanish party; he produced an order of ceremonial at the obsequies of a Sovereign, in which he said it was clear that the Venetian Ambassador took a lower rank than the Ambassador of Burgundy. The Venetian Ambassador said he took his stand on the length of his undisputed tenure of rank among Crowned-heads. "I am of opinion," he continues, "that no decision will be reached, not because the King does not understand the justice of your Serenity's case or is favourably inclined to the Archduke, but because his ministers will not allow him to make any decision. The same thing is taking place in the question between France and Spain."

The Ambassador says that on his way to England he passed through the Grisons and Switzerland. He was honourably received and given presents of wine as usual; three or four of them always stayed to dinner. He continued his journey by the Rhine, visiting the Archbishops of Mainz and Trier, electors of the empire. He was honourably received, but on his first arrival and on his demanding audience both of them pretended to be greatly surprised, and to hardly know that there was such a state as the Republic of Venice, so long was it since an envoy of the Republic had passed that way. He recommends that Venetian Ambassadors should sometimes take that route. He reports that many other German princes are in the same condition, and says that the Bishop of Cherso and Ossero, Papal Nuncio in Cologne, told him that the Elector Palatine had left some inland home of his to come down to the borders of the Rhine in the hope of seeing the Ambassador, but found him already passed by. He did not see the Elector of Cologne, who was away. He came to Amsterdam and lodged in the house of

1607.

one of the principal gentlemen and was sumptuously feasted. This happened everywhere, and more especially at the Hague, where Count Maurice has his usual residence, and where the Council sits. The Council consists of nine members, one for each province. From the Hague he went to Antwerp and thence to Calais and crossed over to England.

The Ambassador praises Ser Nicolo Barbarigo, son of Ser Leonardo, one of his suite; and his brother Ambassador Duodo, etc. His secretary of Embassy was Girolamo Girardi, son of Signor Giulio, who is warmly commended to the generosity of the State, as he has only drawn [eight ducats a month] * during eleven years of service.

"Before leaving London his Majesty made me a present of the silver which now lies at your Serenity's feet, and which I received as a present made to you; and a few days later the Queen sent me her portrait and that of the Duke of York, enclosed in a jewel which also I lay at your feet. If it pleases your Serenity and your Excellencies to allow me to keep them, as I humbly beg, I will receive them as a sign that my labours have not been altogether distasteful, and not as payment for my extra expenses, for these I do not reckon, but only beg your Serenity to give me every opportunity to serve the Serene Republic."

[*Italian.*]

APPENDIX I.

1603. Aug. 30. Collegio Cerimoniale. Venetian Archives.

Sir Anthony Standen, gentleman of James, King of Scotland, has arrived in this city, to announce the King's accession to the throne of England. A notary of the Ducal Chancery was sent to visit him, and shortly after, in consequence of a remark made to the noble Zuanne Basadonna, a secretary of the Senate was sent to inform him that two members of the College, Morosini and Grimani, would wait on him to accompany him to audience. When the said gentlemen entered the Cabinet and approached the Doge, his Serenity rose and embraced him in sign of affection, and then caused him to be seated on his right hand, above the senior member of the Cabinet. Compliments were exchanged, and Standen left the King's letter. He was accompanied to his house by the same two nobles, and refreshments to the value of twenty-five ducats were sent to him on various occasions.

On the consignment of the reply, the same two nobles went to escort him. He was entertained at breakfast, and received a chain worth five hundred ducats.

[*Italian.*]

* Cod. cic. 805.

APPENDIX II.

1605. Sept. 24. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1. INSTRUCTIONS to all COMMANDERS AT SEA.

The English *bertons* have been so troublesome that we have been forced to approach the King on the matter. He has now given orders that all English vessels meeting the fleet of the Republic shall strike their foretopsail and send their boat aboard. All vessels obeying these orders and proving to be *bonâ fide* merchantmen are to be treated well. All pirates are to be seized.

Ayes 166.
Noes 1.
Neutrals 5.

[*Italian.*]

APPENDIX III.

1588. Original MSS. Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Milan, A. 156, p. inf. No. 7.

1. The preparations of the hostile fleets of Spain and England in the year 1587; together with an account of their fate.

The fleet that sailed to Lisbon, there to join the India fleet, numbered 35 sail; that is to say four galleons (including the Grand Duke of Tuscany's*) fourteen Biscay ships (including two Flemish), the rest required to make up the thirty-five were ships and pinnaces (*Patache*). The fleet that came from Seville to Lisbon was composed of twelve galleys and four galleasses, seventeen great ships, and one belonging to the Republic of Venice, which was seized, discharged of the lead she was bringing from London, and kept as a magazine ship for the fleet. Item, fourteen smaller ships; item, eighteen ships and pinnaces; so that the total was seventy-five sail. Item, the India fleet which sailed into Lisbon numbered one hundred and eighty-five sail; it was reported in Lisbon that thirty of the best of these would be fitted out.

All the fleet was got ready with the greatest diligence against the month of March. It was not known precisely what was the destination of the fleet, but rumour ran that it was intended for England.

Item, they put together vast supplies of biscuits, meat, wine, and so on, all most carefully prepared. What gave them the greatest anxiety was the lack of sailors. With a view to raising

* As feudatory for Siena.

1607.

them an officer was sent to all the ports, especially of Portugal, to order all sailors to present themselves, for they took to hiding, declaring that they would not serve the King of Castile, as they called him. A man who came to San Sebastiano reports that he heard from the Portuguese there resident that in the month of October three thousand Biscayans were to be embarked for Lisbon, and that they were building ten ships to carry grain to Lisbon.

Here follows the number of the troops in Lisbon. The army that left Portugal numbered six thousand men, three thousand from the garrison of the Portuguese seaports, one thousand five hundred from Castile, and another thousand five hundred Portuguese pressed into the service in consequence of the lack of men. When the fleet returned the Portuguese went to their homes. Of the four thousand five hundred Castilians five hundred went to Setubal (*San Tural*), which was without a garrison, and four thousand went to Lisbon, where the Marquis ordered them not to leave the galleons.

The army that came from Seville to Lisbon numbered about nine thousand men. Of these three thousand were sent aboard the twelve galleys, lying off Cape Galbe, intending to effect a junction with the rest of the fleet. The remaining six thousand were all at Lisbon, lodged for the most part on board ships and galleasses. Some of the officers asked for leave from Cardona to go and spend the winter at Cadiz, but this was refused them. Five hundred soldiers, raised in the city of Oporto and in Viena, were employed as garrison for those towns, while the troops originally there were ordered to Lisbon, in obedience to instructions brought by one of their officers, as they were veterans. They may have numbered three thousand men of Biscay; along with the three thousand men on board the galleys which were expected from Lisbon, about seventeen thousand men, all foreigners, not a single Portuguese among them; and the King of Castile reposed perfect confidence in them, so attached were they to him.

In most of the ports of Portugal the garrison was very small; in some there was not so much as a single soul, and what there was chiefly recruits, new come from Castile. The larger part of the men were in Lisbon. Item, in Lisbon lay a number of ships, galleons, galleasses, which, with those that came from Biscay, numbered one hundred and fifty sail, more or less. For these there was said to be a great dearth of seamen and gunners.

Such were the preparations for this great Armada, which went on growing and augmenting till it came to seem, to its creators and its chiefs, invincible on account of the number both of ships and of men, and it then set sail against England.

Copy of a letter sent from England to Don Bernardino di Mendozza, Spanish Ambassador in France.

"Monseigneur, when I last wrote to you giving ample information as to the state of this kingdom, and the continual expectation of that much-desired and promised succour in which we lived, I could never have dreamed that I should have such pitiable occasion to write, as I now must, owing to the miserable change which has taken place in the position of affairs in this country. I cannot

1607.

refrain from informing you, though I do it with sighs as many as were our former hopes, of our evil plight, as true as it is pitiable in the judgment of myself and my compeers. Your Lordship has now for long been the principal authority, especially in France, for dealing with the affairs of his Catholic Majesty, and also you have been in high favour with all the powers of the Holy league, and with all those who in this kingdom profess obedience to the Catholic Church. I trust that a comparison between our past excessive hopes and our present absolute despair will breed in your mind some new and better scheme by which our state and that of our absent friends, at present so pitiable, may be raised and heartened by more sure expectation of better success than has hitherto attended us. For this reason I think it highly important to inform you precisely of the temper of this country, which has completely changed from that upon which we recently based our account, both inside and outside the kingdom.

You are aware that for a long time we have been living in the firm expectation of a change of government here. Then there were the entreaties and constant solicitations of the Catholic Sovereign and of other powers of the sacred League who promised to assault and conquer the country; and upon your solemn promises we have for long been persuaded that his Catholic Majesty had really embraced this high and glorious emprise, and from year to year we have looked for execution, fed by you and satisfied by continual messages, and frequently by earnest prayers and persuasions to keep our party in heart so that they should not waver, as many had done owing to the perpetual delays, but that they should hold themselves ready to join the foreign forces when they appeared on this enterprise. All the same the arrival of these forces, and especially of the naval forces, was put off, so constantly that by this spring we were out of all hope. Then came your letters assuring us positively that all the vast preparations of his Majesty, carried on for three or four years, were now complete, and beyond a doubt would reach those seas during this summer; and so overwhelming would that force be that no English fleet, nor indeed the fleets of united Christendom, could withstand or even face it. For further surety, and to put the conquest of England beyond all doubt, the powerful army under the Duke of Parma would be joined to the attacking force. He was to disembark and in a twinkling he would conquer the country, assaulted thus by sea and land. To all this were added many reasons for thinking that no great resistance either by sea or by land would be met with in England, but that the larger part of our followers would at once join the foreign forces; and indeed without some such help from inside I know that there was always a doubt lest the foreign forces should prove inadequate against England, which is surrounded by the might of the sea, and peopled by a robust and most powerful race (*et in fatto senza tal aiuto di dentro io so che sempre si è dubitato che non sarebbono state bastanti tutte le forze straniere contro questo Regno, il quale d'intorno è circondato di forza del mare et popolato da una forte et potentissima natione*). All this year up to this last month we have

1607.

full expectation of complete victory. But, ah! me, what mortal calamity has befallen us. We are all of us both in England and out of it compelled to deplore our sudden downfall from the height of inordinate joy to the profoundest abysm of despair. A headlong fall so suddenly brought about that I can assure you that we ourselves have been eyewitnesses of the same within eight or nine days in this past month of July. The disaster began after the appearance of the great Armada off the English coast, and continued until it was forced to fly from the coast of Flanders, near Calais, towards I know not what piercingly cold and icy region of the north. Then all our hopes, all our castles, as far as we can at present see, were converted from dreams of conquest into ruinous heaps, as though they had been shattered by an earthquake; the strongholds of our expectation that were built in the air or founded on the wave are most certainly gone, swept away by the blast. And so absolutely was such an event outside our calculations that as I think on it, I am seized with amazement, and know not what to make thereof, to see an undertaking built up so slowly thus suddenly laid low. And as one looks at it all round it cannot have been the work of man or of any earthly power, but the work of God only. And if that be so, and it can be attributed to none other than to the power of his Divine Majesty, we may conclude that he is very wroth against us for our sins.

I must not omit to say, and I can affirm it most positively, that nothing has wrought more damage to this enterprise than the untimely and hasty publication made in England (before the Armada was even ready to sail), by means of loose leaves scattered broadcast through the country, to make the people believe that the whole kingdom would be occupied and seized, the Queen exterminated along with the nobility and other persons of note who remained loyal to her, and sought to defend her by offering resistance to this attack—that all these with their whole families, estates, honours, houses, lands, were to be rooted out and their possessions divided among the Spanish. *(Non lascierò perciò di dirvi et le posso affermare per certo, che non vi è stato cosa alcuna che habbia apportato maggior danno in questa impresa che la troppo frettolosa e intempestiva pubblicatione fatta in questo Regno (prima che l'armata di Spagna fusse in punto di far vela) di alcuni punti scritti stampati et seminati per tutto il paese, per far intendere al popolo che tutto il Regno sarebbe stato occupato et preso, la Reina esterminata, et che tutta la nobiltà insieme con l'altre persone di riputatione che la obediscono et che l'avessero voluto diffendere col fare resistenza a questo assalto, sarebbono stati estirpati dalla . . . fin alla radice con le loro famiglie, stati, honori, et case e terre, le quali sarebbono in fra Spagnuoli state divise.)*

This was so badly taken in general that the hearts of the people of all degrees were moved, some by wrath and some by fear; and all, without exception, were resolved to expose their lives in their own defence.

These hostile designs were publicly printed and circulated throughout the kingdom, and took deep hold in the heart of the entire population. Then in addition to these and such like, and to

1607.

give confirmation to these formidable prognostications, there were added certain other books printed in Spain and translated into French, as it was said by order of your Lordship. These contained long and minute descriptions and catalogues of the armies and fleets of Castile, Andalusia, Biscay, Guipusca, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, Ragusa, and other parts of the Levant, and a detailed account of all the munitions of the Armada, which seemed to be sufficient for the conquest of many kingdoms. Our enemies were not slow to publish so convincing a proof of the common ruin, in order to rouse the minds of the English nobility against Spain. This was a wicked invention to show that the capture not merely of England, but of all Great Britain was intended. For in the description of the Armada there was noted a large number of Princes, Marquises, Counts, and gentlemen under title of adventurers, and many captains and commanders without any specific command; all these, it was said, had embarked upon this journey with a view to taking the place of the English and Scottish nobility. This device obtained far more credit than it deserved. The force was in truth very great, but these reports exaggerated it to such an extent that all Christendom could not have put together a greater armament against the Saracens or Turks.

The Queen, being thus warned, and relying not only on the affection of her people, of which she was sure, but also on their irritation, brought together all her forces to combat the threatened ruin. Then with incredible speed one saw every corner of this kingdom swarming with armed men, both horse and foot; so well captained, so well trained and broken to war, that such a sight had never been seen before in this land. Nor was money spared in making provision of horses, of arms, of all things necessary for the campaign. There was no lack of sappers, of transport, of victuals in every county in the kingdom without exception; all waiting for the coming fleet; and every man volunteered for the defence of his fatherland. This common cause urged all to contribute liberally; there was no time to think of economies when face to face with an attack that threatened universal ruin. To east, to south, to north, an army of twenty thousand men was assembled, and fifteen thousand of them well armed. The total was forty thousand armed men; nor was there a port exposed to a landing, that could not be supported by twenty thousand men within a couple of days, with all their horse, artillery, and other munitions of war, and under the leadership of the nobility. More than this, the principal gentlemen of each county were ordered to put their vassals in the field. As these gentlemen were powerful, well established, and very rich, the forces thus brought together seemed ample to repel whatever foe.

I am deeply pained to have to write thus, but I do so to show you in the liveliest colours how utterly deceived we have hitherto been by information obtained from people who had neither knowledge nor sufficient proof of how matters really stood. I myself admit that I was deceived on certain points, and chiefly in my expectation that on the appearance of a hostile force threatening a landing, there would be found only a small handful of men ready to resist, and those raw, inexperienced, ignorant of all that pertains to war, and barely armed. I pictured to myself

1607.

that we should have a large number of gentlemen of our religion, as you are aware we reckoned, when you were in England, and although many are since dead, and there are not as many tens now as there were hundreds then, still we thought we should find some men of resolute mettle who, for the Catholic cause, would have made sudden seizure of the houses, families, and forces of the heretics and foes. But now, such is our misfortune, that it has pleased God, for our sins I believe, and to chasten our pride and presumption, to plant in the hearts of all men here, be they Catholic or heretic, one thought, one passion, resistance to this threatened conquest, and it is clearly seen that in all this ardour to furnish arms, contributions of money and of munitions, there is not, nor can there be discerned, the smallest difference between Catholic and heretic. This idea, the defence of the Queen's dominions, has roused such an universal sympathy, emulation, consent in all sorts and conditions of men without regard to religion, that each one is ready to fight the foe as though they were but one heart, one man. All the same some few great gentlemen (whose names have been furnished to you on the list of the Catholics) have been sent to the island of Ely, and on the rumour of the Armada have been restricted in their freedom while the attack was pending, but it is certain that this step was not taken from any fear that these gentlemen would join the enemy, but solely to prove to our friends, both in Spain and Flanders, and above all to yourself, who is most unjustly held to be the chief author and instigator of this enterprise, that they need not count on any assistance for this attack. And I myself now recognise that if any of our party, be he in Spain, Flanders, or elsewhere, counted upon assistance against the Queen or her cause, he would have found himself grossly mistaken when the Armada effected a landing; for I myself have heard that the principal gentlemen retained in the Isle of Ely have themselves written with their own hand to the Council, offering their lives in defence of the Queen, whom, without any reserve, they affirm to be their sovereign Queen, against all foreign forces, even though sent by the Pope himself or on his orders; some, too, have offered to take their place in the front ranks along with their compatriots against all strangers. I have heard from a secret friend of mine at court that at one time the Council was inclined to set them at liberty, but as war was already alight by the assembly of the armada at Corunna and the concentration of the Duke of Parma in Flanders, and in view of the murmurs in London against the Catholics, they were retained in Ely. They live in the Palace and are allowed to go abroad for their sport, nor are they under any other restriction save that they may not leave Ely. And yet I believe that they still maintain their allegiance to the Church, which brings no risk of a capital sentence, they only pay a fine for absence from services, although the law exacts the confiscation of a portion of their revenues to the Crown.

I cannot tell you what havoc has been wrought to our cause by the young and inexperienced, of little learning and less experience, who teach under the name of clerics. I am told by many that if these had been more moderate they would have won over many more to our cause; and I recommend for the future that

1607.

more care should be taken and that the first comer who presents himself should not be thrust upon us."

The writer then proceeds to give an account of the forces at the Queen's disposal. He complains of the false information furnished to the Catholics abroad, both as to the strength of the fleet, and also about the rumoured capture of Berwick by the King of Scotland. He wishes it had been true, but it was not. He warns his correspondent not to believe the Scottish bishops in France, who try to persuade him that anything good for the Catholic religion can be expected of the King of Scotland, who is "so rooted in that cursed sect of Calvinism that there is no chance of re-conducting him into the bosom of the Church." He complains of another "big lie" attributed to Mendozza, namely, that the Armada, when sailing up the Channel, had defeated the English. These two notable falsehoods, both attributed to Mendozza, greatly scandalize those who honour the Ambassador. For myself, in the interests of "your name, I have put it about that both are due to the inaccuracy of the French."

He complains that the Ambassador has offended the Scotch by saying in public that the young King of that country had tricked his master, but that if the Armada were victorious, the King would lose his crown.

He returns to a discussion of the forces of the Queen, and the history of the Armada. He says that neither he nor those of his party in England ever expected the English fleet to attack the Spanish fleet, which report had painted as so powerful, "exceeding the Armada of Lepanto." Drake and the admiral sailed out of Plymouth with fifty ships only; the rest remained inside the harbour.

He then briefly touches on the events of the fighting in the Channel. "From the hour of its departure from Lisbon, the Armada never had a single day of good luck until it was destroyed." Blames the Spanish commanders for never waiting to pick up the stragglers.

Apologises for this long letter of unpleasant contents. "I imagine you will want to hear what chance there is of our retrieving our defeat next year. On this point I must say that I have secretly consulted with various people, and the general opinion is that for many a long day we can indulge in no hope of success. To ensure success the forces of the King must be both larger and better handled than they were this year. Your Lordship sees that this idea of attacking and conquering England was based upon some misconceptions; first that English ships were weak; second, that the Queen was unpopular; finally, and chiefly, that there was a great and powerful party ready to rise in favour of this Catholic religion. I fear that for these errors you will incur his Majesty's displeasure: though I have no doubt about your good intentions. But as these three expectations failed us this year you may rest assured that they will do the same next year.

I am aware that some of the persons about you on that side of the water may persist in upholding their opinion in spite of experience, but they do this in order to continue to draw the money assigned them by the King which constitutes their only means of living. I however will give a number of proofs that

1607. those who, like me, have seen the collapse of these expectations, have made no mistake. The English fleet has demonstrated its power this year, and has proved that it is able by its method of fighting (*et che ella é bastante a fare testa col suo modo di combattere*) to make head against a larger, nay even against double the number of galleons, carracks, galleasses, and galleys. Now there is no doubt but that the size of the English fleet will be greatly increased this year, for steps have been taken to supply all kinds of munitions, and a great quantity of wood has been prepared to build new ships during the coming months of November and December, both along the coast and in the Thames. These ships are to be built on the model of the ships seen in the Spanish Armada and in the arsenals of Spain (*per fabricare un certo numero di navi di guerra simili a quelle che sono state vedute in quest' armata et i Castelli di Spagna*). Besides this there will be many ships of Holland, Zealand, and Denmark, and other eastern countries, whereas this year there were only a few ships of Zealand that joined the English and helped to prevent the Duke of Parma from putting out; and now for that service there are twenty-four good ships under the command of Justin de Nassau, a man only too well disposed towards the English and sworn enemy of every Spaniard. Moreover it is calculated that upwards of forty ships of North Holland will put to sea, and in short one must calculate that the forces at the disposal of England will be twice as great this year as they were last.

Now let us look at the second branch of our hopes; the idea that the Queen is hated by many people. This year has shown just the contrary. She has so borne herself in the recent action that her whole people praise and love her. She ordered the entire kingdom under arms; she collected every kind of provision of war and sent it to the ports where the enemy might effect a landing. She ordered her Council to negotiate a treaty with the Low Countries upon the best terms to be obtained, but continued to arm. When negotiations failed, which was joyful news to us Catholics, who thought that the Duke of Parma could without doubt pass the sea, she moved nearer to London, and took up her lodging almost in the suburbs, which greatly delighted the city. The city put together ten thousand armed men; and besides that there was an army of thirty thousand men lying on the Thames towards the sea, under the command of the Earl of Leicester. Thither the Queen went to dine, preceded by the sword and orb. Here I will make a pause, for it pleases me little to have to sing the praises of heretics.

To come to the last point on which our hopes were founded. the expectation of a rising of Catholics upon the appearance of the Armada. The Catholic King was completely deceived in this, though it was the chief ground of his hopes; and many Spaniards have sworn that had it not been for such expectation they would never have set foot on board. Many of these who are now prisoners here curse your Lordship by name, and say that on the strength of the reputation you acquired for knowledge of England you have for years urged your master to this step, which

1607.

discussion. You would also hear cursed the English refugees, whom they make no difficulty about calling scoundrels and traitors, who wished to sell their country to the King of Spain. The Spanish prisoners say that they expected to find no more resistance than they encountered from the handful of barefooted Indians, whom they met upon the first conquests in that country. But now that these same prisoners have been taken to London and have seen the power of the country they call it marvellous and invincible. I do not know if they say this as a genuine expression of their sentiments or to please the English, by whom they are well treated, and who are easily coaxed by flattery; but I do know that such speech is everyone's mouth, and they are marvellously enraged against those who persuaded their Sovereign to such an enterprise.

The prisoners have made enquiries about the English outlaws, who took refuge in Spain, such as some time back, Francis Inglefield, and more recently Lord Paget and his brother, and also about the Earl of Westmoreland, though he was known to be dissolute. They have received such answers that they are amazed that these persons should have been able to deceive the King and to get pensions unless it were on the grounds of charity and religious beliefs. It is true that they recall the story of how the King was taken in by a private person, Thomas Stuckley, an Irishman, who left his country on account of his debts and evil conduct; still he was instantly believed in Spain as soon as he gave himself the fine title of Duke, Marquis, Earl of Ireland, and was considered a man of ability and capable of rendering services against the Queen of England, until at last he was found out and banished.

I can see no hope of better success even after the Queen's death, as the whole population is banded against our religion. And I see nothing for it but to put the matter in the omnipotent hands of God and of all the Saints of Paradise, by means of our humble prayers; and, as far as this world is concerned, to apply for the counsel of our Lord and his Holy College of Cardinals, begging them to send to this country men of prudence and learning, who without meddling in affairs of State can keep the Catholic faith alive, and to grant some pecuniary help for those who are fined yearly for refusal to enter heretic churches. I repeat the phrase of the Psalmist "Et clamaverunt ad dominum in tribulatione eorum et de augustia eorum liberavit eos." All other hopes are vain.

London, 11th August, 1588.

This letter I entrusted to be translated into French by a friend who fell ill; the work was committed to another who did not finish it till September.

He gives some further news of the Armada's rumoured course round Scotland and the casting away of some ships on the coast of Norway.

Last Sunday six hundred banners taken from the fleet were carried to St. Paul's churchyard and shown to the people. Thence they were taken to the cross in Cheapside and to London Bridge.

London, 20th September, 1588.

[*Italian.*]

APPENDIX IV.

1607.

Note on the phrase "a million of gold."—The Venetian Ambassadors, when reporting the value of the Spanish treasure fleets, almost invariably give it in "millions of gold." What was the denomination; what does "a million of gold" represent in current English money? Del Mar* reckons that for the ten years 1590-1600, the average import of treasure was at the rate of $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling, or £32,500,000 for the ten years.

Jacob† estimates the average annual import at $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling, or £22,500,000 for the ten years.

The Venetian Ambassadors reckon the total value of imported treasure, for the ten years, at 69 "millions of gold," or 6,900,000 of gold per annum. In what coinage were they reckoning?

If they were reckoning in the coinage of the country, as is probable from the despatch of Francesco Vendramin, 28th August, 1593, where the value is given in "Castilian ducats of eleven reals each," then by the following table we get:—

1 Castilian ducat	=	11 reals.
1 real	=	34 maravedis.‡
∴ 1 Castilian ducat (11 x 34)	=	374 maravedis.
374 maravedis	=	1 Ducato di Cambio.
1 Ducato di Cambio	=	5.5792 lire italiane.
5.5792 lire italiane	=	4 shillings, 6 pennies.
∴ "A million of gold"	=	£ stg. 225,000.

Upon this reckoning the sixty-nine millions of gold given by the Venetian Ambassadors as the value of the treasure fleets for the years 1590-1600 would amount to £ stg. 16,525,000, or a little over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions per annum, which is far below the estimates of del Mar and Jacob.

If, however, the Venetian Ambassadors were reckoning in the *Ducato* or *Zecchino effetico*,§ weighing $153\frac{1}{2}$ carats, and of the standard value of lire 6 soldi 4, which is probably the Venetian ducat which Arber ("An English Garner") takes at 5*s.* 6*d.*, the sum is considerably increased; while if the Ambassadors were reckoning in the Venetian gold ducat, which Arber takes at 8*s.* ("An English Garner," III. p. 184), but which was probably nearer 9*s.* 5*d.*, their calculation of 69,000,000 "of gold" as the value of the treasure between 1590 and 1600 would work out to almost absolute coincidence with del Mar's estimate of £ stg. 32,500,000. This coincidence receives further support from the despatch of June 6, 1594, where Vendramin reports that the fleet will bring about seven "millions of gold." Taking that to mean at the denomination of the Venetian gold ducat valued at 9*s.* 5*d.*, we should get £3,290,750, or a very

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* *History of the Precious Metals.*

† *Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals.*

‡ Martin, *Manuale di Metrologia*, Torino, 1883.

§ Galliccioli, *Delle Memorie Venete*, Tom. II. cap. XII., § 2.

1607.

close approximation to del Mar's average of $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling per annum.

Thus del Mar and the Venetians support one another if we suppose the Venetians to be reporting in terms of Venetian ducats of 9*s*. 5*d*., but there remains the fact that on one occasion they report in terms of Castilian ducats or the Ducato di Cambio, and in any case both are at wide variance from Jacob.

P.S.—After writing the above Mr. M. Oppenheim has most kindly furnished me with the following note. "Gerard Malynes (Lex Mercatoria, Lond. 1622, p. 266) defines 'a million of gold' as £300,000 in describing the cargo of the 1587 Flota. This gives the ducat at 6/ and shows that the Venetian Ambassadors meant that coin in their despatches." In my own further researches in the Archives I found the following passage in a despatch from Madrid, Nov. 8, 1607. "Un million d'oro all'anno, cioè seicento milla scudi"; as the Venetian Ambassadors in England always give the scudo as worth 5/ this would bring "a million of gold" out as £150,000, or just half Gerard Malynes' estimate. Fynes Moryson "An Itinerary," London, 1617, part 1. p. 291, says "an Italian silver crowne given for seven lires of Venice, and is worth almost five English shillings."

GENERAL INDEX.

GENERAL INDEX.

A

Abbot (Abbate), Maurice, of London, merchant, 129.

Abrual, Nicholas, of London, mariner, 8.

Acorns (*valonie*), imported to Venice from Nauplia, 682.

Admiral, Grand, of Flanders. *See* Aremberg.

....., Lord High. *See* Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham.

Admiralty Court, Judge of. *See* Cæsar *alias* Adelmare.

Adriatic, or the Gulf, 23, 91; Venetian supremacy in, 577.

Achmet, Sultan of Turkey (1603), his accession, 173; his cruelty, frivolity, and lust, 329; causes the Grand Vizier to be killed in his presence, 640.

"Adventure." *See* Ships.

Agate, mounted in gold, presented by Constable of Castille to King James, 266.

Agents. *See* "Ambassadors."

Albany, Duke of. *See* Charles.

....., Dukedom of, history of title, 205.

Alberghini, Alberghino, of Salò, 728.

Albertini, Piero, of Venice, mariner, deposition by, 9.

Aldemari. *See* Cæsar.

Aldobrandini, Pietro, Cardinal, his relations with Sir Anthony Standen, 188; mentioned, 412.

..... *See* Clement VIII.

Alençon, Duke of, Queen Elizabeth's intrigue with, and its success, 66.

Alencourt, M. d'. *See* Neufville.

Aleppo, English trade with, 129.

Alessandre, Alessandro, *alias* Alexander son of Alexander the Scot, sailor, 371, 376.

Alestimo, in Corfu, 195.

Alexandretta, business of, to be removed to Tripoli in Syria, 477.

Alexandria, English trade with, 23, 88, 129; hampered by Venetian laws, 109; trade between, and Leghorn, in leather, 129; mentioned, 196, 470.

Algiers, English trade with, 129; galleys burnt off, 216; Viceroy of, supports claims of candidate for throne of Morocco, 297.

Allensmore, co. Hereford, 384*n*.

Almoner, King's and Queen's. *See* Watson, Anthony.

"Alsecho." *See* Ships.

Alva, Duke of. *See* Toledo.

Alvarez, Captain Juan, Sir Anthony Sherley's pretensions to succeed, in command of Spanish fleet, 734.

Alvil, or Alvel, Nicholas, son of Richard, deposition by, 52; his piracy, 141.

Ambassadors, privileges of:—

Board and lodging: lodging given, board claimed, 72, 111; nothing found, 404; board and lodging found, 463, 585.

Freedom of worship in embassy house, 118, 131, 282, 304.

Inviolability of embassy house. *See* case of John Ball.

Precedence of. *See* "Precedence."

Removal, at request of Sovereign to whom accredited, 63, 67, 73, 76.

quâ robbery of goods of, 221.

Ambassadors, Ordinary ("Lieger") and Extraordinary, Consuls, and Agents:—

....., Dutch, in England. *See*—

Caron, Sir Noel de.

Nassau, Count Henry of.

Olden-Barneveldt, Jehan van.

....., English, in Denmark. *See*—

Herbert, John, knt.

Le Sieur, James.

....., English, in Flanders. *See*—

Edmondes, Thomas, knt.

Seymour, Edward, Earl of Hertford.

Zouche, Edward, Lord la.

....., English, in France. *See*—

Carew, George, knt.

Hay, James, knt.

Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke.

Neville, Henry, knt.

Parry, Thomas, knt.

Stuart, Lodovic, Duke of Lennox.

....., English, in Italy. *See*—

Balfour, Michael, knt., Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

Ambassadors—*cont.*
....., English, in Morea. *See*—
Jonah, Captain (Consul).
....., English, at Patras. *See*—
Buller, George (Consul).
....., English, in Rome. *See*—
Lindsay, James, knt.
....., English, in Spain. *See*—
Blount, Charles, Earl of Devon.
Cornwallis, Charles, knt.
Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham.
Wilson, Thomas, knt.
....., English, in Turkey. *See*—
Glover, Thomas, knt.
Lello, Henry.
....., English, in Tuscany. *See*—
Standen, Anthony, knt.
....., English, in Venice. *See*—
Monte, Gregorio.
Moreton, Albertus, knt.
Standen, Anthony, knt.
Wotton, Henry, knt.
See also Herbert, John, knt
....., Flemish, in England. *See*—
Aremberg, Count d'.
Corso, ——.
Richardot, President, and his son.
Spinola, Gaston, Don.
Sur, Count de.
....., Florentine, in England. *See*—
Montecuccoli, Alfonso, Count.
....., French, in England. *See*—
Béthune, Maximilien, Marquis de Rosny.
Cauchon de Maupas, Charles, Baron du Tour.
Crumaille, Count de.
Harlay, Christophe de, Comte de Beaumont.
Hospital, Louis Gallucio de l', Marquis de Vitry.
Le Fevre de la Boderie, Antoine.
....., French, in Scotland. *See*—
Béthune, Philippe de.
Cauchon de Maupas, Charles, Baron du Tour.
....., French, in Turkey. *See*—
Gontaut, Jean de, Baron de Salagnac.
Savari, François, Sieur de Breves.
....., French, in Venice. *See*—
Fresne-Canaye, Philippe de.
....., German (Imperial), in England. *See*—
Litemberg, Landgrave of.
....., German (Imperial), in Venice. *See*—
Castiglione, Marchese di.
Savoy, Duke of

Ambassadors—*cont.*
....., Grisons, in Venice. *See*—
Salis, Hercules von.
....., Lithuania, in England. *See*—
Radziwil.
....., Lorraine, in England. *See*—
Bourbon, M. de.
Magliana, Baron.
Molart, Baron de.
....., Papal, in England. *See*—
Creichton, "Father" (secret).
Effetti, Giovanni degli (secret).
Magliana, Baron (secret).
Orsini, Virginio (proposed).
....., Papal, in France. *See*—
Buffalo, Inocentio dal.
....., Papal, in Venice. *See*—
Offreddo.
....., Savoy, in Spain. *See*—
Ronaccio, Secretary.
....., Scottish, in France. *See*—
Beaton, James.
Home, Alexander, Lord Home.
....., Scottish, in Rome. *See*—
Crichton, Robert, Baron of Sanquhair.
....., Spanish, in England. *See*—
San Germano, Marquis of.
Taxis, Juan de, Count of Villa Mediana.
Velasco, Ferdinando, Duke of Frias, Constable of Castille.
Zuniga, Pedro de.
....., Spanish, in Venice. *See*—
Castro, Francesco de.
....., Venetian, at Cittanuova, in Istria. *See*—
Zorzi, Lunardo (Podestà).
....., Venetian, in Corfu. *See*—
Canal, Augustin (Governor).
Gabriel, Zaccharia (Governor).
....., Venetian, in England. *See*—
Duodo, Piero.
Girardo, Girolamo.
Giustiniano, Georgio.
Molin, Nicolo.
Scaramelli, Giovanni.
....., Venetian, in France. *See*—
Badoer, Angelo.
Cavalli, Marin.
Priuli, Piero.
....., Venetian, in Germany. *See*—
Soranzo, Francesco.
....., Venetian, at Lepanto. *See*—
Biffi, Gian Domenico.
....., Venetian, at Melos. *See*—
Piperi, Januli (Consul).
....., Venetian, at Rome. *See*—
Nani, Agostino.
Vendramin, Francesco.

Ambassadors—*cont.*
....., Venetian, in Spain. *See*—
Contarini, Simon.
Priuli, Francesco.
....., Venetian, in Turkey. *See*—
Bon, Ottaviano.
Contarini, Francesco.
Mocenigo, Giovanni.
....., Venetian, in Zante. *See*—
Corner, Girolamo (Governor).
Michiel, Maffio (Governor).
Amsterdam, 132.
Ancona, relations of, to Venice, 91: English trade with, 441.
Andernethy, ——, Scot, resident in Spain, 76.
Anderson, Alderman, 109.
Andrée, Pier, of Avignon, in Maltese service, deposition by, 196.
"Angel." *See* Ships.
Angels, value of, in ducats, 118.
Angus, Earl of. *See* Douglas.
Anne of Denmark, Queen of England, wife of James I., mentioned, 6; a Scottish nobleman put to death for being in love with, 40; English ladies set out to meet, 40; her "conversion" to Roman Catholic religion; her outbreak of temper, when refused custody of eldest son, 66, 67; permitted to bring boy with her, 69; her Spanish proclivities, 69; expected at Windsor, brings boy with her, 81; her friendship for Lord Sanquhair; arrives at Windsor; her parentage, her lack of dowry; her gifts to her ladies on leaving Scotland; Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe altered for her, 91; goes to church with husband, her great influence with him, 97; account of her reception of Venetian Agent, 102; crowned, 105; her influence with the King exerted on behalf of Roman Catholics; declines to take Sacrament with King on Coronation Day, 111; present to, from Pope, of relics, 118; receives Nonsuch from King, 118; her jointure fixed, 132; her remark on the childlessness of the Archduchess, 136; special messenger from, to Pope, 140, 143, 151; her kindness to the Lady Arabella, 164; described, 166; ill, or pregnant, 169, 171; present of jewels to, from Henry IV., 191; accompanies King in State entry into London, 201; allows use of Somerset House by Spanish embassy, 207; sponsor to daughter of French Ambassador, 220; her growing influence with King all on side of Spain, 229; attends naval review at Rochester, 238, 242; receives Constable of Castille, 266; presented by Spanish Ambassador with vessels of rock crystal, 266; with child, 294, 307, 312, 344, 355, 360; prepares
Anne of Denmark—*cont.*
a masque, 312; warm supporter of Spanish match for son, 325; her masque performed, 332; delivered of daughter, 363, christened Mary, 368; her chamberlain created Viscount, 368 *and note*; attends church on Easter Day, 373; quarrels with her brother Ulric, 384; her toothache, 396; her anxiety at King's going hunting immediately after discovery of Gunpowder Plot, 453; with child, 473, 526; Sir Anthony Standen owes his release to, 491; her great weight with King, determination of Spaniards to utilize, 515; Spanish present to, 522; a daughter born to, which dies, 544, 555, 557; receives her brother, the King of Denmark, 556; sends present by him to her mother, 566; suppresses lampoon on King, which comes to her hands, 573; at Hampton Court, 583; admits Spanish Ambasador to audience before French, 583; her kinsman the Duke of Kronland in England, 583; receives Venetian Ambassador before the Archduke's, 589; a kinsman of, of House of Brandenburg, in England, 599; her supposed pregnancy, 599; arrives in London from Hampton Court, 618; personal description of, 739 (*p.* 513).
Antelmi Valerio, Venetian Secretary, 449.
Antona. *See* Southampton.
Antonio, Captain, 639.
Antonio, Don, of Portugal, great diamond purchased from, worn by King James, 66.
Antonio, son of Hieronimo, of Venice, deposition by, 25.
Antwerp, post *viâ*, between Venice and England, 18, 73, 151, 475, 619, 641; Secretary Scaramelli at, 180; Duke of Frias at, 181; Dutch attack on, 373, 374, 385.
Apulia, 577.
Aquila, Don Juan d', his proclamation in Ireland, 147.
Arabella, the Lady. *See* Stuart.
Aragon and Valencia, government of, offered to Archduke Albert, 148, 193.
Aragona, Don Vlasco d', 193, brings ratification of peace to England, 276.
Archduke, the. *See* Austria.
Archipelago, the, 284.
Aremberg, Count d'. *See* Ligne, John de.
Argentiera, *alias* Kimolo, 494, *and note*.
Argyll, Earl of. *See* Campbell.
Armada, the Spanish, historical narrative of the composition and defeat of, Appendix III. (p. 525).
Arms, King-at-, proclamation of King James by, 32.

Arnall, Ruberto, Englishman resident in Venice, 728*n*.

Arnold, ——, his piracy, 53.

Arthur, King of "Great Britain," 12; knights created by King James in imitation of, 106.

Arundel, Thomas, Knt., created Lord Arundel of Wardour, 368*n*; raises troops in England for Archduke, forbidden to cross to Flanders, 416, 426, crosses, 427; King's anger, 432, 436, 457.

Aston, Sir Roger, gentleman-in-waiting, 323.

Athens, Venetian ship trading between, and Venice, 21; merchants of, 47, 48, 50.

Audilly, Arnaud d', son-in-law of M. de la Boderie, 523*n*.

Augsburg, 248.

Austria, Albert Archduke of (1603), amnesty by, to refugees in Holland, 36.

....., ..., presses siege of Ostend, 39.

....., ..., to be represented in England, 28, 36, 39, 40. *See* Aremberg.

....., ..., special messenger from, to England, to ask safe conduct for Ambassador, 66, 70.

....., ..., English proposal to recognize as "Protector" of Burgundian provinces, 73.

....., ..., precedence of Envoys of, over Venetian, 91.

....., ..., addresses James I. as "Our Good Friend," 98, as "brother," 147, 516.

....., ..., inspects machine for destruction of Ostend, 99.

....., ..., proposal that his brothers shall succeed him, Flanders to become part of the Empire, 111.

....., ..., English in Dutch service desert to, 118.

....., ..., resents secret treaty (de Rosny's) between France and England, 139.

....., ..., King James' request to, for horses from Naples, 141.

....., ..., Spanish intrigue to remove, his probable policy against, 148, 193.

....., ..., Scots for service under, 161.

....., ... (1604), not implicated in Raleigh's conspiracy, 164, 168, 179.

....., ..., King James declines to negotiate with outside England, 186, 191.

....., ..., his representatives at peace conference, 223.

....., ..., terms on which Dutch would submit to him, 268.

....., ..., dissatisfaction of, with his Lieutenant, 268.

Austria, Albert Archduke of—*cont.*

....., ..., his policy distinct from Spanish; his annoyance at report of Spanish intention to give Low Countries as dower with Infanta to Prince of Wales, 313.

...., ... (1605), Ambassador from, expected in England, 355; arrives, 360, 363; his presents, 365.

....., ..., English embassy to, 333, 360, 363.

....., ..., recruiting for, in England, 326, discouraged, 360, permitted, 365, but discouraged, 369, 374, 385, 391, 393, 397, 404, 408, 410, 416, 426.

....., ..., King James' good offices sought by, to induce Dutch to accept a "reasonable composition" with him, 363.

....., ..., "presents" made on his behalf in England, 365.

....., ..., claims precedence for his Ambassador in England over Venetian Agents, 365, 378, 396, 502, 510, 516, 524, 526, 527, 529, 531, 539, 544, 546, 557, 563, 565, 583, 585, 589.

....., ..., territories of, blockaded by Dutch, 369.

....., ..., recruiting for, in Ireland, 440, forbidden, 511.

....., ..., arrests, but will not surrender, Gunpowder Plot conspirators, 454, 457, 464, 467, 487, 496; memorial concerning, 497; King James' irritation, 499, 501; releases them, 520.

....., ..., English in service of, to be withdrawn, 454, 457, 464.

....., ..., report that conspirators had keys to Archduke's Embassy house in London, 455.

....., ... (1606), passage to Flanders of troops raised for, in Scotland, stopped, 464.

....., ..., recruiting for, in England, to be stopped, 487, a breach of the Anglo-Spanish peace, 499.

....., ..., urged by English Ambassador to make peace with Dutch; does not desire it, 488, 495.

....., ..., Oath of Supremacy to be administered to English troops going to, and already in service of, 490.

....., ..., his refusal to surrender conspirators considered by King James a breach of treaty, to be answered by stopping recruiting for, in England, while permitting it to Dutch, 499, 501.

....., ..., mutiny of English regiment in service of, 527.

....., ..., attacks Sluys, repulsed, 534.

Austria, Albert Archduke of—*cont.*
....., ..., proposes to discharge English in his service, 550.
....., ..., discharges conspirator against King James from his service, 570.
....., ..., candidate for succession to Empire, 625.
....., ... (1607), his brother, the Emperor's, hatred of, 673.
....., ..., instructed from Spain secretly to negotiate truce with Dutch; commissioners meet; English alarm, 678.
....., ..., Ambassador of, in England, joins Spanish protest; in reply Lord Salisbury threatens war, if English grievances are not redressed, 683.
....., ..., priority of audience claimed by Ambassador of, in England, over Venetian, unsuccessfully, 683.
....., ..., his desire for accord with Dutch, attributed by them to Spanish designs in Italy, 699.
....., ..., truce between, and Dutch on eve of conclusion, 716, 717, concluded, 720, 721; its terms, 722, 723.
....., ..., Dutch expectation of advantages to accrue to them on death of the Infanta his wife, 721.
....., ..., his design to remove Spanish from Netherlands and reunite whole under liberal government, 730.
Austria, Ferdinand, of Gratz, Archduke of, 617, 625, 630.
Austria, Matthias, Archduke of, Emperor's jealousy of, 673.
Auvergne, M. d'. *See* Valois, Charles de.
Avignon, Vaison in, 40, 118.
"Avrin." *See* Havering.
Azevedo, Don Pedro Henriquez de, Count of Fuentes, his satisfaction at Papal Interdict against Venice, 521; commissioned to raise troops to assist Pope against Venice, 651, 661.

B

Badoer, Angelo, or Anzolo, Venetian Ambassador in *France*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 77, 93, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 114, 124, 137, 138, 139, 148, 154, 161, 168, 179, 183, 189, 200, 203, 206, 212, 215, 222, 228, 234, 235, 239, 240, 244, 245, 247, 249, 258, 264, 265, 270, 308, 319, 320, 327, 335, 343, 351, 359, 370, 375, 395, 402.
Badoer, Angelo—*cont.*
....., ..., complimented and thanked by Doge and Senate, 137 *and note.*
....., Gianbattista, supercargo of the "Marubbin," deposition by, 156.
Bailo, the, at Constantinople. *See* Contarini, Francesco, Venetian Ambassador. *Cf.* 269, 736.
Balance of power, Cecil's views on, 147.
Balbani, Angelo, Italian merchant in London, 260, *cf.* 35.
Balbi, Ser Nicolo, order for arrest of, 349, on charge of murdering Englishman, 371, 379, 387, 388, 400, 409; acquitted, 414, 417, 419, 429, 439, 447*n*, 615*n*.
"Balbi." *See* Ships.
"Balbiana." *See* Ships.
Baldwin, William, Jesuit priest, a Gunpowder Plot conspirator, 496, *and note*, 497; released by Archduke, 499, 501, 520.
Balfour, Sir Michael, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, his mission to Italy, 190, 200, 259.
Balio, M. di, Chevalier, 494.
Ball, John, Irish, conspirator, 550, *and note*; taken out of Spanish embassy, 553; to be released, 556, 558, 560, 562, 565, 569, 581, 599, 632.
Balmerino, Lord. *See* Elphinstone.
Balsac d'Entragues, Catherine de. *See* Stuart.
....., Catherine Henriette, Marquise de Verneuil, daughter of François d'Entragues, "mistress" of Henry IV., mentioned, 189 *note*; her plot, 235, 239; banished to Verneuil, 244; her case, 308, 320; her kinship to the Duke of Lennox, 327 *and note*; who intercedes for, 335, with success, 351.
....., François de, father of the Marquise de Verneuil, his plot to obtain recognition of her son as Dauphin of France, 235; anger of Queen, 244; proof of his intrigue with Spain, 320; his kinship to the Duke of Lennox, 328 *note*. the Duke intercedes for, 335; condemned to death, respited to please the Duke of Lennox, 343, and pardoned, 351, confined to own house, 370.
Bancroft, Richard, Bishop of London, attends Queen's death bed, 32; his translation to See of Canterbury expected, 199, effected, after dispute between King and Chapter, 288; proposition to make, primate of "Great Britain," 312; coerces Puritans, 347; Earl of Northumberland confined in his palace, 445; licenses a "broadsheet" suppressed at request of Venetian Ambassador, 730, 731.
Bar, Duchess of. *See* Catherine de Bourbon.

Barbarigo, Piero, Councillor, 616.
....., Ser Nicolo, 739 (*p.* 524).
Barbary, communications between, and Turkish capital, rare, 13; saltpetre obtained from, 35; a resort of pirates, 51, 69, 125, 170; horses exported from, for King James, 141; English trade with, 190; mentioned, 220, 236, 237; a "berton," captured by English pirates, taken to, 681.
..... *See also* Algiers.
Barilla, 337 *and note.*
Barneveldt, M. de. *See* Olden-Barneveldt.
Baronius, Cardinal, his attack on Sir Henry Wotton, 505, 547; proposed interlinear reply to, 642.
Basadonna, Giovanni, 518.
"Basilikon Doron," 22*n*; translated into French with King's consent, 93; put on Index, 459.
Basing, King at, 113.
Bates, John, his case, 503, 517 *and notes.* *See* "Currant Tax."
Bath, Order of, creations in, 105, 332.
Baynham, Edward, Knt., conspirator, his mission to Rome, 510 *and note.*
Beaton, James, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, Scottish Ambassador, in Paris, 28; his death, 38, 102.
Beauchamp, Lord. *See* Seymour.
Beaumont, M. de. *See* Harlay, Christophe de.
Bedda (Buggia), port of, near Tunis, 237.
Bedell, Bishop, sometime chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, 641*n*.
Beglierbey, of Cyprus, orders to, from Sultan, 134.
....., of Tunis, 42, 85.
Belgrade, 256.
Bellarmine, Cardinal, forecast of his book, "De Militia Ecclesiastica," 506; the book studied by King James, 532, studied at Venice, 533, in Scotland, 659.
Bellegno, ——, a captain of galley slaves at Zante, 88.
Belt, The, 73.
Bembo, Zuanne, "Captain-General of the Sea." instructions for, *re* English shipping, 729.
Benedictines, Italian, in England, 77.
Benevento, Count of, Viceroy of Naples, 481.
Bennet, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, 384 *and note.*
Berenger, Baringier, Antonio, Vice-Consul, 53.
Bergamo, 299.
Bergen, Count of, 615.
Bergen-op-Zoom, garrisoned by Scottish regiment, 527; threatened by Spinola, 547, 550, 573, relieved by Duc de Rohan, 579; rumoured capture of, by Spinola, 579.
Bern, letter dated at, 644.
Bertoni, 3, 7, 9, 14, 15, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 51, 85, 88, 152, 156, 195, 272, 284, 285, 302, 311, 336, 338, 437, 448, 470, 493, 494, 634, 681, 682.
Berwick on Tweed, James I. at, 12; its importance, 739 (*p.* 506).
Béthune, Maximilien de, Marquis de Rosny, Duc de Sully, appointed Ambassador Extraordinary from France, to James I., a Huguenot, 17, 28, 55; his "Mémoires" cited, 55 *note;* Papal Nuncio opposed to his appointment, 28; and secures that he be instructed to recommend James to become Roman Catholic, 68; awaits instructions, 38, 55, receives them, 64; his arrival anxiously awaited by "English" section of Privy Council, 73; arrives, 78; accompanied to Dover by Governor of Calais, and escorted by English Vice-Admiral, who, however, fires on Governor's ship, 81, 86; to wear mourning for late Queen, at first audience, changes it for "fantastic costume," when received in audience at Greenwich; his constant communications with, and support of, Dutch Ambassadors in England, 81; anxious to conclude mission, "all the affairs of France" being "on his shoulders," 81; reports to his master, 86; confers with commissioners, takes his leave, 87; results of mission, presents bestowed on, 90; expresses gratitude for favours shewn his brother (Philippe), 90; recommends Roman Catholics to King James, 91: omits to visit Ambassador of Archduke, leaves before Queen's arrival, 91; speculation in Paris, as to results of mission, 93; Henry IV.'s account of, reported, 98; further account of, 100, 107; précis of actual text of agreement, 118; presents left by, in England, 127; proposes match between Dauphin and Elizabeth (of Bohemia), 136; his neglect of English Ministers, his negotiations conducted with King James in person; ill results of neglect, 139, 141; terms of treaty negotiated by, 147; text of, 161, 162; his action *re* payments to Dutch, 168, 200; greater honours for Spanish Ambassador, than were accorded him, 207; his correspondence with Henry IV. betrayed to Spain, 215, consequent desire of King for war checked by, 222; treaty negotiated by, not contravened by Anglo-Spanish treaty, 259; recommends surprise of Gravelines and Dunquerque, 264; his view of effect on validity of treaty, of King James' change of style, 301; lavish (1605) in support of Dutch, 319; complains of clause in Anglo-Spanish treaty, 343; agrees with Villeroy (1607) as to small reliance to be placed by Venice on

Béthune, Maximilien de—*cont.*
English aid; foretells ruin of Spain if deprived of Indies, 687, 688; deprecates reliance on King James; disavows M. de Fresne's suggestion of a Franco-Venetian league, 711; historical review of his negotiations in England, 739 (*p.* 518).
....., Philippe de, Comte de Seiles and de Charost, brother of above, Ambassador to James I., in Scotland, his brother's gratitude for favours shewn to, 90.
Bianchini, Giovanni. *See* King, John.
Bible, the, new translation of, the "suggestion of a devilish spirit," 312.
....., ..., in Spain, 246.
Biffi, or Biffis, Gian Domenico, Venetian Consul at Lepanto, despatch from, to Doge, 681; fails to obtain satisfaction from Turks for cargo burnt by pirates, 676.
Bilbao, bankrupt stock of artillery at, to be utilized by Sir Anthony Sherley, 698.
Bills of mortality, 55. *See* Plague.
Bilson, Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, candidate for See of Canterbury, 199 *and note.*
Birch, "Court and Times of James I.," cited, 456, 517, 652.
Birch, "Historical View," cited, 427*n*, 436*n*, 523*n*, 524*n*, 550*n*, 632*n*.
Biretta, 347.
Biron, Marshal de, love letters of, to Marquise de Verneuil, 320.
Biscay, 141, 346.
Biserta, pirates at, 125, 170.
Blackwell, George, "Archpriest," 397*n*; Pope's instructions to, 432; a would-be successor to, 491.
Blanco, Cape, 196.
Blankets. *See* Trade.
Blount, Charles, Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, sworn of Privy Council (1603), 34; arrives in London, with Tyrone, 78; a Commissioner to confer with M. de Rosny, 87; created Earl of Devon, for King's Coronation, 105*n*; appointed Ambassador to Spain, 160; Anglo-Spanish peace Commissioner, 229; escorts the Constable of Castille to Court, 266; present to, from Archduke, 365; appointed to command against rebels on discovery of Gunpowder Plot, 445, 447; a Commissioner to attend examinations of prisoners concerned in plot, 454.
Bluch, Baron. *See* Buccleugh.
Boderie, M. de la. *See* Le Fevre de la Boderie.
Boleyn, Anne, her execution parallel to Mary Queen of Scots', 22.
Bologna, degree taken at, 147; mentioned, 552, 708.
Bon, Ottaviano, Venetian Ambassador in Turkey, despatches from to Doge and Senate, 293, 322, 329, 342, 350, 437, 466, 470, 477, 485, 493, 508, 528, 567, 640, 649, 650, 657, 700, 712, 724.
"Bonaventura." *See* Ships.
Bonham, Edmund, "pirate," 146.
Book suppressed by Cecil's intervention, 368, 374.
Borough, the. *See* Southwark.
Bors (?), ——. *See* Bower.
Bothwell, Earl of. *See* Stewart.
Botte, 337 *and note.*
Bouillon, Duke of. *See* Tour d'Auvergne.
Boulogne Conference, the, references to, 73. 227.
Bourbon, Cæsare de, bastard of Henry IV., 73.
....., M. de, Ambassador to England from Duke of Lorraine, 104.
Bow and arrow, English use of, 739 (*p.* 505).
Bower (Bors, Bour, Buer), Captain, his piracy, 26, 54, 55, 221, 232.
Bowes, George, and his gold mine in Scotland, 341 *and note.*
Brabant, States of. *See* Netherlands, United.
Bracciano, Duke of. *See* Orsini.
Brachia, Brasich, Brazzo, Robert an Englishman, master of the "berton" "Thomas William Good Fortune," deposition by, 3, 4; mentioned, 419.
Brandenburg, Marquis of, precedence of his Ambassador, 40, who is lodged at English expense, 111; gentleman of his House in England, 599; claims of, *jure uxoris* to Cleves succession, 625.
Brandolin, Abbé otherwise the Abbé of Nervesa, a criminous clerk, dealt with by the civil power, his case provoking the dispute between Venice and the Pope, 554, 736, *and notes.*
Brasich, Robert. *See* Brachia.
Brazzo, Capt. Robert. *See* Brachia.
Brazzo di Maina, 273, 289.
Bremen, threatened by Denmark, English intervention sought, 251.
Brenta, Oriago on the, 615*n*.
Brescia, 151, 299, 524.
Breves, de. *See* Savari, François.
Bridgwater, floods at, 680*n*.
Brief of Pope Paul V., addressed to English Roman Catholics, 666, 667; a menace to King James, 675; his lively resentment of it, 689, 699, 700.
Brill, mortgaged to English, proposed permanent retention of, 73; surrender of, to Spain required, 213, 233; to remain in possession of English, 242; provision for its defence, 474. *See also* "Cautionary towns."

Bristol, floods at, 680*n*.
Britain. *See* Great Britain.
Brittany, 370.
Broadcloth, exported from England, 3.
Broadgate, ——, Captain of H.M.S. "Adventure," 436 *and note*.
"*Broadsheet*," suppressed in London, 730, 731.
Brochiero, Diego, Don, to command Spanish fleet, 460.
Brome, Andrew, 129.
Brooke, George, brother of the Lord Cobham, arrested, 101; executed, 175.
Brooke, Henry, Lord Cobham, employed in peace negotiations with Flanders, 36; arrested as concerned in Raleigh's plot, 101; his relations with the Ambassador of the Archduke, 124, and with Arabella Stuart, discovered, 164; his sentence, 167; the method of his reprieve, 175.
Brown, William, English sea-captain in the Levant, 57.
Browne, Anthony Maria, Viscount Montagu, Roman Catholic, sent to Tower, 454; fined 4,000*l*., 538 *and note*.
Bruce, Edward, Lord Kinloss, his intimacy with King James, sworn of Privy Council, 22 *and note;* report of conversation with, and praise of, 36; appointed Master of the Rolls, 55; his foreign policy, 55; supports Venetian Agent in repression of English piracy, 72; a commissioner to confer with M. de Rosny, 87.
Bruges, amnesty published at (1603), 36; Archduke at, 251.
Brunswick, Duke of, Ambassador from, in England (1603), 96; lodged at King's charges as the Envoy of a relative, 97; attends coronation, 105; lodged and boarded at Kingston, 111; at banquet, takes leave, 113; Ambassador from, in England (1606), to ask help for siege of Brunswick, granted, 464.
Brussels, 90, 191, 368, 524, 547, 565, 678, 738.
....., despatch dated from, 180.
Buccleugh (Blach, Bluch, Buclû), Baron. *See* Scott.
Buchanan, George, tutor to King James, the King's allusion to, 78.
Buckhurst, Lord. *See* Sackville, Thomas.
Buckinghamshire election, 205, 207, 214.
Bucquoy, Count de, in command of Spanish at siege of Ostend, 248.
Buer, ——. English pirate in the Levant. *See* Bower.
Buffalo, Inocentio dal, Papal Nuncio in Paris, his action *re* de Rosny's mission, 28, 68; his Agent in England, 104, 111; freedom of worship in Embassies, question of, raised by, 131; letters to, from England, intercepted, 213, 259; his anxiety to repel belief of Papal sanction of Gunpowder Plot, 450, 472; informs Pope of English pledge to support Venice, 590.
Buggia. *See* Bedda.
Bull-baiting at Tower, 201.
Buller, Buler, George, English Consul in Patras, in league with pirates, 681.
Bully, Pule, ——, English seaman in the Levant, 303, 338, 352.
Burgundy, precedence of Ambassadors of ancient Dukes of, over Venetian representatives, 40; the seventeen provinces of the Duchy of, to be recognized as a Protectorate under the Archduke, 73; France exposed to attack from side of, 90; ancient English alliance with Dukes of, 136; liberties accorded by rulers of the House of, the maximum of Dutch requirement, 268; ancient precedency of, claimed by the Archduke Albert, 502.
Burleigh, Lord. *See* Balfour.
Burton, Francis, "broadsheet" printed for, at London, 731.
Buso, Francesco, deposition by, 58.
Bywater, Thomas, Puritan, his arrest by the King's orders, 352 *and note;* his book condemning the King's conduct, 355 *and note*.

C

Cæsar *alias* Adelmare (Aldemari), Sir Julius, Judge of the Admiralty Court, 132, 141, 145, 146, 170, 174, 181; his pledge to the Venetian Ambassador to detain smugglers in prison during his pleasure, &c., 232.
Cairo, 177.
Caitmort, Roland. *See* Coymort.
Calais, 69, 81, 86, 97; threatened destruction of trade of, by the freeing of trade between England and Flanders, 141; route *viâ* to England, 151; dues levied at, by French, to be abolished, as preliminary to removal of Spanish 30 per cent. tax on English goods, 248 (*cf.* 242); Imperial Ambassador at, 396; passage from to England dangerous, 444; mentioned, 490*n*; English spy at, 606*n*.
Calergi, Betta, story of her persecution by Lorenzo Zanoli, 615*n*.
Calice, Bartolomeo, Don, 553*n*.

Calvinist as contrasted with *Protestant*, in case of King James, 22; the equivalent of *Protestant*, 206; "Calvinistic Ministers," 241; Ambassador Molin's historical essay on meaning of term in England, 739 (*p.* 511).

Camden Society, "Life of Bishop Bedell," cited, 641*n*.

Campbell, Archibald, Earl of Argyll, "the greatest person in that kingdom," employed to reduce rebels on West coast of Scotland, 737, 738.

Canal, Agustin, Venetian Governor in Corfu, despatches from, 176, 195.

Cancer, Tropic of, ships trading South of, treated as hostile by Spanish, 184.

Candia, Venetian trade with, 15, 24; piracy off, 57; Venetian dues levied in, 191; ship of, attacked, 285; mentioned, 299.

Candles, wax, trade in, 23.

Canea, 156, 272.

Canterbury, Archbishops of. *See* Bancroft, Richard; Parker, Matthew; Whitgift, John.

....., licensing of books by Archbishop of, 730.

....., proposal that the See of, should carry the primacy of "Great Britain," 312.

Capello, Fra Marc Antonio, his conduct in deserting Venice reprobated by King James, 735.

Capello, Grand Duchess, 81.

Capizzuca, Tarquinio, 600.

Capudan Pasha. *See* Cicala; Dervisch Pasha.

Caramusale, 152, 195.

Cardinals, their creation a source of income to Pope, 580, 591.

Carew, George, Knt., created Lord Carew of Clopton, 368*n*.

....., ..., ..., appointed (1606) Ambassador to France, 462 *and note*; offer to, by Papal Nuncio, 472.

Cariglio, Don Fernando, 685.

"Carminati," the. *See* Ships.

Carnale. See Quarnale.

Caron, Sir Noel de, Dutch Agent in England, his representations *re* peace with Spain (1603), 36; presents horses to King, 216; his efforts to improve his position during Anglo-Spanish peace conferences, 229; recruits troops in England, 243: pledge exacted from, by King James for safety of Spanish envoy, crossing from Dunquerque to Dover, 259; affects approval of Anglo-Spanish peace, but fears Spanish ascendancy in Council and over King, 274; leaves for Holland, to collect opinions on interpretation of Anglo-Spanish peace, 288; expected in England, 307, 312; increased reputation of,

Caron, Sir Noel de—*cont.*

dence of Dutch Republic, in his opinion the sole condition of peace, 325; his assurances to Venetian Ambassador *re* piracy, 331; negotiations with, touching "free trade," 333; raises troops in England, 341; mentioned, 352; influences English policy by threat that Dutch, if deserted, will put themselves under French protection, 365; his efforts to keep England neutral, 391, 408, 416, 427; mentioned, 483; report of conversations with, 511, 618.

Carpan, Augustine, Venetian outlaw, grace solicited for, by Sir Henry Wotton, 708 *and note*, 715.

Cary, George, second Lord Hunsdon, Governor of I. of Wight, late Lord Chamberlain, 132.

Castiglione, Marchese di, Imperial Ambassador to Venice, 696, 704, 705, 719.

Castille, Constable of. *See* Velasco.

Castro, Francesco de, Don, his mission to Venice, 594; Sir Henry Wotton attempts to secure letter written to, 605, 611, 612, 617, 621; nature of his mission, Sir Henry Wotton's views, 622, 625, 626, 630, 633, 634A, 635, 637; Sir Henry Wotton visits, 641; his efforts, 645, 646, 658, 672; credit of an accord between Pope and Venice assigned to, 673; his proposal that Venice should suspend execution of (anti-Papal) laws for four months, 689; his departure, the signal for arrival of the Cardinal de Joyeuse, with terms of agreement between Pope and Venice, 691; further negotiations with, 695, 704, 705, 717, 719, 720A.

Cavagion, Mauritio, case of, 708*n*, 715.

Catesby, Robert, conspirator, 447.

Catherine de Bourbon, "Madame" of France, sister of Henry IV., wife of Henry, Duke of Bar, eldest son of Charles III., Duke of Lorraine, her death, 202, 203.

..... *See also* Katharine.

Catholics, Roman. See Roman Catholics.

Cauchon de Maupas, Charles, Baron du Tour (de Thou, di Turs), French Ambassador (1603) in Scotland, 28; expected in France, 38; ousted from mission by M. de Beaumont, summoned to France, his wife, daughter of Hieronimo Gondi, left in England, 55; preferred by King James to M. de Beaumont, 63; received in audience by Henry IV., 64, 67; request by King James that he should be accredited to his Court, 73; sent (1605) on special embassy to England, with congratulations on King's escape, 456, 462; his (1606) reception, 463; the supposed results of

Caution-money, proposal that it should be exacted from ships leaving England, to prevent piracy, 166, 170, 208, 221.

....., taken from ships sailing from Zante, 57, 298.

....., to be taken, as security, by Dutch, from their ships trading to the Levant, 331.

"Cautionary towns," the, in Holland, pledged to Queen Elizabeth by Dutch, 31, 70, 73, 83, 213, 233, 242, 267, 292, 386, 416, 427, 474, 701, 739 (*p.* 521).

Cavalli, Marin, Venetian Ambassador in *France*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 10, 11, 16, 17, 28, 38, 39, 63, 64, 67, 68, 76, 86, 93, 130, 131.

....., attachment to, of Scottish nobles, 36; the first to congratulate Scottish Ambassador in Paris on King's accession, 102.

Cavendish, William, created Lord Cavendish of Hardwicke, 368*n*.

Cecil, Edward, Knt., nephew of Secretary, afterwards Viscount Wimbledon, crosses to Holland, 307 *and note*.

....., Robert, Knt., Baron Cecil of Essendon, Earl of Salisbury (1603), casket handed to, by Queen Elizabeth, for her successor, 16.

....., ..., ..., interview between, and Venetian Agent, 22.

....., ..., ..., recommends James I. to succour Ostend, 34, without effect, 36.

....., ..., ..., his death compassed by Essex's plot, 40.

....., ..., ..., slighted by King James, deprived of the Mastership of the Court of Wards, 55, which is restored to him, and a peerage (Baron Cecil) conferred on him, 66.

....., ..., ..., "a little hunchback," his mission, in 1588, from Queen Elizabeth to Duke of Parma, 66.

....., ..., ..., interviews the Marquis de Rosny, 81, a commissioner to confer with him, 87.

....., ..., ..., growth of his ascendency in the English Privy Council, 101.

....., ..., ..., his intervention on behalf of the Sherleys, 104.

....., ..., ..., asserts claim of English representative in Venice to use of Protestant rite, 118.

....., ..., ..., promises to support Lord Crichton for post of Ambassador to Venice, 118.

....., ..., ..., his views on English piracy, 141.

....., ..., ..., rebukes Spanish Ambassador, 142.

Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury—*cont.*

....., ..., ..., his views on strength of Dutch, and "balance of power," 147.

....., ..., ..., his complaint against Venice at meeting of Council, 170.

....., ..., ..., announces name (Wotton) of Ambassador to Venice, 172.

....., ..., ... (1604), supports Paul Pinder's claims against Venice, 170, 193, 403.

....., ..., ..., privilege of Ambassadors referred to, 221.

....., ..., ..., "not time to breathe," with Parliament sitting, 227.

....., ..., ..., Anglo-Spanish peace Commissioner, 229.

....., ..., ..., interview with, *re* piracy and smuggling; resents being troubled with a matter proper to a court of law, 232.

....., ..., ..., entertains the King as his guest at Theobalds, 251.

....., ..., ..., reports terms of Anglo-Spanish treaty to Henry IV., 259.

....., ..., ..., his statement to Venetian Ambassador, that the poverty of the Crown required peace with Spain: his implied doubt of the King's continued placability. 261.

....., ..., ..., present at the ratification of the Anglo-Spanish treaty of peace, 265, which he signs, 268.

....., ..., ..., takes the farm of the customs when they are put up to auction, 295, his profit, 306.

....., ..., ..., presses English claims against Venice, 306.

....., ..., ... (1605), his niece (?) the wife of the Earl of Pembroke, 323.

....., ..., ..., promise by, to hang a pirate: advises Venetian Ambassador not to wait on King at Royston, 331.

....., ..., ..., a private agent of, sounds the Venetian Ambassador on modification of custom dues; his theory of trade, 340.

....., ..., ..., his statement regarding King James' negotiations with Pope, and Papal claims necessitating the repression of Roman Catholics in England, 353.

....., ..., ..., present to, from the Archduke, 365.

....., ..., ..., created Earl of Salisbury, 368.

....., ..., ..., intervenes to suppress a book, 368 (*cf.* 374).

....., ..., ..., supports Dutch Agent, 385.

Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., modifies order touching English vessels in presence of Venetian flagship, 403, 407.
....., ..., ..., his intervention *re* Pert's murder, 409; and in the case of Hugh Whitbrook, and the corn taken at Zante, 417.
....., ..., ..., warnings received by, from France (*see* No. 341) of revolution to be expected in England, connected with Gunpowder Plot, 442.
....., ..., ..., a Commissioner to attend examinations in the affair of the plot, 454.
....., ..., ..., his jealousy of the Earl of Northumberland, 454, 457, 474.
....., ..., ... (1606), marriages arranged by, for his son and Lord Essex with Lord Suffolk's daughters, 463.
....., ..., ..., asserts English claim to share in the West Indian trade, 511.
....., ..., ..., proposal to create K.G., reported protests of knights, 517; receives Garter, 522; the splendour of his installation, 527.
....., ..., ..., his supreme power, "envy of him dead," his "excellent prudence and ability," esteemed worthy of his authority and fortune, 527.
....., ..., ..., conversation with, on Venetian precedence; his strictures on the conduct of the Archduke, 531.
....., ..., ..., his observations on the quarrel between Pope and Venice, 532.
....., ..., ..., complains of the injury done to Levantine trade of England by Venetian Agents, 537.
....., ..., ..., decision as to Venetian precedence really rests with him, 544; he parries the Ambassador's insistance, 546, 585.
....., ..., ..., threatens Spanish Ambassador *re* Neuce's conspiracy, 550.
....., ..., ..., the King, and King Christian of Denmark, his guests at Theobalds; his wit at the expense of the Danes and their dining, 561.
....., ..., ..., approves the King's promise of assistance to Venice against the Pope, 561, 584, 592.
....., ..., ..., reputed author of a book on the quarrel between Venice and the Pope, 565.
....., ..., ..., sets spies on the Neuce conspirators, 565.
....., ..., ..., "goes through with purge," 578, better, 584.

Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., his praise of "Father Paul's" work, 583, 584.
....., ..., ..., at Hampton Court, 599.
....., ..., ..., opposes exportation of wheat from England by Venetian Agents, 627, 629, 632, 636, 641, 658.
....., ..., ..., opposes publication by King James of his declaration in favour of Venice, 628, 652.
....., ..., ..., Sir Henry Wotton cites, as an instance of his great prudence, the ignorance of the English Ambassador in Paris that King James had made this declaration, 641.
....., ..., ... (1607), points out to Sir Henry Wotton that Venetian Government would have done better to buy corn for export through Flemish merchants, 658.
....., ..., ..., in reply to protest of Ambassadors of Spain and Archduke, he hints at recourse to war as the only remedy for English grievances, 683.
....., ..., ..., report of conversation between, and French Ambassador, as to possible basis of understanding between England and France for joint action in Italy, 684 *and note*.
....., ..., ..., further report on same subject; his great influence, 690.
....., ..., ..., report of interview between, and Venetian Ambassador on subject of Anglo-Venetian "league," 692.
....., ..., ..., his opinion that Spain sincerely desired accord between Pope and Venice; his device to convince Spain that England was fully prepared to support Venice in arms, 692.
....., ..., ..., M. de Villeroy's account of interview between, and French Ambassador touching League, 693.
....., ..., ..., the member of the Privy Council most friendly to the Venetians, 708.
....., ..., ..., enquires as to prospects of truce between Dutch and the Archduke, 716.
....., ..., ... a cousin germane of, presented by Sir Henry Wotton to Doge, 720n.
....., ..., ..., his opinion on truce between Dutch and the Archdukes; raises the question of the repayment of the debt due by the Dutch to England, 721.
....., ..., ..., interviewed by Venetian Ambassador on occasion of accord with Pope, 726.

Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., his estimate of Spanish object in assenting to truce with Dutch, 727.
....., ..., ..., causes a "broadsheet" to be suppressed, at Venetian Ambassador's request, 730, 731.
....., ..., ..., solicits safe conduct for Edward Peutres at Venice, 730.
....., ..., ..., expressed doubts of sincerity of French opposition to Spain, on occasion of French proposal for joint action with England as to Netherlands, 732.
....., ..., ..., his interest in Court of Wards, 739 (*p.* 507).
....., ..., ..., his origin, character, and power, 739 (*p.* 515).
....., Thomas, created Earl of Exeter, 368.
....., William, son and heir of Robert, his marriage to Lord Suffolk's daughter, 463.
Centurione, Octavian, financier, 83.
Cephalonia, 4; English pirate off, 29; Venetian dues levied in, 192; mentioned, 299.
"*Ceremoniali*," Venetian records called. *See* Venice.
Cerigo, 152.
Chaloner, Sir Thomas, "Governor" of Prince of Wales, 167.
Chamberlain to King James I. *See* More, David.
..... to Queen Anne. *See* Sidney, Robert.
....., Grand. *See* Howard, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk.
....., Vice. *See* Stanhope, John.
Chambers, ——, 498*n*.
Chancellor, Lord, of Scotland. *See* Seton, Alexander.
Charles, Duke of York and Albany, second son of James I., mentioned, 6; left in Scotland, 81; his "Governor," 147; history of title of Albany; to command Scottish Guard in France, 205, 270, 375; his arrival in England, 268; visited by his parents at Oatlands, 274; his creation as Duke of York, 332; mentioned, 556; pretty scene with, and Venetian Ambassador, 691; preferred by his father to his brother, 739 (*p.* 513); his stipend from France, *ibid.* (*p.* 517).
Charles VIII., of France, his execution of Corradin, 22.
Charterhouse near London, King at, 55.
Chester, Bishop of. *See* Vaughan.
Chestnuts. *See* Trade.
Chiaus, Achmet, Agent of the Sanjak of the Morea, letter from, 255.
Chiavari, Olivier, captain of the "Sant' Antonio" (French), deposition by, 7.
Chichester, Bishop of. *See* Watson, Anthony.
Chinch, George, or John. *See* King.
Chinlos, Lord. *See* Kinloss.
Chioggia, 286.
Chios, English trade with, 3; trade between, and Messina, 152; mentioned, 297, 494.
Chisholm, William, a Scotsman, appointed to See of Vaison, refused safe conduct by James I., 40*n*; refused leave to attend English Court, 118.
Christian IV., King of Denmark, expected to attend the Coronation of King James, 34, 40; excuses himself, and announces the birth of a son, 66.
....., invitation from, to King James, to attend the baptism of his son; the Earl of Rutland sent to him with the "Garter," 81.
....., his promise, on the occasion of his sister's marriage, to support, with his kinsmen, King James' VI. claim to English Crown, 91.
....., his Ambassador in England to receive the robes of the "Garter," 427.
....., his visit to England, 511.
....., reported protest by, against Lord Salisbury's election as Knight of the Garter, 517.
....., expected in England, 523, 537, arrives, 553, his reception, 556, his entry into the City, 560.
....., the guest of Lord Salisbury, with the King, at Theobalds, 561.
....., settles the question of Ambassadorial precedence on principle of the first to arrive, the first to be received, 563, and ends by receiving no one, 569.
....., surprized at King James' toleration of Spanish outrage and insult, 564.
....., bored by his visit; tilts with King James, 564, and much the better of the two, 573 *and note*.
....., reputed a candidate for the Empire, 566.
....., takes his departure, and though delayed by contrary wind refuses to land again, 566; preparations in his honour utilized at a subsequent function, 716.
....., declines to give France precedence over Spain at his own Court, on the English model, 583.
Cicala, or Cigàla, ——, ex-Jesuit, accompanies Don Francesco de Castro on his mission to Venice, 622.
....., brothers, Jesuits, a mission to England assigned to them, 412.

Cicala—*cont.*
....., **Pasha**, Capudan (1603) **Pasha**, bribed by Venetians, 13; urged to suppress English piracy, 92; at Rhodes, 152; ordered to suppress piracy, 477.
Cigala, Pasha. *See* Cicala.
Ciphers, experts in, 671 *and note*.
Cittànuova, in Istria, 210, 225, 236, 248.
....., ..., despatch dated at, 210.
Civita Vecchia, 155.
Clarentza, 448.
Clarke, William. *See* Clerke.
Clement VIII., Pope (Hippolito Aldobrandini) (1603), finances James I., while King of Scotland, keeps secret agent at his Court, and expects his "conversion," 16, 36.
....., ..., King James intrigues with, solely to secure succession, 34, 36.
....., ..., Lord Kinloss' high opinion of, 36.
....., ..., bishopric of Vaison conferred by, on a Scotsman, 40.
....., ..., his Nuncio in Paris procures that M. de Rosny recommend King to become Roman Catholic, 68; de Rosny's action, 91.
....., ..., despatches two Benedictines, in lay garb, to England, 77.
....., ..., respect for, acts as check on Henry IV., *re* war with Spain, 90.
....., ..., King James' pledges to, before accession, 91; pressure by, to secure observance of, 97, 140.
....., ..., King James' objection to his title of "Holiness," 100.
....., ..., English negotiations with, *viâ* Lorraine and Tuscany, 104.
....., ..., Agent of (Giovanni degli Effetti) in England, 104, his answer from the King, 111.
....., ..., relics presented by, to Queen Anne, 118; her messenger to, 140, 143, 151.
....., ..., freedom of worship in Embassies, question of, his attitude to, 131.
....., ..., French pledge to prevent his "excommunicating" King James, 141.
....., ..., claims of, to Ireland, as Papal fief, 142, 147, 163.
....., ..., proposed envoy from, to James I., 154.
....., ..., as trader, licenses heretics to trade at Civita Vecchia, 155.
....., ..., his threats (textual) to Venice, as to dealings with heretics, 165.
....., ... (1604), his promises to Sir Anthony Standen, 188.
Clement VIII.—*cont.*
....., ... (1605), sends Benedictines, of English birth, to England, and encouraged by Sir James Lindsay's mission, appoints a "Congregation on England," 324, 334, 347, 353, 361.
....., ..., his death, 361.
....., ..., his injunction not to seek liberty of conscience by unlawful means, obeyed in England, 397*n*.
....., ..., urged to suppress Jesuits in Spain, 412.
....., ..., his request to Venetian Republic to further interests of Roman Catholics in England, 430.
....., ..., his reply to King James' proposal for a general Council, 532.
Clenok, ——, Roman Catholic priest, 397.
Clerke, William, priest, concerned in Raleigh's plot, 101, captured, 136, sentenced and executed, 167 *note*, 172, 175.
Cleves, Spanish march on, 556.
Cleves and Juliers, Duke of, Ambassador from (1603), in England, 145; disputed succession to, 360, claims (1606) of his sister, wife of the Marquis of Brandenburg, 625.
Clopton, co. Warw., 368*n*.
Closeburn, gold mine on, 341 *note*.
Cloth. *See* Trade.
Cloth of gold. *See* Trade.
Cobham, Lord. *See* Brooke, Henry.
Cokayne, William, Knt., owner of the "Merchand Royal," 517*n*.
Colonitz, John George, his offer of German troops for service of Venice, 611 *and note*, 617, 630.
"Cominuoli, Father Paulo," otherwise Possevino, 641.
"Compass, the." *See* Ships.
Conformity, Ecclesiastical, King James seeks to enforce; the magistracy largely Puritan, 251; further attempt to secure; the Royston petition, 313; a pressing question, the insolence of the Puritans in suggesting a Regency, their relations with the same party in Scotland, their supposed designs on the King's life, 341; conference between the Bishops and Puritans at St. Paul's, London; suspension of Puritan ministers, 347; Puritans the chief opponents of the Union, 738, their influence, 739 (*p*. 511). *See also* "Puritans."
"Congregation on England," Papal, 324, 334, 347, 353, 361.
Constable of Castille. *See* Velasco.
..... of Scotland. *See* Hay.
Constable, Henry, committed to Tower, 213, released, 259.

Constantinople, French Ambassador at, his private trade, 7; report to the "Bailo" in, by Venetian, 231; English ship burned at, 470. *See* "Turkey."

Consuls. *See* "Ambassadors."

Contarini, Francesco, Venetian Ambassador in *Turkey*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 13, 41, 74, 84, 85, 92, 103, 115, 126, 133, 173, 177, 178, 237, 252, 256, 262, 273, 283, 293.

....., ..., Venetian Senator, 548.

....., Simon, Venetian Ambassador in *Spain*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 31, 33, 61, 62, 70, 82, 83, 95, 112, 127, 144, 163, 250, 257, 276, 290, 296, 310.

....., ..., letter to, 32.

Conway, Edward, Knt., Lieut.-Governor of Brill, 474.

Coombe Abbey, co. Warw., 447*n*.

Copenhagen, return from, of English Agent, 34; return to, of Danish mission, 72.

Copley, Anthony, plots against King (Raleigh's plot), 96, arrested, and betrays fellow conspirators, 101.

Copper, payments in, tendered to English merchants in Spain, 265.

....., trade in. *See* Trade.

Corfu, despatches dated from, 176, 195; English piracy off, 176, 195, 196, 197; mentioned, 299.

Cork, Roman Catholics in, 66.

Corn. *See* Trade.

Corner, Giacomo, Venetian Senator, 524.

....., or Cornaro, Girolamo (or Giacomo), Venetian Governor (Proveditore) of Zante, arrests (1597) corn owned by Englishmen, 23, 525.

....., ..., ..., despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 448, 634, 639, 676, 682, 697.

Cornwallis, Sir Charles, appointed Ambassador to Spain, 348, 360; his want of love for the Spaniards and Lord Nottingham, 393; names Spanish pensioners in England to King; his disbelief in Spanish professions touching England, 399; his annoyance at Spanish neglect of himself and his master, 405; his attack on Lord Nottingham's conduct in Spain, 411; neglected by the Spanish ministers, who conduct business with England through the English ministers they had bribed, 434; announces King James' escape from Gunpowder Plot, 452; his efforts in Spain on behalf of English subjects ineffectual, 468; seeks to be relieved of post, 474; obtains instructions from King of Spain to Viceroy of Naples, for better observance of Anglo-Spanish treaty, 480, 481; his relations with the French Ambassador, 495; his action touching surrender of conspirators in Gunpowder Plot, 496, 497;

Cornwallis, Sir Charles—*cont*.

succumbs, and accepts Spanish bribe, 520; unable to procure restitution of goods taken from Englisn merchantmen by Spanish and Sicilian ships; promises on the point not kept; threatens privateering, 571; his hostile attitude to Sir Anthony Sherley, 607, 631; urges marriage of Prince of Wales with the Infanta, 638; lays complaint against Spanish translation, put forth by Jesuits, of English legislation against Roman Catholics, 647, 653; instructed to be patient, a breach with Spain to be avoided, 653; descants on Spanish insults, on occasion of Spanish rejection of scheme for match between Houses of Stuart and Savoy, 663; persecutes Sir Anthony Sherley, 670; negotiations between, and Spanish Government broken off, 678; the Duke of Lerma announces to him the determination of Spain to support the Pope; his account of the interview partially discredited by Venetian Ambassador, to whom he reported it, 679; spreads reports of Anglo-Venetian League, and rupture between Pope and Venice, having learned in Spain that "appearances will do as well as reality," 698; goes about reporting rupture between England and Spain, 703; his request for release of English traders refused; goes to Court in Venetian Ambassador's carriage, 709; demands to be recalled, 714.

Coron, 14, 15, 152, 262, 263, 324, 639.

Coronation of King James I., question of "anointing" at, 12, 69; fixed for St. John's Day, O.S., 34; precedents for, examined; postponed to 5 Aug.; expenditure, public and private for, immense, 40; London crowded for, 55; fixed for St. James' Day, N.S., 81; arches erected for, 91, to be used for opening of Parliament, the King avoiding London for Coronation on account of plague, 97; description of, 105.

Corradin, execution of, parallel to Mary Queen of Scots', 22.

Corsari, Battista, the Chioggian, 27.

Corso, ——, Agent of Archduke, sent to England to request safe conduct for Ambassador, 66, 70.

Corunna, 346, 354, 358, 362, 391.

Cotta, 347

Cottimo, Venetian tax, defined, 439 *note*.

Cotto, Jacques. *See* Franceshi, Giacomo.

Cotton. *See* Trade.

Cotton, "Father," Henry IV.'s "Confessor," stabbed, 183; employed to pacify Queen, 244; King's esteem for, 249; a Jesuit, his ill-will to

Cotton, "Father"—*cont.*
Venice, 543; works on Henry IV. to promote return of Order of Jesus to Venetian States, 656.
Cotton, William, Vice-Admiral in Southampton and I. of Wight, 132, 135.
Council of Ten, or Privy Council, of Venice, 1; prison belonging to, 5; jurisdiction of, 294, 367, 371, 376, 394, 419, 439, 521, 524.
....., despatch to Chiefs of, 406.
....., application to, by Sir Henry Wotton, 604, 605, 611, 612; crowded prison of, 612.
....., story from Criminal Trials of, 615*n*.
....., new cipher adopted by, 671*n*.
....., procedure of, 708, 736.
Count Palatine. *See* Palatine.
Coursing, King James goes, 291, at Royston, 295, 384.
Coxe, Robert, of London, merchant, 129.
Coymort, or Caitmort, Roland, of London, 309, 314, 318.
Creichton, "Father," Jesuit, visits England, as Agent of Pope, 97; lays information against brother Jesuit, 104; dismissed by King, 118.
Crema, 299; Spanish plot to seize, 600, 658, 661, 673.
Crete. *See* Candia.
Crichton, Robert, Baron of Sanquhair, recommended to Venetian Republic by James I., when King of Scotland, 78; stands well with King and Queen; his negotiations on behalf of King, before accession, with Pope, 91; applies for, and has promise, of post of English Resident in Venice, 118; but English jealousy prevents his appointment, 160; in attendance on Venetian Ambassadors, 166, 169.
Cripps, Ezechiel, captain of the "Pearl," 209.
Cross, fragments of the True, 686.
Crowns, 312 *and note*.
Crumaille, Count de, to go Ambassador from France to England, 456 *and note*.
Cunliffe (Cunelò ?), William, "pirate," arrested at suit of Venetian Agent on return to England, 87.
Currant Tax, levied in England, appropriated to up-keep of embassy in Constantinople, taken for his own use by King James, 278, farmed to Lord Suffolk, 295, 306, who resists its assignment to Levant Company for former use, 340, 348; again offered to Company, 364 (*see* "Levant Company"); its abolition sought, Bates' case, 503 *and note*, 510, refusal to pay, 517.
Currants. *See* Trade.
Currency, English, light weight, 147.
Cyprus, English trade with, and the Venetians, 109; prize made by English off. *See* "Balbiana;" mentioned, 126; salt pans in, farmed by Englishman, 134; mentioned, 145, 170, 196, 287.

D

D'Alencourt, M. *See* Neufville.
D'Aremberg, Count. *See* Aremberg.
D'Artme. *See* Dartmouth.
D'Auvergne, M. *See* Auvergne.
D'Entragues, M. *See* Balsac d'Entragues, François de.
D'Oloard (?), Christoffalo (?), of Dartmouth (d'Armet), English captain of privateer, deposition by, 51.
"Dalle Vigne di Pera," despatches dated from, 13, 41, 74, 84, 85, 92, 103, 115, 126, 133, 173, 177, 178, 237, 252, 256, 262, 273, 283, 293, 322, 329, 342, 350, 437, 466, 470, 477, 485, 493, 508, 528, 567, 640, 649, 650, 657, 700, 712, 724.
Dalmatia, 299.
Damietta, Bcy. of, 152.
Dantzig, Ambassador from expected (1603) in England, 66; Dutch dependent on, for bread stuff, 73; Danish aggression against, English intervention sought, 251.
Danvers, Sir Henry, Lord Danvers of Dantsey, Coronation peerage, 105*n*; at Salisbury, 164; arrested, 238, *cf*. 242.
Dardanelles, 650.
Dartmouth (d'Artmet), privateer from, 51.
Daumbel, Thomas, owner of ship commanded by William Piers, the pirate, arrested, 72, 78.
Dauphin, the proposed match for, with Elizabeth (of Bohemia), 136; plot against rights of, 235, on ground of illegitimacy, 399; proposed match with the Infanta, 638.
Dauphiny, 90.
"Davis." *See* Ships.
Davis, Nevill (Nivel Daives), petitions Privy Council, 23.
Dedichere, Simon, 617.
Delali, ——, piracy by, 29.
Dempten, or Demstem (?), 52, 141.
Denari, 35.
Denmark (1603), return from, of English agent, 34.
...., mission from, in England, returns home, 72.

Denmark (1603)—*cont.*
...., food supply of Dutch, derived from Dantzig, at mercy of Danes who controlled the Belt, 73.
...., Ambassador from, attends Coronation of King James, 105; lodged at Richmond, and boarded at English expense, 111; present at banquet; takes leave, 113.
..... (1604), aggression by, at expense of Hanse Towns; English intervention sought, 251 *and note*, 278.
...., arrival in England of King's brother, the Duke of Holstein, 295. *See* Ulric.
...., trade between, and England, ancient privileges of the Danes unlikely to be revived, but Danish Ambassador to discuss, 427; he departs dissatisfied, 433.
...., question of the Orkneys raised by, 433, 739 (p. 519).
..... (1606), scheme for an alliance between Denmark, England, and German Princes, to support Venice against Pope, broached to King James, 617, 641.
...., sketch of English relations with, 739 (p. 519).
..... *See also* Christian IV.
Denmark, Anne of. *See* Anne.
....., Ulric of. *See* Ulric.
Denny, Honora, daughter of Edward, Lord Denny, great niece of Lord Salisbury, married to James, Lord Hay, 665 *and note.*
Dervisch Pasha, Capudan, chosen Grand Vizier, 528; slaughtered in the Seraglio, 640.
Devereux, Robert, second Earl of Essex, his accomplice, 22; Queen's death due to her grief for, 32; full details of nature and motives of his plot, 40; his son received by King James, 40; Raleigh and others concerned in his death in disfavour with King accordingly, 104; former page of, turned pirate, 128; his "madness," 457.
....., ..., third Earl of Essex, his reception, as boy, by James I., 40; restored in blood, 214; his marriage to Lord Suffolk's daughter, a device of Cecil's, 463.
Devon, Earl of. *See* Blount, Charles.
Diamond, Great, worn by James I., bought of Don Antonio, of Portugal, 66; one presented to Lord Nottingham, 383.
Dieppe, 181; passage from, to England, less dangerous than from Calais, 444, 453; Venetian Ambassador detained at, 458, leaves, 465.
....., despatch dated from, 458.
Dist, assigned to Spanish mutineers, 652.
Dobloons, 494.
Doctors' Commons, fire in, 190.
Dogs, killed, when plague appears, 66; "big fierce dogs" to be bought by Venetian Ambassador in England, as present from Venetian Government to Turk, 694.
Dominicans, Jesuit controversy with "de Auxiliis," 505 *and note.*
"Donall," Marquis of. *See* Huntly.
Donato, Leonardo, chosen Doge of Venice, 471, 484, 489.
Doncla, Marquis of. *See* Huntly.
Doria, Prince Andrea, 109.
Dorset, Earl of. *See* Sackville.
Dotto, Antonio, Signor, of Padua, case of, commended by James I. to Venetian Government, 169, 294, 304, 309, 315, 316, 344 *and note*, 524, 555, 565, 568, 587, 588, 594, 641.
Douglas, William, Earl of Angus, his action *re* the Union, 147.
Douglas *alias* Gray, Thomas, hanged for forging King's hand, 390 *and note*, 396.
Dover, vessels searched at (1603), 28; French Ambassador arrives at, 81; Ambassador from Wirtemberg arrives at, 97; Venetian Ambassadors expected at, 141, 149, 151, 157; Perez at (1604), 192; Constable of Castille at, 259, 261, departs from, 267, 274; Flemish Ambassadors at (1605), 360; brother of Grand Duke of Tuscany at, 373; Spanish fleet destroyed by Dutch off, 385*n*, 391; Spanish Ambassador at, 416; Spanish troops and English recruits detained at, 426; hurried departure from, of French Ambassador, 443, 445, of Venetian Ambassador, 490.
....., despatch dated from, 151.
Downs, the, question whether "a harbour," 348.
Drake, Sir Francis, Appendix III. (p. 531).
Drummond, James, Earl of Perth, Spanish pension for, 393.
....., Jane, Lady, Spanish pension for, 267*n*.
Drunkenness prevalent in England, 739 (p. 502).
Ducat, Venetian, value in exchange, 35, 43, 55 *note*, 147; value of, in angels, 118; silver, 145; ducats and broad cloth, 309; exchange value in scudi, 469, 524, 598, 619.
Duck shooting, 637.
Dunbar, Earl of. *See* Hume, George.
Dunquerque, truce (1603) for English shipping at, 34; Archduke at, 39; blockaded, 86; (1604) mentioned, 251; French designs on, 264; outrage (1605) by men of, on Dutch ship carrying Ambassador of Lithuania to England, 345; cutting out of Dutch prize from English harbour by

Dunquerque—*cont.*
men of, 345; men of, lying in wait for Dutch prize, 352; quarrel in Plymouth harbour between "Dunquerquers" and Dutch, 352; King James' annoyance with, 357; mentioned, 426, 436; vessels of, sailing from English ports, attacked by Dutch, 660.

Duodo, Piero, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary in *England*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 149, 159, 160, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 174.

....., ..., mishaps on his journey to England, 149, 151, 157, 159, 160; takes leave, on return, 169; departs, 171.

Durazzo, 13, 577.

Durazzo, Vincenzo, Don, of Order of S. Salvatore, Venetian subject, his libel on Sir Henry Wotton, 552*n*.

E

East Indies. *See* Indies.

Edmondes, Thomas, knt., English Ambassador to Archduke in Flanders, 312, 360, 496*n*, 524*n*.

Edward III., of England, 521.

..... VI., Queen Elizabeth buried near, 36.

Effetti, Giovanni degli, Papal, or French, Agent in England, described, 104; result of his negotiation, 111, 113.

Effigy of Queen Elizabeth, at her funeral, 36, removed, 66.

Egerton, Thomas, Viscount Brackley, created Lord Ellesmere of Ellesmere at Coronation of James I., 105*n*.

Egham, co. Surrey, despatch dated at, 97.

Elbassan, "Sanjak" of, 13.

Elector Frederick. *See* Palatine.

Eliot, ..., English officer in Papal service, 600, personal description of, 601, his arrest authorized, 602.

Elizabeth (of Bohemia), only daughter of James I., mentioned, 6; her mother obtains King's consent to educate her as a Roman Catholic, 66; Spanish proposal for match between, and Prince of Piedmont, 81; as child, at Oatlands, 104; proposed match between, and Dauphin, 136; to be proclaimed Queen in event of success of Gunpowder Plot, then in charge of Lord Harrington at Coombe Abbey, 447, 475; visited at Greenwich by Venetian Ambassador, 561; proposed match between, and son of Duke of Savoy, 663; the like, with Duke of Tuscany, 739 (*p.* 520).

Elizabeth of England, letter of James I. to citizens of London, after her death, 6; her nomination of heir suppressed by Privy Council, 6; her lying in state, 6.

....., her recommendations, *quâ* policy, to her successor, 10, 16.

....., directions as to her funeral, 12.

....., nominates her successor on her death-bed, 16.

....., the fortune left by her, 16.

....., King James declines to see, even dead, 22.

....., her portrait generally replaced by Queen Mary's, 22.

....., date of her funeral fixed, the Lady Arabella to attend, 22, 34.

....., full account of nature of her last illness, 32.

....., sketch of her policy of a Venetian alliance against Spain, 34.

....., description of her funeral, 36.

....., alleged proof from her papers of design of Mary Stuart to kill her son James, 40.

....., her "effigy" removed from Abbey, 66.

....., eulogy of, instances of her diplomatic adroitness, 66.

....., her attitude to "elevation of the Host" at her Coronation, 69.

....., theory that Spanish war was the result of personal and private quarrel between, and Philip II., 73.

....., the Marquis de Rosny, and suite, arrive in England, in mourning for, King's disgust, 81.

....., her "costly and gorgeous" wardrobe, her dresses altered for Queen Anne, 91.

....., monopolies granted by, 78, 109.

....., her, and her father's restricted use of loans by way of Privy Seal, 261.

....., her policy to Puritans, 355.

....., her care to make purveyance little irksome, 440.

....., her remark to Signor Giovanni Basadonna, 518.

....., eulogy of, 739 (*pp.* 510-512).

Ellesmere, Lord. *See* Egerton, Thomas.

Elman, Charles, his death, 438 *and note*.

Elphinstone, James, knt., Lord Balmerino, Secretary to King James, sworn of English Privy Council, 55; his reported removal from office of President in Scotland, 534, 547.

Embargo threatened, 678.

Emden, suggested Anglo-Spanish conference at, 186, 188, 191; liberty of, threatened by Denmark, 251; Imperial intrigue to prevent Count of, receiving Dutch aid, 261; threatened

Emden—*cont.*
by Spanish army, 550, 556; Spaniards unable to recover; Count of, seeks King James' intercession, for leave to live in, quietly, 579.
England,
..... (1603), export trade from, to Leghorn, 3.
...., alleged piracy by Englishmen, off Sicily, 3, 4.
....., ..., Venetian Secretary in, despatches from. *See* Scaramelli.
...., attitude of King (James I.) to religion in, 6, 34.
...., action of Privy Council in, touching Queen's nomination of her heir, 6.
...., fleet from to Indies, 6.
...., piracy by ship of, in Levant, 7.
...., English ship fired on by Maltese, 8.
...., piracy in Levant by Queen's ship of, 9.
...., troops raised in, for Netherlands, delayed, 11, dispatched, 12; significance of, *re* peace with Spain, 12.
...., French stipulation for disuse by King of, of title of "King of France," 12, 73, 98.
...., attack by "pirate" from, on Consul da Mosto's ship; Venetian action touching, 13, 29, 42.
...., ship of, arrested by Turks, 14, 15.
...., foreigners shipped from, to Holland, and Roman Catholics imprisoned in, to secure James' succession, 16.
...., M. de Rosny, a Huguenot, sent Ambassador to, 17.
...., objection by Privy Council in, to admission of Scot (Lord Kinloss), 22.
...., claim by subjects of, against Venetian Government, 22, 23.
...., all sailors of "pirates," 27.
...., truce between, and Flanders, 28, 34, 39.
...., vessels landing passengers at Dover, searched, 28.
...., relations of, to Spain, question of fortresses mortgaged to, by Dutch, 31, 70. *See* Cautionary Towns.
...., desire in, for peace with Spain, 31, 34, 36.
...., claim to throne of,, by "Queen's niece," 31.
...., accession of James I. agreeable to, the causes, 32.
...., survival of "lofty" policy of Queen Elizabeth in, 34.
...., history of saltpetre supply in, 35.
England (1603)—*cont.*
...., money value of resources of, at King James' accession, 36, 98.
...., criminals in, hung on King's warrant only, 40.
...., public and private expenditure in, over Coronation immense, 40.
...., "interest and honour coincide," a tenet in, 40.
....., names of pirates from, in Levant, 53.
...., squadron of men-of-war of, destined by late Queen for Spain, inspected by King, at Greenwich, 55, 60.
...., prisoners in Tower released, 55.
...., slights put by King on ministers of late Queen, 55, 66.
...., King James favours peace between, and Spain, 55.
...., caution money required of ships of, in Zante, 57.
...., good understanding between, and Spain, accounted impossible, 63.
...., policy of France towards, touching Holland and Spain, 64.
...., Englishmen hung in Zante for pirates, 65.
...., attitude of "adoration" adopted by nobility of, to King, 66, 72.
...., four Barons created, and Cecil restored to favour, by King, to remedy English discontent, 66.
...., "Anglican Church" in, King proclaims himself head of, 66.
...., return to, of "privateers" on news of King James' accession, 69.
...., coronation of Kings in, hitherto performed in, by Roman Catholic Bishops, 69.
...., ill-will in, to Scottish subjects; the union with Scotland a factor in securing peace between, and Spain, 69.
...., Turkish officials in Levant shelter and trade with privateers from, 71.
...., order by King, that privateers returning to, must declare goods on board in Admiralty Court, 72, 78; other measures against piracy, 78, not taken, 125, 166, 170, 208, 232.
...., national party in, their dread of Spain's controlling Dutch navy, 73.
...., English claim of the right of the flag, enforced, against French, 81, 86; against Dutch, 86.
...., French negotiations with (de Rosny's), 81, 90, 93, 98, 100, 107, 124 (text of agreement); 136, 139, 141, 147, 154, 161, (text) 162, 259.
...., Spanish bribes for King and Privy Council in, 83, 86, 87.

England (1603)—*cont.*
...., profitable nature of piracy practised by ships of, in Mediterranean, 85.
...., "recusancy fines," a source of revenue in, 91.
...., Ambassador of, in Turkey, salaried by Levant Company, 91.
...., prizes taken from Spanish one month after Queen's death declared illegal, 96.
...., plot against King (Raleigh's) discovered, 96; account of, 101, 111, 124, 127, 132, 136, 158, 160, 164, 167, 168, 172, 175, 179.
...., judge in, interviewed by prosecutor privately, before case comes on, 97.
...., ships commissioned in, 96, 97.
...., English merchants arrested at Salonica for complicity in piracy, 103.
...., King's Coronation, described, 105; peers created for, 105*n*.
....., case of, against Venice, detailed, 109.
...., Spanish bribes for chief Ministers in, 112, 139, 144.
...., English and French in Dutch service fall out, 118.
...., piracy by, at expense of Venice, encouraged by belief in inefficiency of Venetian fleet, and supposed insurance of all their ships, 128.
...., Venetian competition not feared in, their ships being considered too big for English ports, 128.
...., Lord High Admiral of, bribed, 127, 132, 135, 141, 145.
...., Parliament summoned in, to settle union with Scotland, and question of religion, 132, 146.
...., Ambassador of, in Turkey, intrigues for post of, 133.
...., proposals by Archduke for peace between and Flanders, trade to be free, 136.
...., French crew captured by Dutch on English soil, 136.
...., Spanish proposals for peace with; English aid to be denied to Dutch; English trade with Indies to cease; counter proposals of English touching Inquisition, 142.
...., arguments of party in, opposed to Spanish peace, 142.
...., effects of plague on trade of, 145, 147.
....., ..., value of currency in, 147.
...., Venetian testimony to skill in navigation of English "pirates," 152, 195.
...., free navigation claimed for, in

England (1603)—*cont.*
...., small store of money in, at King's accession; plague hinders collection of taxes in, 158.
...., value to, of Levant trade; opinions in, touching, 175.
..... (1604), execution of six pirates in, 181, 247.
...., Christmas kept in, when, 182, 185.
...., fleets for Portuguese Indies fitting out, 186, 191.
...., desire in, for creation of a Duke, the only such title in existence (Lennox) being Scottish, 201, 288.
...., fleets from, for West Indies, forbidden to touch at Spanish possessions, 205.
...., refusal to incorporate Scottish with English peerage, an obstacle to the Union, 214.
...., negotiations in London for Anglo-Spanish peace, 217, 223, 229, 233, 236, 241; summary of terms, 242, 246, 248, 251, 257, 259, 261; treaty of peace ratified, 266, 268, 276; proclaimed in Spain, 296; mission to Spain to receive oath to, 301 (*see* Howard, Charles); signed in Spain, 383.
...., instance of valour of English "pirates," 219.
...., Venetian Ambassador's criticism of distinction in English law between civil and criminal actions, endorsed by King James, 221; *cf.* 232.
...., powers of Spanish peace commissioners identical with those rejected by Queen Elizabeth at Boulogne Conference, 229.
...., prisoners in, on a charge of smuggling at Zante, to be kept in prison at pleasure of Venetian ambassador, pledge of the judge of the Admiralty Court to that effect, 232.
...., recruiting in, by Dutch and others, a relief to the surplus population of, 233.
...., general desire in, to dispose of "big ships" in, upon certainty of peace with Spain; action to prevent, by Privy Council, 236, 238.
...., bitterly cold in, and "everyone in furs," at end of June, 236.
...., Englishmen banished from in 1602, take to piracy on Barbary coast; arrested by order of Porte, liberated by bribe to Bey of Algiers, they take service with Grand Duke of Tuscany, and, in his pay, destroy fort, &c., near Tunis, 216, 220, 223, 236, 237.
...., rising in northern county of, in favour of the "Mass," 241.

England (1604)—*cont.*
...., recruiting in, for Dutch, 243.
...., dislike in, to Venetian prohibition of export of currants from Zante; desire for an arrangement with Venice, and obliteration of old scores, 248.
...., murder by Dutchmen, of sailors from Sandwich; riot there against Dutch residents, 251.
...., ancient relations of, with Hanse Towns, 251.
...., recruiting in, for Danes, 251.
...., mules bred in, 258.
.... money raised in on Privy Seals; method reserved by Tudors for great emergencies; absence of justification for, and consequent unpopularity of King James' resort to, 261.
...., loss to merchants of, in Spain, forced to accept payments in copper, 265.
...., recruiting in for Spain, Spanish desire for, 266, *cf.* 242.
...., deluge of Spanish presents in, accepted by all; respect in, paid only to the lavish, 266, 267 *and note*.
...., assistance from, for Dutch, prohibited by Anglo-Spanish treaty, but recruiting in not prevented; analogy of French assistance rendered under like conditions, 267, 333.
...., hanging at Zante of English subjects, as pirates, 269.
...., English piratical ship half manned by Turks from Tunis, 272.
...., recruits for Dutch leave, after Spanish protest, 274, 278, 288.
...., bribery universal in; Venetian Ambassador informs his masters that he must bribe King's Ministers, to get leave to export saltpetre from, 274, 346.
...., "English, who are pushing their trade all over the world, insist upon open markets," comment on privileges of Hanse Towns, 278.
...., proposed suspension of all relations between, and Turkey; the King's indifference, 278.
...., dislike in, to Spanish peace, and abandonment of Dutch, 278.
...., interpretation of clause in treaty between, and Spain, concerning East Indian navigation, 291.
...., on declaration of peace between, and Spain, English "corsairs" take service with Dutch; Spanish protests, 292, 331.
...., Sir Henry Wotton's memorandum touching treatment of merchants from, at Venice, and concentration of Levant trade at there, 294.

England (1604)—*cont.*
...., objections in, to compensating Scottish commissioners for Union for lost luggage, 295, *cf.* 292.
...., customs in, farmed by King to Cecil; tax on currants (*cf.* 278) to Earl of Suffolk, 295.
...., recruiting in, for service in Hungary, 295.
...., heroic defence by English ship, 300, *cf.* 273, 289; 306, 331.
...., libels posted up, against King in, 301.
...., names "English" and "Scottish" merged in "Britons"; treaties made with the "King of Scots," voided by change of title, 301.
...., Dutch seizures of English ships, 301.
...., terms of Union between, and Scotland, arrived at by Commissioners, 307.
...., abominable outrage on seamen of, by Spaniards in West Indies, 307.
...., capture by five ships of one English pirate, 311.
...., proclamation issued in, that trade with Flanders will be at traders' risk, 312, *cf.* 301.
...., position of Puritans in; the Royston petition, 313.
..... (1605), description of a wedding at Court, 323.
...., customs levied on merchants of, in Spain, contrary to treaty, 325; special mission to enquire into, 333.
...., attempted recruiting in, for Spain and Archduke, 326, 360, 365, 369, 374, 385, 391, 393, 397, 404, 408, 410, 416, 426.
...., list of custom dues levied in, on Venetian trade, 337.
...., disquisition on customs levied in England and Venice respectively, and probable effect of their modification, 340.
...., reports reach, from France, of imminence of revolution in; anxiety of Privy Council; arrests on suspicion; Puritans suspected, 341.
...., English ship, with letter of marque from Count Maurice, takes Spanish prize, and is driven into English harbour; Spanish action, 341.
...., recruiting in, for Dutch, 341, 357, 360, 374, 385, 391, 393, 397, 404.
...., grievances of, against French, cloth seized at Rouen, 343, 359, 370.
...., Ambassador from Lithuania to, drowned on way, by men of Dunquerque, 345.
...., men of Dunquerque cut out Dutch prize from English harbour, 345.

England (1605)—*cont.*
...., prize (Portuguese) made by Dutch in the Downs, discussion concerning, 348.
...., unrepresented at Imperial Court; consequent inability to act as intermediary between, and Turk, 350.
...., order to Vice-Admirals in, to keep order between foreign vessels in ports of, 352.
...., Cecil's account of policy to be pursued toward Roman Catholics in, no bloodshed, mitigated fines, 353.
...., foreign ships not to leave ports of, till they have lain three tides, 362.
...., imposture of the "sleeping preacher" in, 364, 368.
...., book suppressed in, by intervention of Cecil, 368, 374.
...., trade between, and Flanders. prevented by Dutch, 369.
...., Commissioner (of Trade) requested to be sent from France, invitation declined, 370.
...., ships of, in Venetian waters, to strike topsails and send boat to Venetian flagship, 371; Venetian acknowledgments, with request for further concession, 376, 377, 380. 381; Cecil's modification of order, 403, 404, 407, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422, 429, 439.
...., English troops desert Count Maurice, 395.
...., appointment of new Spanish Ambassador to, 396.
...., Imperial embassy to, to solicit aid against Turk, 396.
...., command of Channel in hands of Dutch, English acquiescence, 397.
...., British subjects forbidden to take service in foreign men-of-war, 404.
...., hardships occasioned in, by royal progress, 410.
...., false money circulated in Spain by English merchants, 413.
...., trade between, and Denmark, 427.
...., a "French Company," proposed in, 427.
...., small-pox very common in, 435.
...., farming the customs in, leads to illegal dues being levied, 435.
...., English in Dutch service killed, 436.
...., plot discovered in. *See* Gunpowder Plot.
..... (1606), fleet commissioned in, 464.
...., antipathy in, to Spanish peace, 467.

England (1606)—*cont.*
...., recruits to be levied in, for defence of Brill, 474.
...., capture of Dutch ship, with Spanish prize, diplomatic discussion, 474.
...., fury in, against Roman Catholics, 483.
...., recruiting in, for Flanders and Spain, to be stopped, 487.
...., English ship captured by privateers at Melos, 494.
...., anxiety in, for, and desire to assist, Dutch, 499, 511.
...., Spanish outrage on English ships in West Indies, 511.
...., English gentlemen, used to privateering, and rendered idle by peace, sail for West Indies on voyage of discovery, 515, 517, 523.
...., Anglican Church involved in pains and penalties, by omission of "by grace of the King" in decrees, fine remitted, 526.
...., "three subsidies, much evil, no redress," popular saying, 526.
...., enthusiasm in, for Venetian cause against Pope, 532, 537, 544.
...., oath of allegiance, new, devised, 534, 535, Venetian approval of, 555.
...., indignation in, at squandering of subsidy on reception of King of Denmark and Duke of Wirtemberg, 537.
....., rage in, against Spain, after Neuce's plot, 553, 556.
...., deputation of merchants of, to King James, to complain of outrages endured from Spaniards, 564; further complaints, proposal to issue letters of marque, 570, 571; Cecil's remonstrances with Ambassadors of Spain and the Archduke; doubts as to the genuineness of the deputation, but popular feeling roused, 573; the Spanish reply, 660, 665.
...., purchase of wheat in, for export, 595, 596, 598; Kentish the best, 598, 608, 619, 623, 627.
...., "union of churches" in, to be discussed, 599, 608, 632.
...., league between, Denmark, and German Princes, suggested, to aid Venice against Pope, 617, 664, 673.
....., ..., Parliament to meet, anti-Spanish feeling in, 623, 635.
...., proposal to limit King's control over properties by conveying them to Crown, to check improper grants, 623.
...., law regulating export of grain from, 627, opposition of Lord Salisbury to proposed export, 629, 632, 635, 636, relaxed, 641, 643, 658.

England (1606)—*cont.*
...., shooting birds on wing a "pretty sport not yet introduced into England," 637.
...., fleet fitting out in, for West Indies, Spanish alarm, 643, 652, 685.
...., determination of Government in, to avoid breach with Spain, 653, 659.
..... (1607), people in, ready to contribute to King's expenses on condition of war with Spain, or liberty of privateering, 654.
...., design of King to resume lands usurped from Crown, to raise revenue, 654.
...., export of corn from to Venice discussed in Venetian Cabinet by Sir Henry Wotton ; Lord Salisbury's opinion that the affair would have been better managed through Flemish merchants, who understood business, and would have bought in fertile west and not in sterile east, near London, 658.
...., supply of gunpowder for Pope from, 658.
...., corn shipped from, to Venice, 660.
...., unable to render military assistance to Venice, Henry IV.'s criticism, 662.
...., alarm in, at prospect of peace between Dutch and Spain, 669.
...., Republic of Venice prepared to enter into alliance with, 672.
...., proposal considered in Privy Council to issue, in default of redress of grievances, for a year, letters of marque against Spain ; profitable nature of course, 674.
...., popular desire in, for war with Spain, 680.
...., floods in, at Bridgewater and Bristol, 680 *and note*.
...., connivance of Consuls of, in Levant, with pirates, 681.
...., offers of services by individuals in, to Venetian Ambassador, upon news of King's declaration in favour of Republic and Spanish preparations, 683.
...., "big fierce dogs" to be bought in, as Venetian present to Turk, 694.
...., custom in, touching claimants to land, Sir Henry Wotton's simile from, 696.
...., insistance in, upon abandonment by Scotland of her alliance with France, as preliminary to Union, 699.
...., "venality of that nation," Spanish opinion of, 703.
...., visitors and exiles from, welcomed in Madrid, 703.

England (1607)—*cont.*
...., subjects of, arrested and imprisoned by Spanish authorities for trading in Indies, 709.
...., demand in, for redress of injuries done to merchants of, by Spain ; the right of reprisal asserted, 714, 718.
...., mutiny of unpaid troops in, feared, 714.
...., fleet sails from, for East Indies, 714.
...., Dutch debt, question of repayment raised in, on occasion of truce between Dutch and the Archdukes, 721.
...., suppression of "broadsheet" in, at request of Venetian ambassador, 730, 731.
...., piracy off coasts of, royal ship worsted, 737.
...., detailed report on England, its politics, its resources, &c., 739.
..... *See also* Anne ; Howard, Charles ; James ; Parliament ; Privy Council ; Puritans ; Roman Catholics ; Union.
Englefield, Inglefield, Francis, English refugee (1588) in Spain, Appendix III. (*p.* 533).
Entragues, M. d'. *See* Balsac d'Entragues.
Erroll, Earl of. *See* Hay.
Erskine, John, Earl of Mar, appointed to English Privy Council, 55 ; "governor" of the Prince of Wales ; his wife refuses to surrender Prince to Queen's custody, 66 ; his son's report to King on matter, his conduct approved, 69 ; created K.G., 81 ; jealousy of, in Scottish Parliament, by reason of his appointment to English Privy Council, 227 ; arrival of his son, Lord Erskine, at Venice, 356 ; a Gunpowder Plot Commissioner, 454 ; returns home, 456.
Erskine, Mary, Countess of Mar, d. of Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, 66.
Escurial, 571.
Essex, county of, Royal Progress in, 415.
....., Earl of. *See* Devereux.
Este, Cesare d', Duke of Modena, letter to, from Sir Henry Wotton, 504.
Exchange, between London and Venice, state of, 78, 147, 595.
....., bills of, at three months, Venetian, 619.
Excise, in Holland, 69.
Exeter, Earl of. *See* Cecil.

F

Falmouth, 78.
Fane, Thomas, knt., 490*n*.

Farnese, Alexander, Duke of Parma, Queen Elizabeth's bribe to, 66; mentioned, Appendix III. (*p.* 532).
....., Ranuccio, Prince, afterwards Duke of Parma, the hand of Arabella Stuart and the succession to the English throne offered to, by Queen Elizabeth, 66; Pope appoints him his General, 588.
Faske (Faschi), ——, his piracy, 53.
Fawkes, Guy, *alias* Johnson, arrested, 442, examined "under every conceivable torture," 443, gives up names, 454; his antecedents, 475.
Felucca, 494.
Ferdinand of Gratz, Archduke of Austria, 617, 625, 630.
Feria, Duke of, instructions to, touching election of King of the Romans, 625.
Ferrara, interview with Pope at, 91 *and note;* 617, 708.
Ferrers (Feris), ——, his piracy, 53.
Ferro, Niccolo, Councillor, 616.
Fez, Ambassador of King of, charters English ship, 126, the terms, 129.
Fishery, North Sea, question of, 739 (*p.* 522).
Flag, English claim that it should be struck, 81, 86.
Flanders (1603), Dutch design to flood, 11.
...., Envoy from, to England, 28, 36, 39, 40, 66, 68, 69.
...., truce for English shipping in, 28, 34, 39, 61.
...., Spanish relations to, 31.
...., Dutch negotiations with, opened, 36.
...., intimate relations between, and Spain, 61, 62.
...., Spanish troops allowed to pass through France to, 62.
...., attempt of Dutch to intercept Ambassador despatched from, to England, 69, 72, 86.
...., good reception of Flemish Agent in England, 70.
...., Ambassador from, arrives in England, 78, 86.
...., suggested inclusion of, in the Empire, under the Archduke's brother and heir, 111.
...., English trade with, to be free, pending negotiation of peace, 113, 136, 141.
...., proposals of Flemish Ambassador to King James, as basis of peace, 136.
...., Spanish intrigue to oust the Archduke Albert from government of, 148, 193.
..... (1604), effect in, of fall of Sluys, 267.
...., Dutch activity off coasts of, 301, 312.
Flanders (1604)—*cont.*
...., trade between, and England, at traders' risk, 312.
...., future of, after Archduke's death; proposal to give it with the Infanta to the Prince of Wales in dower, 313.
..... (1605), blockaded by Dutch, 369, who attack Antwerp, 373, 374, 385.
..... (1606), Neuce's plot against King James hatched in, 550.
...., mutiny in, of Spinola's troops, 608 *and note*, 618.
...., Dutch successes in, 618, checked, 642.
...., mutiny of troops in, progresses; town assigned to mutineers, 652.
..... (1607), services of Englishman, William Stanley, serving in, requested by Pope, 661.
...., commissioners arrive from Holland at Brussels, to negotiate truce, 678.
...., Papal recruiting in, 689.
...., hint conveyed by Cecil to Spanish Government through Ambassador of, in England, 692.
..... *See also* Aremberg; Austria, Albert Archduke of; Ostend.
..... *See also* Netherlands, United (*e.g.* No. 31).
Fletcher, Nathaniel, clk., son of Dr. Richard, Bishop of London, chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, 641*n*.
Fletcher, Richard, D.D., Bishop of London, his son, 641*n*.
Florence. *See* Tuscany.
Flushing, English troops arrive (1603) at, 12; proposed permanent retention of, by English, 73; rising dislike in, to English garrison, 73; surrender to Spain demanded, 213, 233; to remain in English hands, 242; mentioned, 373; Spanish bribe offered to Lord Nottingham, to secure surrender of, 386; Lord Sidney, ex-governor of, revisits, 416.
Foretopsail, striking the. *See* Vail.
Formin, ——, captain of English pirate, 285.
Forner, Corte del, Venice, 612.
Fortescue, Sir John, Master of Wardrope, Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster, and the Buckinghamshire election, 205 *and note*, 207, 214.
Foscari, ——, Advocate Fiscal, 389.
"Foscarina." *See* Ships.
Foschis (?), M., Ambassador of King James in France, 73.
France,
..... (1603), Ambassador of, in Turkey, engaged in trade, 7, his goods seized by English, 7.

France (1603)—*cont.*
...., Ambassador Extraordinary from, to England, to be sent, 10.
...., Kings of, "crowned, consecrated, and anointed," like English, 12, 69.
...., intrigues of, with James I., in Queen Elizabeth's life-time; price of assistance asked, 12, 16, 34, 73.
...., M. de Rosny appointed Ambassador Extraordinary from, to England, 17, 28, 64, 68, 78.
...., English succour for Ostend solicited by, 36.
...., Venetian representations against English piracy backed by Ambassador of, in Turkey, 41.
...., policy of King James towards, repayment of loans to, demanded, ancient claims against revived, 55.
...., relations of, to United Netherlands and Spain, 55.
...., passage through, for Spanish troops, to Flanders, granted, 62.
...., representative of, in England, objected to, 63, 67, 73.
...., policy of, towards England and Spain, touching Holland, 64, 69.
...., hostility to, of James I., 66.
...., claim for board as well as lodging by Extraordinary Embassy from, in England, 72, granted, 97.
...., repayment by, on account, of English loans, 73, 90.
...., French ship made to strike flag by English Vice-Admiral, 81, 86.
...., mission of the Marquis de Rosny from, in England, 81, 86, 87; summary of results of, 90, 93, 98, 100, 107; précis of signed agreement, 124; 136, 139, 141, 147, 154; text of, 161, 162 (text); 259.
...., importance to Spain of Dutch not securing support of, 82.
...., ships of, taken by English pirates in Mediterranean, 85.
...., soldiery from, in service of Empire, revolt, 88, 115.
...., debt due from to England, assigned in part to Dutch, 90, 107, 136, 154, 168.
...., Raleigh's plot supposed to be hatched in, 96, 127.
...., title of "King of France" surrendered by James I., 98, 142, 240, 249.
...., pecuniary aid from, for Dutch, 104.
...., heretical book suppressed in, 108. *See also* 93.
...., English negotiations with, 114.
...., Embassy of, in London, foreigners attend Mass at, 118.
France (1603)—*cont.*
...., French and English fall out in Dutch camp, 118.
...., relations in, of Huguenots to King, and to England, 138.
...., trade between, and England, injured by plague, 145.
...., enlistments in, for Dutch service, why tolerated, 147.
...., payments, under secret treaty with King James, to Dutch, of English loan and own, 168, 200.
..... (1604), precedence of Ambassador of, disputed by Spaniards, 201. *See* "Precedence."
...., Scottish guard in, Prince Charles, with title of Duke of Albany, to command, 205, 270, 375.
...., arrest of an ex-servant of Mary Queen of Scots in, 228, who reveals the Marquise de Verneuil's plot, 235, 239.
...., free-trade between, and Spain, English offer of mediation to secure, 245; arrangement arrived at, 259; delayed, 274; confirmed, 292; further negotiations, 333.
...., French aid for Dutch in spite of treaty with Spain; analogous case of England, 267.
...., treaty between, and "King of Scots," voided by assumption of title of "Britain"; nature of treaty, 301, negotiations for renewal, 325.
..... (1605), continuous support of Dutch by, 319.
...., reports current in, of imminent outbreak of great revolution in England, consequent anxiety, 341, 442.
...., change of Ambassadors of, in Turkey, 342.
...., friction between, and England, 343, 359, 370, 395.
...., protectorate by, over Dutch, dreaded in England, 365.
...., supposed English designs on fortresses in, 405.
...., trade between, and England, proposal to form a "French Company" in England to control, 427.
...., disturbances in, 428.
...., special embassy from, to England, to congratulate on discovery of Gunpowder Plot, 450, 456.
..... (1606), aid openly contributed from, to Dutch, 483.
..... (1607), pirate from Toulon, 655.
...., Spanish galleons wrecked on coast of, 680.
...., relations between, and the Grisons, 690.
...., French intrigues in Scotland, 718.
...., Anglo-Scottish relations with. 739 (*pp.* 517-518).

Franceschi, ——, his cipher, 671*n*.
Franchesi *alias* Cotto, Giacomo and Tommaso, conspirators, 550 *and note*, 553, in Tower, 556, 562, 565.
Francis I., of France, 81.
Frankendall, Burgrave of, 390*n*.
Frankfort, saltpetre sold at fair at, 35.
Franqueza, or Franquezza, Don Pedro, Spanish Secretary, 452, 468, 481; his ruin; probable effect of his fall on prosecution of war with Dutch, 668; one of his favourites condemned to death for sale of secrets to Duke of Tuscany, the execution deferred, for sake of evidence against, 678; jewels, money, and relics, found concealed in house of; his good courage in prison, 685.
Frederick, Elector Palatine. *See* Palatine.
..... II., King of Denmark, father of Queen Anne, 91.
Frederici, the Brothers, Venetians in London, 118, 187.
Free Cities, Ambassadors of the. *See* Hanse Towns.
Free Trade. *See* Trade.
Freiburg, 644.
Fresne-Canaye, Philippe de, French Ambassador at Venice, league against Spain proposed by, on own initiative, 688; his irresponsible statements to Sir Henry Wotton, 690, 691; English suspicions aroused by his proposal and subsequent withdrawal of suggestion of a league, 692; his proposal of a league disavowed at home, 711, 719.
Frias, Duke of. *See* Velasco.
Friesland, 73, 527, 550, 556.
Fuentes, Count of. *See* Azevedo.
Fuggers, the, 109.
Fumo, —— dal, safe conduct for, 582, 588.

G

Gabriel, Zaccharia, Venetian Governor in Corfu, despatches from, 176, 195.
Gaeta, 622.
Galizabre, ships called, 141.
Gall nuts. *See* Trade.
Galley slaves, freed by Count Maurice, 261.
Gallo, Cape, 152.
Gambaloite, Lodovico, his plot at Crema. 661.
Gardiner, Prof. S. R., cited, 40, 101, 111, 118 (*bis*), 167, 172, 207, 214, 229, 242, 266, 313, 347 (*bis*), 353, 365, 373, 390, 440, 496, 534, 535, 536, 547 (*bis*), 555, 699, 707, 714 *notes*.
Gardiner, Thomas, master of the "Angel," 129, ("Garnar"), 328.
Garnar, Capt. Thomas. *See* Gardiner.
Garnet, Henry, Provincial of Jesuits, letter of quoted, 397*n*; taken at Hindlip, 486 *and note*, 498; not tortured, his perjury and equivocation at public examination shocking to co-religionists, 510; discourse on, by Sir Henry Wotton, 518; his execution, 523; book based on his examination, 635; his "life and death" published in Flanders; King James' annoyance, 714.
Garter, Order of, conferred, 81; description of Chapter of Order, 216; conferred on Duke of Wirtemberg, 216; Chapter of, held, 365, investitures at, 368; investiture of, at Windsor, King of Denmark represented by Ambassador, 427; ceremony of, on St. George's Day; protests against inclusion in Order, of Lords Salisbury and Montgomery, 517; Cecil and Howard of Bindon receive, 522; Cecil's splendid installation, 527; Chapter of, on St. George's Day, held by King, 727.
"*Garter*" *missions*, Earl of Rutland's to Denmark, 81.
Garway, Thomas, of London, merchant, 129.
Gastuni, letters dated at, 30, 49; Englishman imprisoned at, 47, 88.
Gazzettas, Venetian coin, 23.
Geneva, Ambassadors from, in England, 142.
Genoa, arming, 521; letter by Republic of, 583; financial disaster in, 608*n*.
"Geopandita." *See* Ships.
"George Buonaventura." *See* Ships.
Gerard, Thomas, Lord Gerard of Gerard's Bromley, Coronation Peerage, 105*n*.
Germany (Holy Roman Empire) (1603), French in service of Emperor, in Hungary, revolt, 88.
...., English envoy for, to announce King's succession, 91.
...., proposed inclusion in, of Flanders, 111.
..... (1604), Agent from, invites inclusion of Dutch in, 261.
..... (1605), England not represented at Court of, 350.
...., Sir Anthony Sherley received in audience by Emperor, 382.
...., Embassy from, to England, to ask aid against Turk in Hungary, 396, 404, 408.
...., Agent from Emperor in England, touching election of King of the Romans, 426.
...., King James intercedes with, for favourite of Duke of Holstein, 426.
..... (1606), special embassy expected from, with congratulations to King James on escape, 474.
...., Henry IV.'s supposed design to secure election to, 511.

Germany (1606)—*cont.*
...., visit to England of King of Denmark and Duke of Wirtemberg, connected with succession to Empire, 511, 537.
...., supposed candidature for Empire of King of Denmark, 566.
...., Sir Anthony Sherley's alleged mission from, to Morocco and Spain, 607.
...., report to Resident of, in Venice, by spy, 611, 617, 630.
...., league of German (Protestant) Princes against Pope, suggested, to succour Venice, 617, 641, 664.
...., Spanish intrigue to secure Empire, 625.
..... (1607), peace between, and Turks, concluded; disgust of James I., 654.
...., Sir Henry Wotton's review of affairs of; concern of King of Spain in election of King of the Romans; proposal for match between Emperor and daughter of Savoy; suggestion for converting Diet of, into a Council, 673.
...., Imperial embassy from, expected in Venice, 696, 704, 705, 717.
...., English relations with, 739 (*p.* 517).
German Exchange House at Venice, privileges of, 294.
"Ghirarda." *See* Ships.
Ghoen, ——, Irishman, conspirator, 562.
Gibraltar (Gyblaltar), Straits of, 78, 125, 146, 166, 170, 331.
Gifford, Richard, his piracy, 53.
Gilborne, Sir George, Knt., 109.
Girardo, Girolamo, Venetian Secretary in England, despatch from, 288.
Giustinian, Giacomo, Proveditore of the Venetian galleys. 209.
....., Giovanni Battista, 25; letter from, 26.
....., Simon, supercargo of the "San Giovanni Battista," deposition by, 21.
Giustiniano, or Giustinian, Georgio, or Zorzi, Venetian Ambassador in *England*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 444, 458, 465, 473, 474, 482, 483, 484, 486, 487, 489, 490, 498, 499, 502, 503, 510, 511, 515, 516, 517, 522, 523, 526, 527, 531, 532, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 544, 546, 547, 550, 551, 553, 554, 556, 560, 561, 563, 564, 566, 569, 570, 573, 578, 579, 583, 584, 585, 589, 591, 592, 595, 596, 598, 599, 608, 618, 619, 623, 627, 628, 629, 632, 635, 636, 642, 643, 644, 652, 654, 655, 659, 660, 665, 666, 667, 669, 674, 675, 680, 683, 684, 689, 690, 691, 692, 694, 699, 701, 702, 707, 713, 714, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 726, 727, 730, 732, 733, 735, 737, 738.
Giustiniano, Georgio—*cont.*
...., instructions to, 430, 514, 548, 549, 557, 677.
...., his appointment, 356, arrives at Paris, 444, at Dieppe, 453, 458, at Portsmouth; his reception in London, 465; received in audience, 473, 489, 498, 531; invited to see Parliament dissolved, 531; his conduct approved, 548; audience with King, 553, to beg aid for Venice against Pope, 561; received by Queen, 589, by King, 591; his entertainment to the Court, 696.
Glarentza, 4.
Glasgow, Archbishop of. *See* Beaton, James.
Glasses. *See* Trade.
Gloucester, Duke of. *See* Plantagenet.
Glover, Sir Thomas, appointed (1606) English Ambassador in Turkey, 617, 624, 650; his entry (1607) into Constantinople, 657; endeavours to obtain church for Anglican worship, 712; his claim that shipping of natives without representatives accredited to the Porte should be under English flag, 712, vehemently opposed by French Ambassador, and condemned by Venetian Ambassador as historically untenable, 724.
Glover, Walter, and Company, 129.
Godwin, Sir Francis, and the Buckinghamshire election, 205 *and note*, 207, 214.
Gold, "millions" of, 721, 739 (*p.* 502), Appendix IV. (*pp.* 534-535).
Gold mine in Scotland, 341.
Gondy (*Gondi*), Anne de, daughter of Jerome, wife of the Baron du Tour, 55.
....., Jerome de, Baron de Codun, 55.
Gontaut, Jean de, Baron de Salagnac (Salignac), appointed Ambassador (1605) from France to Turkey, 342; opposes English claim to cover shipping of other nations with flag, 712, 724.
Gordon, George, Marquess and Earl of Huntly, his opposition to the Union, 147; appears ("Marquis of Doncla") at Court to justify himself and Roman Catholics, 355; suspected ("Marquis of Donall") of knowledge of Gunpowder Plot, 456.
Gorges, Arthur, Knt. (?). *See* Selvago.
Gowrie Conspiracy, 652*n*; King James' habit of attending chapel on Tuesday in memory of his escape from. 739 (*p.* 513) *and note.*
Goza, 7.
"Grace," the. *See* Ships.
Grand Signor, orders from to Beglierbey of Tunis, 42.
"Grassa." *See* Ships.
Gratz, 630.

Graubünden. *See* Grisons.
Grave, possible Spanish attack on, 538, 556.
Gravelines, proposed French attack on, 264; Lord Sidney at, 416.
Gravener, Solomon (Salamon), petitions Privy Council, 23.
Gravesend, Spanish envoy received at, 261; recruits leave, for Holland, 274: Imperial Ambassador arrives at, 404; Count of Vaudemont at, 589.
Gray *alias* Douglas, Thomas, forger, 390, 396.
Great Britain, James I., like King Arthur, to be styled King of, 12, 16, 69, 132; assumes title by proclamation, 292; effect of change of title on earlier treaties, 301; the title in use, 439, 481, 518.
Greenwich, King James visits, 55, receives Ambassadors at, 66; Court at, 72, 81, 223, 227, 242, 307, 312, 344, 355, 360, 526, 531, 544, 556, 561.
Gregory XIII., supports Scottish student. 147.
Grey, Henry, Lord Grey of Groby, coronation peerage, 105*n*.
....., Lady Jane, her execution, 22.
....., Thomas, Lord Grey de Wilton. arrested for Raleigh's plot, 101, sentenced, 167, reprieved, 175.
"Greyhound." *See* Ships.
Grimani, Alvise, Venetian Senator, 1.
....., Gerome, son of Giacomo, 309.
....., Marino, Doge of Venice, receives Sir Henry Wotton, 275; his death, 461, 475.
Grisons, Graubünden, the, Venetian league with, Papal dislike to, 165, 522; mentioned, 644; French relations with, King James' opinion on, as excuse for French support of Venice, 690, 691; embassy from to Venice, 696; reported movements by, in Valtelline, 702; French and Venetian support of, 707.
Gritti, Ser Dominico, 615*n*.
Grœnlo, taken by Spaniards, 570, 573; recovery of, designed by Count Maurice, 608, recovered, 618, abandoned, 642.
Grossi, 524, 598. 619.
Guagnini, Matteo, of Verona, his cause taken up by Sir Henry Wotton, 736
Guicciardini family, one of, intermediary between James I. and Pope, 34.
Guise, Claude Duc de, 81.
....., Duke of, 130, 345.
Gulf, the. *See* Adriatic.
Gunpowder, exported from England, 233. 236, 313, 453. 470, 477, 494, 658; supplied by Englishman to Pope, 658, 708, to Turks, 712.
Gunpowder Plot, account of discovery of, communicated to Venetian Ambassador by Council, 442. 443, suspected connivance of the Earl of Northumberland, the Pope, and the French Ambassador, 443, 445; proclamation for arrest of conspirators, and announcing that foreign princes had no part in, 446, 459; King's speech to Parliament concerning, 447; arrest of conspirators by Sheriff of Warwickshire, 447; King's discourse about, to Venetian Ambassador, 447; French opinion concerning, 450; commissioners to attend examinations of prisoners, 454; attitude towards of Spain and Archduke, 454, 455, 457; Anglo-Scottish relations affected by, 456; alleged knowledge in France of design, 457; Roman Catholics responsible for, 464; remaining conspirators taken, 474; official account of, by Sir Henry Wotton, 475; Venetian acknowledgements of news of, and congratulations, 478, 479; sentence passed on conspirators, and executed, 483; Garnet and Oldcorne taken, 485 *and note*, their alleged examination with torture, 490; their servant tortured, his alleged suicide, 498; public examination of Henry Garnet, his cognisance of plot, his untruthfulness, 510, discourse on, by Sir Henry Wotton, 518, his execution, 523; Roman Catholic lords fined, 538; Earl of Northumberland's connexion with, proved, his sentence, 547; anniversary of, to be observed, 623.

H

Hague, the, despatch dated from, 184; British resident at, well informed, 736.
Halil Pasha, appointed Grand Vizier, 177, his death, 256.
Hamburg, Danish aggression in, English intervention sought, 251; Ambassador of Lithuania embarks at, 345.
Hammond, John, M.D., physician to Prince of Wales, 167.
"Hampton Court Conference," germ of, 136; postponed, 158; assembles, 187.
Hampton Court, co. Middx., King at, 97; description of, 102; Court leaves, 105, returns to, 172, 274, 278, 288; Queen at, 435; King at, 453, 583, 589, 596; plague appears at, 599; King expected at, 608; Queen leaves, 618.
Hanse towns, Ambassadors from, in England, desiring confirmation of ancient rights, and intervention of King with Danes, 251; their small success,

Hanse towns, Ambassadors from—*cont.*
278: backed by Imperial Ambassador, 408; question of their privileges, 433.

Hardwicke, co. Derby, 368*n*.

Harington, John, Lord Harington of Exton, Coronation peerage, 105*n*; tutor of the Princess Elizabeth, 447*n*.

Harlay, Christophe de, Comte de Beaumont, French Ambassador in England, letter from to French Ambassador (1603) in Spain, 32; attends Queen Elizabeth's funeral, 36; rivalry between, and the Baron du Tour, 55, 63; his recall requested by King James, 63, 67, 73; received by King James, 76; in communication with Dutch Ambassadors, 81; attends Coronation, 105; instructions to, 141; baptism (1604) of his daughter, the Queen being sponsor, the occasion of his reconciliation with Spanish Ambassador over question of precedence, 220: suspicious (1605) of proposed match between Prince of Wales and Infanta; no progress with his negotiation (*see* 301) for renewal of alliance between France and Scotland; unable to get recognition of precedence over Spanish Ambassador, 325; his anger over question of precedence, 332, 343; offended, 345; suspected of connivance in Gunpowder plot, his hurried departure, 443, 445, 450, alleged proof, 457.

Harpur, ——, Secretary, 306.

Harquebusses, trade in, 494.

Harrington, co. N'hamp., 368*n*.

Harris (Arice), ——, his piracy, 53.

Hassan Pasha, his death, 329.

....., husband of Sultan's aunt, appointed Lieutenant Grand Vizier, 640; Venetian Ambassador explains quarrel between Republic and Pope to, 649.

Haultain, ——, in command of Dutch, destroys Spanish fleet, 385*n*.

Havering (Avrin), co. Essex, King at, 404.

Havre de Grace, route *viâ* to Southampton, 149, 151, 159; despatch dated from, 174.

Hay, Francis, Earl of Erroll, Hereditary Constable of Scotland, his views on Union, 147.

....., James, knt., Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King James, afterwards Lord Hay, Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle, his mission to France, 202, 203, 206; his marriage, 665*n*.

Haydock, Richard, of New College, the "Sleeping Preacher," 364 *and note*, 368.

Henry IV. of France (1603), orders Ambassador to attend Queen Elizabeth's funeral, 36.

...., advised to abolish Scottish guard, 38.

...., his annoyance at King James' objection to his representative in England, 63, 67, 73.

...., his illness; regret at the youthfulness of his heir, 64.

...., his policy, *quâ* Holland, 64, denounced by James I., 66.

...., called "King of France," by James I., by Elizabeth "His Catholic Majesty," 66.

...., King James asked to intercede with, for Duke of Bouillon, 72.

...., conditions imposed by, as the price of his assistance of King James, prior to accession; James' resentment at, 73.

.. .., his sarcasm, at King James expense, 73.

...., importance attached by, to de Rosny's mission, 81.

...., his secret support of Dutch, after peace of Vervins, 90.

...., his desire for war with Spain restrained by fear of attack over wide area, and by respect for Pope, 90.

. ..., proposal for his daughter's betrothal to Prince of Wales, 107.

...., his efforts on behalf of English Roman Catholics, 111.

...., proposal for his son's betrothal to Princess Elizabeth, of England, 136.

...., his estimate of King James, and the effects of Anglo-Spanish peace, 137.

...., horses presented by, to King James, 141, 185.

...., his pledge to prevent King James' "excommunication" by Pope, 141.

...., described by King James as "his oldest and dearest friend," 169.

..... (1604), has the gout, 179.

...., his "confessor" stabbed, 183.

...., jewels presented by, to Anne (of Denmark), and cash to the Council, 191.

...., death of "Madame," his sister, Duchess of Bar; English condolences, 202, 203.

...., communications to, of King James, *re* treaty with Spain, 203.

... ., offended at recommendation in favour of Calvinists, 206.

...., his anxiety at treachery of de Villeroy's secretary, 215, 222.

...., discovers the Marquise de Verneuil's plot, 235, through the arrest of an ex-servant of Mary Queen of Scots, 228, 308.

Henry IV. of France (1604)—*cont.*
...., articles of the Anglo-Spanish treaty, reported to, by King James, 240, 245; his warning to King James of the treachery underlying the favourable terms allowed by Spain, 247.
...., his high esteem for "Father" Cotton, 249.
...., his treachery towards King James, in fostering rebellion in England, disclosed to Spaniards by Secretary Tes, and discovered by them to King James, 249; consequent suspicions, 258.
...., presents of mules for, from James I., 258.
...., terms of the Anglo-Spanish treaty, reported to him by Cecil, 259.
...., De Rosny's advice to, to surprize Gravelines and Dunquerque, 264.
...., assistance rendered by, to Dutch, in spite of peace of Vervins; analogous case in England, 267.
...., his distrust of Scottish guard after James I.'s accession, 269.
..... (1605), intercession of Duke of Lennox with, for the Marquise de Verneuil and her father, 335, with eventual success, 351.
...., respites the Count d'Auvergne and M. d'Entragues, 343.
...., "covering" in his presence, 345, 348.
...., question of English cloth seized at Rouen, 343, 359; his refusal to send a Commissioner (of Trade) to England, 370.
...., his complaint of English embassy to Spain, and conveying of Spanish troops on English ships, 370.
...., pays Scottish guard, and sends money to England, 375.
...., question of the Papal dispensation for his marriage and the legitimacy of his heir, 399.
...., his comment on King James' devotion to hunting, 402.
...., suspected of complicity in Gunpowder plot, 443; news communicated to, 450; energetic repudiation, 457.
..... (1606), his preparations against the Duke of Bouillon supposed to be preparatory to a reconciliation, 490, and to be intended to succour Dutch, 499, 500, 506.
...., comes to terms with Duke of Bouillon, 511.
...., supposed desire of, to secure election to Empire, 511.
....., ..., reported protest by, against election of Lord Salisbury as K.G., 517.

Henry IV. of France (1606)—*cont.*
...., escapes drowning, English congratulations, 537 *and note*.
...., invites King James to attend the baptism of his daughter, difficulty of precedence over Papal Nuncio, 537, settled, 542.
...., his "confessor," a Jesuit, disposes him against Venice, 543.
...., assists Venice against Pope, 561, 564, 588, 590, 593.
...., presses claim to precedence in England over Spain, the King of Denmark having refused, on English example, to decide, 583.
...., urges Count Maurice to decisive action, 583.
...., his estimate of the value of King James' promises, 586.
...., his grandfather deprived of kingdom of Navarre by "excommunication"; reserved his rights to, at treaty of Vervins; attitude of, to quarrel of Venice and Pope affected by, 588.
...., intervenes between Pope and Venice, 625, 627.
...., suspected in England of designing a protectorate of the Netherlands, 632.
...., his Envoy arrives in Venice, 635.
..... (1607), his confessor. Cotton, works on him, to secure return of Jesuit order to Venetian State, 656.
...., points out to Venetian Ambassador that European opinion was not on side of Republic, and England could not be relied on for military aid, 662.
...., notified by Venetian Republic of desire for alliance, 672.
...., would "outrage the ancient title of his Crown" by supporting Venice against Pope, Duke of Lerma's statement, 679.
...., statement by de la Boderie, his Ambassador in England, that his scruples as to Pope were outweighed by Spanish preparations in Italy; alliance desired by, with England and Italian princes, 684 *and note*.
...., pressed for reply touching proposed league against Spain, 687, which he defers, 688; his Ambassador in Venice thrown over, 688.
...., his expenditure in aid of Dutch, 688.
...., excuse offered by the affairs of the Grisons for his interference on behalf of Venice against the Pope, 690, 691.
...., his infatuation for the Jesuits; his intention to introduce them into Rochelle, 690, 691, into Venice, 692.

Henry IV. (1607)—*cont.*
...., his attitude to Venice governed by his position as "mediator" between, and Pope, 690, 691; Lord Salisbury's views on, 692.
...., opinion of Venetian Ambassador in France that he would break with Spain, but not with Pope, 693.
...., anxiety in England as to his attitude *quâ* Venice, 699.
...., proposed surrender to, by Dutch, of strong places, as security for advances; English jealousy, 701, 707.
...., supports the Grisons, 707.
...., contempt expressed by, for King James; warns Venetians to put no trust in him, 710.
...., declines discussion of League with Venice, 710.
...., his policy towards England, as affected by accommodation between Venice and Pope, 720.
...., negotiates for common action with England, *re* Dutch, on occasion of truce; English suspicions of, 732.
Henry VII., his tomb in Westminster Abbey, 36.
Henry VIII., his raising money on loan by way of Privy Seal, 261: analogy between, and Henry IV. of France, 399; mentioned, 521.
Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I., to be styled "King of Scotland," 6; "Basilikon Doron" dedicated to, 22; left in Scotland, to represent Crown, on father's accession, 28; young Lord Essex to be his companion, 40; separated from his mother on religious grounds, 66, who is refused leave to take him to England, 66, 67; French proposal that he should remain in Scotland, as King, 12, 73, or to be educated in France, 73; Spanish proposal for his betrothal to daughter of Duke of Savoy, 81; Garter conferred on, 81; allowed to come to England with Queen, 81; description of, æt. 10, 104; proposal for a match between and daughter of Henry IV. of France, 107, the Infanta, 136; repudiation by his father of pledge to educate him as a Roman Catholic, 118, 140, 353; Venetian Senate's letter to, bigger than himself, 164; his "Governor," 167 *note;* dines at house of Venetian Ambassadors, 167, 169; his physician, 167; rides before father at State entry into London, 201; attends Chapter of Garter, 216; dances and rides before the Constable of Castille, who gives him a pony, 266; Venetian compliments to, 278, 281; intrigue for his marriage to Duke of Savoy's daughter, 290; proposal to marry, to Infanta, with
Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales—*cont.*
Low Countries as her dower, 313, 325, 393, 399, 411; attends wedding of Lord Montgomery, 323; reported decision of King to educate in Scotland, 456, 464; controversial pamphlets for, 584, horse for, 599; schemes for his marriage, 638; English view, viz., his marriage to the Infanta, with Holland as her dower, 679; his offer, if he were old enough to come and fight for Venice, 728; his admirable character, and his father's jealousy of him, 739 (pp. 513-514).
Heralds, proclamation of James I. by King-at-arms, 32; precedence at Coronation determined by, 40; attend Coronation, 105.
Herbert, John, knt., Second Secretary, returns (1603) from Denmark, 34; appointed (1605) to adjust Anglo-Venetian claims, 321, 328, 336, 345, but does not act, 585.
....., Philip, knt., Earl of Montgomery, "prime favourite" of King James, married to Lady Susan Vere, 323 *and note;* "a youth of twenty" created Earl of Montgomery with large present, 368, 384; proposal to create K.G., 517.
....., William, Earl of Pembroke, conduct of, at Coronation of James I., 105; appointed Ambassador to France, 160; King his guest at Wilton, 164; his brother's marriage, 323; attends Imperial Ambassador, 404, the Spanish Ambassador, 404.
Hereford, Bishop of. *See* Bennet, Robert.
Herefordshire ("Wales"), Roman Catholic disturbances in, 384, 390, 397, 408, Pope's disapproval of, 432.
Heriedi, Francesco di, of Zante, letter from, 30; mentioned, 88.
Hertford, Earl of. *See* Seymour.
Hesse, Landgrave of, expected to attend Coronation of James I., 34; Sir Henry Wotton's service at Court of, 664.
Hindlip, co. Worc., 486*n*, 498*n*.
Holbini, Vincenzo, of Ragusa, 388.
Holland. *See* Netherlands, United.
Holland (Ollant), ——, his piracy, 53.
Holstein, Duke of. *See* Ulric.
Home (Huuen), Alexander, Lord Home, Ambassador from Scotland to France, 36 *and note;* to command English levies for Archduke, 385, forbidden to go to Flanders, 464.
Horses, imported to England, 141, 185, 216.
Hospital, Louis Gallacio de l', Marquis de Vitry, Captain of the French Royal Guard, his secret mission to England, 114, 130, 132, 136; departs, nature of mission, 141, 147, 148;

Hospital, Louis Gallacio de l'—*cont.*
specially invited back, 402; his embassy ("Duc" de Vitry) to Venice, 635 *and note.*

Howard, Catherine, Queen, her execution, 22.

....., Charles, Lord Effingham, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, employed on peace negotiations with Flanders, 36; connives with English "pirates" in Mediterranean, 86; a Commissioner to confer with M. de Rosny, 87; bribed by "pirate," 127, 132, 135, accused of it to King, 141; restores part of booty, 145, but exacts present from King, for loss of perquisites, 166; attends Prince of Wales to dinner at Venetian Ambassadors', 167; his apologies to the Ambassadors on subject of piracy; his interests opposed to redress, 167: serves King at banquet with water, 169; Anglo-Spanish peace Commissioner, 229; his son attends Constable of Castille to Court, 266; signs treaty of peace with Spain, 268; to go Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain, 301; given post held by Sir Walter Raleigh, which he sells to apply proceeds to Spanish embassy, 312; delay in his arrival in Spain, 326, 333, 346, 348; date of departure fixed, 352; arrives in Spain, 354, 357; his instructions, 360; to be kept in Spain, as hostage, 362; present to, from Archduke, 365; expected at Spanish court, 366; his state entry, 372; diamond presented to, at signing of treaty, 383; Spanish bribe for, to secure delivery of Flushing, 386; business at Spanish Court suspended during his stay, 392; hearty dislike to, of Sir Charles Cornwallis, resident Ambassador in Spain, 393; to be received, on return, by King at Oatlands; omission of Spanish King to invite him to dine with him, 396; recommends Captain King to favour of Venetian government, 403; his reception on his return by King; his Spanish pension, 404; report by Sir Charles Cornwallis on his conduct in Spain, his consequent disgrace, 411; a Commissioner to attend examinations in the affair of the Gunpowder Plot, 454; further effect of Cornwallis' dislike to his behaviour in Spain, 474; advises friend to withdraw capital from Spain, 564; conversation between, and King of Denmark, 566; solicits safe conduct at Venice for Edward Peutres, 730.

....., Henry, Lord Howard of Marnhill, Earl of Northampton, sworn of Privy Council, 55 *note;* follows King to church, 66; attends Venetian Ambasadors, 164, 169;

Howard, Henry—*cont.*
created Earl of Northampton, 201; Anglo-Spanish peace Commissioner, 229; receives the Constable of Castille at Gravesend, 261; signs treaty of peace with Spain, 268; present to, from Archduke, 365; invested K.G., 368; attends Spanish Ambassador to Court, 404; a Gunpowder Plot Commissioner, 454; his book against the temporal claims of Papacy, 635, 642; his interest, as Privy Councillor, engaged by Spain, his endeavours to promote good relations between, and England, 714.

....., Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, betrothed to Mary Queen of Scots and beheaded, favour shewn by James I. to his descendants, 34; mentioned, 55, 164; his grandson restored in blood, 214.

....., Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, restored in blood, 214; his wealth and position; to accompany the Earl of Nottingham to Spain, 301.

....., Thomas, Lord Howard de Walden, Earl of Suffolk, sworn of Privy Council (1603), 34, 55; Grand Chamberlain, 102; created Earl of Suffolk, 105*n*; acts as Chamberlain, 169; takes up "farm" of currant tax, 295, and sublets it, 306, his friends in Privy Council support his interest in "farm" against Levant merchants, 340, 348; a Gunpowder Plot Commissioner, 454; marriage of his daughters to Lord Essex and Lord Cranborne, 463; Earl of Northumberland's office of Captain of Band of Gentleman Pensioners conferred on, 547; mentioned, 561.

....., Thomas, Viscount Howard of Bindon, protégé of Cecil, receives Garter, 522, 527.

....., William, Lord Effingham, son and heir apparent of Earl of Nottingham, attends Constable of Castille to Court, 266.

Hudson, ——, Agent of James I., before his accession, 22.

Huguenots, one appointed Ambassador to England, 17; advances by, to King James, 138.

Hume, George, knt., Lord Hume of Berwick, and Earl of Dunbar, Treasurer of Scotland, sworn of English Privy Council, 55 *and note,* "prime favourite" of King James, leaves for Scotland, 456; his influence with the King, 739 (p. 515).

Hungary, French soldiers in, 88; Turkish General in (Mehmet), appointed Grand Vizier, 273; recruiting in England, for service in, 295, 384; Grand Vizier in, 329; Emperor solicits English aid against Turk in,

Hungary—*cont.*
396, 408; Turkish General in (Murad), appointed Grand Vizier, 640; the conclusion of peace in, between Turks and the Empire would liberate soldiers for defence of Venice against Pope, 641.
Hunsdon, Lord. *See* Cary.
Huntly, Earl of. *See* Gordon, George.

I

Idiaquez, Don Juan d', 452; receives Sir Anthony Sherley (1606) in audience, 607.
"Ima." *See* Ships.
Indies, East, return of Dutch fleet from, 6; limited right of navigation to, to be allowed Dutch, 73; Spanish demand that English trade with shall cease; English firmly established there, 142; free navigation claimed in, by King James, 154; fleets fitting out for, in England, 186, 191; refusal by Spanish of English commerce with, 233; navigation with, to be free, 242, 248; prohibition of trade with, detested in England, 278; question whether or no, under Anglo-Spanish treaty, it was prohibited, 291; profitable nature of trade with; English capital engaged in Turkey transferred to, 364; Dutch effect settlement in, 515; determination of English to retain "India navigation," 566; Dutch fleet for, 701; Englishmen arrested by Spanish authorities for trading in, their release refused, 709; English fleet sails for, 714; Spanish success in, 716, contradicted, 721.
....., West, outrage on Englishmen, by Spaniards in, 307, 511, Cecil's remonstances and assertion of English claim to share trade of, 511; departure to, on voyage of discovery, of Englishmen used to privateering, 515, 517, 523; Spanish trade with, harried by Dutch, 538; letters of marque granted to English merchants trading with, 553; Dutch permanent settlements in, 579; Dutch offer to keep strong fleet in, 632; revenue derived from, sole source of Spanish power, 688; Dutch ships in, taken by Spanish; Dutch reinforcements for, 701.
Infanta of Flanders, childless, 136, 399.
..... of Spain, marriages proposed for, 313, 325, 393, 399, 411, 638, 679.
Infante of Spain, childless, 73.
Inglefield. *See* Englefield.
Inquisition, abolition of, demanded by Queen Elizabeth; the same demand to be preferred by King James, 107, 142, 242, 246; demand by, for person of reputed traitor, on ground of insult to relics, 685.
Insurance, Marine, 128, 153.
Interdicts, Papal, 521, 617, 622.
International Law ("rights of nations"), applied to freedom of worship in embassies, 131 (*see* 118).
Ionian Islands, 109. *See* Zante.
Ireland (1603), Spanish expedition against, abandoned on accession of James I., 31.
...., Roman Catholics in, resume churches, 66.
...., money sent to, from Spain, to foment insurrection, 83, returned, 95.
...., demands formulated on behalf of, viz., removal of Justices, reform of currency, and freedom of worship, resented by King, 113; alarm of Earl of Tyrone at treatment of deputation, 118.
...., claimed as a Papal fief; the title of "Lord of Ireland" accordingly omitted in Spanish credentials to King James, 142, 163; and similarly in Florentine, 147.
..... (1605), parliament to meet in, 433.
...., King James' scheme for converting, by Protestant preachers, 433, 453, 464.
...., leave to recruit in, obtained by Spanish Ambassador; mismanagement of the affair; subsequent Royal proclamation forbidding; the Archduke loses the services of a "large body of ferocious soldiers," 440.
..... (1606), religious disturbances in, 487.
...., revolt of O'Neil's son-in-law, 487.
...., service with Archduke forbidden to Irish, 511.
...., rising in, 553.
..... (1607). Spanish welcome to refugees from, 703.
....., Viceroy of. *See* Blount, Charles.
Irish proverb, 715.
Iron. See Trade.
Isaack, Nicholas, master of the "Thomasina," 555.
Ismail, candidate for throne of Morocco, 297.
Istria, 210.
Italy, to be included in field of Levant Company, 427.
Ivatt, Thomas, of London, merchant, 129

J

Jacqueline, Countess of Holland, Zealand and Hainault, wife of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, her right usurped by House of Burgundy, 230.

James I., of England (1603), letter from, to Lord Mayor of London, 6.

...., promises to support established religion, 6.

...., puts slight on Privy Council, 6, 22.

...., his agent in London solicits Venetian alliance, 6.

...., money voted for his journey to England, 6, 28.

...., his family, 6.

...., French view of his succession, 10, 16.

...., enters Berwick on Tweed; significance of, 12.

...., inclines to style of "King of Great Britain," 12, 16.

...., his orders to the Council "during pleasure," 12.

...., to be "crowned, consecrated, and anointed," like Kings of France and of the Romans, 12, 69.

...., French negotiations with in Queen Elizabeth's lifetime, directed against the union of the crowns, and the use of the title "King of France," 12, 16.

...., his relations with the Pope, prior to his succession; with Spain; and with France, 16, 34, 91.

...., his character, able, secretive, personally timid, 17.

...., ..., lettered, sportsman, linguist, 22.

...., declines to see Queen Elizabeth, even dead, as author of his mother's execution, 22.

...., his religion, shewn by the "Basilikon Doron" to be Protestant, not Calvinistic, 22 *and note*.

...., his negotiations with Venice, before his accession, 22.

...., leaves eldest son in Scotland, 28.

...., his proclamation at Richmond and London, 32.

...., his accession agreeable to English and Scots alike, a proof of his judgment, or luck, 32, 33.

...., honours conferred by, on English nobility, proof of his relations with them in Queen's lifetime, 34.

...., his intrigues with Pope, &c., solely due to desire to secure succession, 34, 36.

James I., of England (1603)—*cont.*

...., coronation of, and Queen, fixed for St. John's day, O.S., 34.

...., urged to succour Ostend, 34, disinclined, 36.

...., "rebellious nature of Scottish" inclines him to peace, 36.

...., his adhesion to a "General Council," if summoned by the Pope, for re-union of Christendom, predicted by Lord Kinloss, 36.

...., revenue and treasure of, in England, at his accession, 36.

...., his entry into London fixed for May 14, 38.

...., personal appeals to, of Roman Catholics, 38, rejected, 40.

...., refuses to wear mourning for Queen, 40.

...., begins English housekeeping at Theobalds, 40.

...., "lukewarm and languid" by nature, efforts to encourage him in "rude" sports, and to act on his prerogative, 40.

...., criminals hung on his warrant only, at stages of his journey to London, 40.

...., his attitude to those responsible for his mother's death, and to persons concerned in Essex's plot, 40.

...., plots to murder, 40.

...., his coronation postponed to 5 August, 40.

...., stays at Charterhouse, enters Tower, proceeds to Greenwich, 55.

...., appointment by, of Scotsmen, to English office, consequent jealousy; slights Cecil, danger of so doing, 55.

...., supports reformed religion, and affects peace with Spain, consequent danger of French support for Roman Catholics, 55; his claims on France, ancient, and for repayment of Queen's loans, 55; openly discusses and deprecates Dutch demands for aid, 55.

...., his personal objection to French Ambassador, and request for his recall, 63, 67, 73, overcome, 76.

...., description of, giving audiences at Greenwich, his personal resemblance to a Venetian, Frederick Nani; his desire for peace with Spain, his disapproval of the Dutch, as "rebels," desires to be invited to arbitrate between them, and Archduke: contrast between, and the late Queen, 66.

...., his relations to his wife, 66; might marry the Lady Arabella in case of wife's decease, 66.

...., declares himself head of Anglican Church, 66.

James I., of England (1603)—*cont.*
...., question of "anointing" at his coronation; declines to touch for "King's Evil," 69, *cf.* 295.
...., anger of, with Dutch, for trying to intercept Ambassador from Archduke, 69, 72.
...., review of his obligations to Spain, and his desire to retain commerce with, for benefit of Scotland, 69, 91.
...., civil reception by, of Archduke's Envoy, 70.
...., his modest scale of living in Scotland, contrasted with pomp of his English Court, 72.
...., accepts payment from Henry IV., on account of French loans, 73.
...., causes of his resentment against Henry IV., 73.
...., his policy of truce with Spain, and recognition of the States of Holland on the one hand and the Archduke on the other, 73.
...., his indolence, and fear of union of Roman Catholic States against him, incline him to peace, 73.
...., receives Scaramelli in audience, refers to his tutor, Buchanan, and promises to repress buccaneering by sending ship through Straits, 78, promise not kept, 125, 166, 170.
...., resents the appearance of French special mission in mourning for late Queen, 81.
...., his informal interview with Olden-Barneveldt, 81.
...., "no ministers and no law of which he is not the master," a saying of his, 81.
...., his coronation fixed for St. James' day, N.S., 81.
...., money sent to, as present, from Spain, 83.
...., declares question of peace or war "depends upon his own supreme will and not on Parliament," 87.
...., his wearing jewelry, 66, 87.
...., refuses definite alliance with France and Holland, but agrees to levy, by States, of troops in England and Scotland, and assigns part of debt due from France, to States, 90, 98.
...., tells De Rosny he "would never hurt a Catholic," 91.
...., his promises to Pope before accession, 91, 97.
...., Dutch offer of aid to, on accession, 91.
...., dates fixed for entry into London (3 Aug., N.S.), and coronation (5 Aug.); preparations for coronation of, 91.
James I., of England (1603)—*cont.*
...., authorizes French translation of "Basilikon," 93.
...., plot against (Raleigh's) discovered, 96, 101, 111, 124, 127, 132, 136, 158, 160, 164, 167, 168, 172, 175, 179.
...., to stay at Lambeth for Coronation, crossing river to Westminster, to avoid London and plague, 97.
...., enters Tower, ungirt with sword, to indicate pacific inclinations, 97.
...., his jest, *re* Spanish Ambassador, 97.
...., his religious indifference, 97.
...., his wife's influence with, 97.
...., recognizes title of "King of France," as belonging to Henry IV., 98, 142, 240, 249.
...., resents being addressed as "Our good Friend" and "Brother," by Archduke, 98, 147, 516.
...., too learned to be converted, 100.
...., "foolishly devoted to Kingly pursuit of stags," neglects affairs, consequent ascendency of Cecil, 101.
...., interview with, described, 102.
...., his promise to Flemish Agent that troops should not leave England to aid Dutch, 101, 104.
...., his little favour to the (Raleigh) conspirators due to their concern in Essex's death, 104.
...., his anxiety to have Coronation over; description of ceremony, 105; the Earl of Pembroke and, 105.
...., knights created by, to imitate King Arthur, 106.
...., his devotion to the chase; Queen's influence with, on Roman Catholic side, 111.
...., his answer to Papal Agent, *re* religion, 111.
...., his Protestant toast at banquet, and answer to Irish deputation, 113, 118.
...., message from, to Pope, declining to grant "liberty of conscience," or to educate Prince of Wales as Roman Catholic, 118, 353.
...., Sir Anthony Sherley's exile from Venice rescinded in compliment to, 123, 141.
...., neglects State affairs for hunting and low company, 125, 132.
...., attitude of, to Roman Catholics, after Raleigh's plot, 132.
...., parliament summoned by, to vote supplies, settle religion, and to decide union with Scotland, 132, 147.

James I., of England (1603)—*cont.*
...., convenes conference of theologians, 136, 158.
...., King Henry IV.'s estimate of, 137.
...., proposals to, by Huguenots, 138.
....; M. de Rosny's negotiations conducted with, to neglect of ministers, results, 139.
...., description of audience of Venetian Ambassador with, 141.
...., vows to suppress piracy, 141.
...., request to Archduke by, for Neapolitan horses; Barbary horses presented to, by Henry IV., 141. 185.
...., pledge to, of Henry IV. to prevent his "excommunication" by Pope, 141.
...., resents omission by Spanish of his title of lord of Ireland, 142.
...., directs payment to Dutch by France of English loan, 154, 168.
...., applies to City of London for loan, refused; causes of his lack of money, 158.
...., description of, at reception of Ambassadors; his portrait presented to Doge and Senate, 164, 166.
...., his indecision how to treat the Lady Arabella, 164.
...., his promises *re* suppression of piracy; laments present he had had to make to High Admiral, to compensate for loss of perquisites, 166.
...., his language as to conclusion of peace with Spain, 166, 169.
...., sends Prince of Wales, and is minded to go himself, to house of Venetian Ambassadors, 167, 169.
...., description of banquet given by, in honour of Venetian Ambassadors, 169.
...., describes Henry IV. as "his oldest and dearest friend," 169.
...., repudiates desire for Turkish affiance, 169.
...., attends Council to secure execution of Piers, 170.
...., reprieves conspirators in Raleigh's plot on scaffold, 175.
..... (1604), denies reported connivance of Spain and Archduke in Raleigh's plot, 179.
...., puts slight on Ambassador of Savoy, 182.
...., his proclamation summoning parliament, deprecating Roman Catholic, Puritan, Bankrupt or Outlawed members, 186, 207 *note*.
...., Spanish "loan" for, 186.
...., presides over Hampton Court Conference, 187.

James I., of England (1604)—*cont.*
...., aware of bribery of his Ministers by Spain, 189.
...., sanctions bribery of Ministers by France, 191.
...., sets free Roman Catholic priests after 18 years' imprisonment, 193, 199.
...., orders priests and Jesuits to leave England by proclamation, 199.
...., visits Tower, with Queen, witnesses bull-baiting, 201.
...., his disapproval of "rebellious subjects" (Poland), 202.
...., opens parliament, with long speech, favourable to Roman Catholics, 204.
...., his eagerness for peace with Spain, 205.
...., desires Union of England and Scotland, 205.
...., does not assert right of nominating the "Undertaker," 205, 217.
...., his Agent recommends Calvinists to Henry IV.; his use of the name Protestant, 206.
...., his attitude on the Buckinghamshire election, 205, 207, 214.
...., Henry Constable's libel on his irreligion, 213.
...., his efforts to promote Union, stubbornness of parliament, 217, 220.
...., "barbarous laws, unworthy of a civilized people," his words to Venetian Ambassador, *re* distinction (English) between Civil and Criminal actions, 221.
...., interferes to protect chartered trading companies, 236.
...., opposition to, of Lower House, 238.
...., reviews fleet at Rochester, 238; review postponed owing to accident to, 242.
...., favourable to Roman Catholics, in contrast to repressive legislation against them in Commons, 241, 243.
...., his impatience for conclusion of peace with Spain, 242.
...., his speech on proroguing Parliament; confers knighthood on the Lord Mayor, and exhorts him and the Aldermen to expel priests, 243.
...., presents mules to Henry IV., 258.
...., suspicious of the French, 258, *cf.* 249.
...., his "love of quiet," Cecil's uncertainty as to its continuance, 261.
...., his impecuniosity; resorts to loans on Privy Seals, 261, 415.
...., scene at his ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, 266.

James I. of England (1604)—*cont.*

...., presents made by, and received from, Spanish Ambassadors, 266, 267.

...., gives up Progress to attend to discussion of Union, 274.

...., influence over, of Privy Council, 274.

...., his preoccupation with question of Union, 278, 415.

...., informs Levant merchants he has no desire for an English Ambassador in Constantinople, or to continue friendly relations with Turks, 278.

...., currant tax levied by, for own benefit, 278.

...., appoints Archbishop; dispute with Chapter, 288.

...., goes coursing, 291.

...., his interpretation of clause in Anglo-Spanish treaty relating to East India navigation, 291.

...., causes commissioners for Union to meet, in absence of two members, 292.

...., resolves to issue proclamation, assuming style of "King of Great Britain," &c., 292.

...., farms the customs and currant tax, 295.

...., his income under 1,500,000*l.*, 295.

...., attends sermon every Tuesday, "touches" for scrofula after, 295.

...., libelled on papers posted publicly, his rage, 301.

...., treaties with, as "King of Scots," voided by new title of "Britain," 301.

...., orders new translation of the Bible, 312.

...., treats petition, presented at Royston, of Puritans, as "almost act of rebellion"; concerts action against, 313.

..... (1605), present at wedding of "prime favourite," Lord Montgomery, 323.

...., not anxious for arrival of Dutch Commissioners, 325, 333.

...., will see personal attendants only, when at Royston, 331.

...., inconveniences of his refusal to regulate precedence of Ambassadors, 332. *See* "Precedence."

...., reply to Spanish Ambassador defining his "neutrality," 333.

...., pressed by merchants interested in Levant trade for change of policy; refers them to Council, 340.

James I., of England (1605)—*cont.*

...., his letter to Privy Council, whereby he delegates to them his powers, his health necessitating his absence from London and constant exercise, 341.

...., investigates case of person afflicted with spirit of prophecy, 341.

...., his violent dislike to the Puritans, 341, determined to repress, while enforcing laws against Roman Catholics to prove himself a good Protestant and correct reports from Rome, 347, 353, 361.

...., his errors pointed out to him by Puritan, 352.

...., history of his negotiations with Pope; his reported "conversion," 353.

...., his anger against men of Dunquerque, 357.

...., gives "magnificent tournament," 360.

...., requires members of Privy Council to take Communion with him; draws up list of absentees, 360.

...., his attitude to Spanish recruiting in England, 360, 374, 385, 391, 393, 397, 404, 408, 410, 416, 426.

...., his endeavours to revive Levant trade he had ruined, 364.

...., investigates case of "the Sleeping Preacher," 364 *and note*, 368.

...., unable to approve penalties under recusancy laws which he had himself suffered to be put in motion, he saves his pledge to respect life and property in cases of conscience, by leaving their execution to the Privy Council, 373.

...., peacemaker between his wife and her brother, 384.

...., quite content that his Roman Catholic subjects, taking service with the Archduke, should be destroyed by Dutch fleet, on way to Flanders, 385, 404.

...., his signature forged, 390 *and note*.

...., accident to, hunting, 396.

...., informed by Sir Charles Cornwallis of Spanish pensions accepted by his Privy Council, 399, his attitude to, 404.

...., his urgent request for M. de Vitry, Henry IV.'s surprize, 402.

...., "no soldier," 405.

...., supposed designs of, on France, 405.

...., his "progress" to Oxford, 404, his interest in, 407, its costliness and inconvenience to country, 410, his discourse, &c., at Oxford, 415.

James I., of England (1605)—*cont.*
...., his proposed interference in parliamentary elections, 410, 415.
...., exhorts Oxford students to "fly and loath perfidious and cursed superstition of Rome," 415.
...., his influence with electors of his kindred solicited by Emperor, 426.
...., intercedes with Emperor for favourite of Duke of Holstein, 426.
...., abandons hope of securing the Union, 433.
...., resistance encountered by, in Scotland, in the matter of the Bishops, 433, proposes to visit, 440, 453.
...., his Irish policy; sends Protestant preachers, 433, 453, 464.
...., hunting at Royston, 433, 435, 440.
...., his need of a subsidy, 415, 433, probable opposition to, 440.
...., grievance of purveyance heightened by his perpetual absences and hunting in the country, 440.
...., forbids Irish levies for Archduke, 440.
...., plot against. *See* "Gunpowder Plot."
...., his alarm, preference for Scots about his person, 445; but declines Scottish bodyguard, 456.
...., proclamation by, that Foreign Princes had no part in plot, 446.
...., his speech to Parliament, acknowledging his lack of attention to public affairs, 447; his account of plot to Venetian Ambassador, 447.
...., goes to Hampton Court for hunting, 453, with extra precautions, 456.
...., causes Oath of Supremacy to be re-adminstered to Court and Ministers, 456.
...., further plot against alleged, 457.
...., "Basilikon Doron" put on Index, 459.
...., Spanish present for, 460.
..... (1606), threat to excommunicate, 463.
...., his anger with Archduke for not surrendering Gunpowder Plot conspirators, 464.
...., receives Venetian Ambassador, 473.
...., application to, by Dutch, grants leave to recruit for defence of Brill, 474.
...., his extraordinary sagacity in divining plot, 475, 498.
...., negotiates peace between Archduke and Dutch, 488, 495.

James I., of England (1606)—*cont.*
...., his anxiety at great Spanish preparations against Dutch, 490.
...., balances the Archduke's harbouring conspirators, against his own breaches of Anglo-Spanish treaty, 499, 501.
...., subsidies granted to, subject to reform of household, 499.
...., the Union he longed for, miscarries, 499, 510, 517.
...., declines to determine precedence of Venetian Ambassador, 502, 539.
...., account of misunderstanding leading to report of his death, 503.
...., inconvenience caused by his constant absence hunting, remonstrance fastened to door of Privy Chamber, 526.
...., refuses to consider remonstrance by Parliament, 526.
...., Venetian Ambassador's audience, with report of his remarks on precedence, 531; his long discourse, to his own great satisfaction, on Papal claims, 532.
...., studies Bellarmine, 532.
...., spends newly-collected subsidy on entertaining his brother-in-law, 537.
...., invited to baptism of Henry IV.'s daughter, difficulties of precedence of his, over Papal representative, 537, overcome, 542.
...., his good will, useless to Dutch, increases Spanish ill-feeling, 538, its genuineness, 573.
...., Neuce's plot against, 550, 553, 555, 556, 558, 560, 562, 565, 569, 570, 581, 599.
....., ..., his hearty approval of the punishment by the civil power of the Abbé Brandolin and the Canon Saraceni, for "crimes," no "mere peccadilloes," 554.
...., his protracted dinner at Theobald's with King of Denmark, 561.
...., promises assistance to Venice, against Pope; expresses satisfaction with, and regard for, Sir Henry Wotton, 561, who confirms promise, 572, 582, 584, 586, 590, 591, 593.
...., deputation of merchants to, complaining of Spanish outrages; King Christian's surprise at his enduring such injuries, 564.
...., tilts, at a joust, 564, to disadvantage as compared with his brother-in-law, lampoon on, suppresed by Queen, 573.
...., starts on "progress," 566, to Salisbury, 573, 578.
...., supposed Papal communication to, 578.

James I., of England (1606)—*cont.*
...., considers Scottish ecclesiastical reform a preliminary to Union; to be discussed in London, 578; the proceedings, 592.
...., Henry IV.'s estimate of, ready of promises, backward of fulfilment, afraid of Spaniards, 586.
...., emphatically renews promise of assistance to Venice, on ground of "independence of Princes," 591.
...., questions the General of the Republic as to Venetian resources, 608.
...., expected at Hampton Court, 608.
...., his policy, to act with a league of princes in aid of Venice, 617, 618; pressed to publish his declaration in favour of Republic, 618, 623, 627.
...., his gifts to his servants, proposal to check, by limiting control over properties and adding them to Crown estate, 623.
...., keeps anniversary of Gunpowder Plot, 623.
...., professes his "old predilection" for Venetian constitution, 627.
...., opens Parliament, careful speech by, 632.
....., endeavours to force the Union on Parliament, 635.
...., approves book by Lord Northampton against temporal authority of Pope, 635.
...., compelled by Lord Salisbury to withdraw permission for export of grain, 636, 658.
...., his keen interest, and assistance, in the literary controversy between Venice and the Pope, 642, 652.
.... designs to visit Scotland, to promote Union, 643.
...., assists at marriage of his favourite, Lord Hadington, 652, 660.
..... (1607), his difficulty in obtaining supplies without declaring war on Spain, or sanctioning privateering; proposal to resume lands usurped from Crown, 654.
...., indignant at conclusion of peace between Turks and Empire, attributes result to Pope stirring up discord, 654.
...., receives Sir Albertus Morton in audience, on arrival from Venice, 654, 659.
...., stays in London, reluctantly, for Lord Hadington's marriage, consoled by "dreaming of the chase," 660.
...., proposed marriage between his daughter and son of Duke of Savoy, 663, 675.

James I., of England (1607)—*cont.*
...., his indignation at Brief of Paul V., addressed to Roman Catholics in England, 666, 667, 675, 689, 699, 700.
...., warmth of his language, touching Venice, to the Count of Vaudemont, 673.
...., Sir Henry Wotton on his behalf asks for declaration by Venice of the "resolute determination" of the Republic not to yield to Pope, as preliminary to negotiation of English alliance, 673.
...., unwonted resolution displayed by, to support Republic, 675.
...., Venetian Ambassador instructed to report to him result of discussion with French and Spanish Ambassadors at Venice touching proposed league, 677.
...., Spanish distrust of; his alarm at positive proof of negotiations commenced between Archduke and States for truce, his threats, 678.
...., the Duke of Lerma's strictures on his support of Venice against Pope, and his opposition to truce or peace between Spain and Dutch, 679.
...., out of town hunting, his return probable, on account of bad weather, and urgent questions, viz., the Union, and the policy of England in Italy and Holland, waiting decision, 680.
...., returns for few days; gives priority of audience to Venetian over Flemish Ambasador, 683.
...., French policy in Italy as modified by his; effort of French Ambassador to arrive at his intentions; growing inclination of, to make common cause with France against Spain, 684 *and note.*
...., notified by Venetian Ambassador of readiness of Republic to join Anglo-French league against Spain; in reply, requests proof of readiness, 686.
...., his neglect of Dutch, inference drawn in France that the Venetian Republic had better not rely on, 687, 688.
...., receives Venetian Ambassador in audience; hints at approaching arangement of dispute with Pope; declares his interest in question is not religious, but as concerning "that independence God has granted to Princes," 689, "the authority of Secular Princes," 690.
...., his taste for the chase, "in the company of very few and with a most private freedom," 689.
...., his views on the relations of France to the Grisons, as an excuse for French action against Pope on behalf of Venice, 690.

James I., of England (1607)—*cont.*
...., his amazement at favour shewn by Henry IV. to Jesuits, 690, 691.
...., formally declares himself in favour of league, provided he can be assured of co-operation of France, 691.
...., writes his instructions to Sir Henry Wotton, 696.
...., entertained at Venetian Ambassador's house, 696.
...., increasing fervour of, for Venice, 699.
...., leaves London, March 9th, on month's absence, for "usual amusement of the chase," 699.
...., his zeal for the Union; an English Member of Parliament committed to Tower, during pleasure, for speaking against it, 699.
...., replies to Papal Brief by execution of two Roman Catholic priests, 699, one reprieved, 702.
...., constrained "with great justice," "much against his will," to stay in town on affair of the Union, 701.
...., expected developments of his policy, once the Union is carried; hitherto "more inclined to spending than to saving"; but expected to attend to the Navy and Finance and to "increase his greatness" on foundation of Union, 701.
....., reported interchange by, of declarations, with Spanish Ambassador, touching Venice and Pope, 702.
...., poor opinion of, in Spain, 703.
...., leaves for country, to neglect of "Union," 707.
...., contempt expressed for, by Henry IV., who warns Venice against reliance on, 710; the like warning by M. de Rosny, 711.
...., repents his advocacy of the Union, and reproaches ministers for committing him to it; consequent growth of parliamentary, as opposed to royal, authority, alleged, 713.
....., Scottish demand addressed to, that he, or his son, should reside in Scotland, 713.
....., ..., his annoyance at publication in Flanders of life of Garnet, 714.
... ., successful issue of the dispute between Venetians and Pope, due to his declaration in their favour, 715.
...., joust in honour of his accession, 716.
...., his anxiety at conclusion of truce between Dutch and the Archduke; reproaches his ministers with receipt of Spanish bribes, 717.

James I., of England (1607)—*cont.*
...., violent speech by, to Parliament, and threats *re* the Union; proposed exercise of his "absolute authority" to carry the Union without parliamentary sanction, 718.
...., re-affirms his approval of the Venetian attitude to Pope, 719.
...., is informed by express from Duke of Tuscany of accord between Venice and Pope, 719.
...., stress laid by, on recognition by Spain of Dutch independence, viz., he could now support them openly and treat their Agent as an Ambassador, 720.
...., his dislike to truce between Dutch and the Archduke; his desire to pose as mediator between them baulked; the continuance of war a protection against Spain, 721.
...., officially notified by Venice of her accord with Pope; proposal to send an Ambassador Extraordinary on this occasion negatived, 725.
...., his interpretation of Dutch "independence," as acknowledged by Spain, 727.
...., expected in London for Chapter of "Garter," 727.
...., still bent on the Union, 727; effect of opposition on his "great mind," it "breeds temper" in him, 733.
...., expected to intercede for his kinsman the Prince de Joinville, who visits England, 733, 738.
...., the terms of the accord between Venice and the Pope formally communicated to, by Venetian Ambassador; his satisfaction at the result, as protecting princes from such Papal claims; his anxiety for the safety and welfare of the theologians who had defended the Republic, 735.
...., minded to dissolve Parliament, and to procure suitable returns to another, that Union may be passed, 738.
...., seeks to display the vigour of his prerogative by "issuing constitutions" against Puritans, 738.
...., "Character" of, 739 (*pp.* 509-524).
...., his jealousy of his eldest son, 739 (*pp.* 513-514).
...., sayings of, 40 *bis*, 81, 91, 97, 101, 102 *bis*, 104, 111, 113 *bis*, 141, 147, 164, 217*n*, 221, 291, 332, 344, 532, 550, 554, 627, 689.
James V., of Scotland, 81.
Janverin, Walter, "pirate," 146.
Jerace, Bishop of, Papal Nuncio at Venice, 641.

Jerusalem, 342.

Jesuits, certain, leave Madrid (1603) for England, 62; three Scottish, effect "conversion" of Anne of Denmark, 66; visit of one (Creichton) to England, 97; plot of (Parsons') against King, disclosed by Creichton, 105; their intrigue with Sir Anthony Standen, 188; proclamation against, 199; letter to "General" of mentioned, 397*n*; attempt to expel brothers Cigàla from order of, 412; "Provincial" of, *see* Garnet; Spanish protection for, 496; Cardinal Bellarmine and, their relations with Pope, 505; bad impression produced by perjury and equivocation of Henry Garnet at his public examination, 510; discourse on, by Sir Henry Wotton, 518; "slaves and spies," King's description of, 532; General Chapter of, to be held, 533; Henry IV.'s "confessor," a Jesuit, 543 (*see* Cotton); attacks by, in England, on Venice, 544; those expelled from England meet in Brussels and urge Pope to excommunicate King James; their activity in Poland, 547; Jesuit, in Dominican garb, at Spanish Embassy, 550; their expulsion from Venice, 554; two, executed at Plymouth, 596; Englishman, in Papal service, in close relations with, 600, 601, 602; English spy watches, at Calais, 606*n*; letter to Jesuit in Venice found on English spy, 612, 630; ex-priest, Cicala, accompanies Don Francesco de Castro on Venetian mission, 622; supposed work by Jesuit on Papal quarrel with Venice, 641; garbelled translation by, into Spanish, of English laws against Papists, 647; in France, by means of Father Cotton, the King's Confessor, endeavour to persuade Henry IV. to secure re-admission of their order to Venice, 656; King Henry IV.'s infatuation for, proposed introduction of, into Rochelle, 690, into Venetian territory, 691; their relation to the dispute between Venice and the Pope, 704; Sir Henry Wotton on, 706, 708; "life and death" of the Jesuit Garnet published in Flanders, 714; their position in Venetian territory, as regulated by accommodation between Venice and Pope, 720A, 720B; position of, in England, 739 (*p.* 512).

"Jesus." *See* Ships.

Jews, proposed tax on, in Spain, 568.

Joinville, Prince de, to be entertained in England, as King James' cousin, free of charge, 733, 738.

Jonah, Capt., English Consul in the Morea, his ship taken by French, 88, 115; put in irons by English Ambassador, 133.

Joyeuse, François, Cardinal de, 673; his mission to Venice, 689, results anticipated from, 691, its progress, 695, 702, 704, 705, and success, 715, 717, 719, 720A, 720B.

Judge Advocate of Fleet, 141. *See* Cæsar.

Juliers, Duke of. *See* Cleves.

Julius II., Pope, 588.

K

Katharine, Queen (of Aragon), 132.

....., ... (Howard), 22.

....., ... *See also* Catherine.

Keith, George, Earl Marischal, opposes Union, 292, banished accordingly, 295.

Kent, levy of seamen ordered in, 97; the best county for wheat, 598.

Kerseys. See Trade.

Kimolo *alias* Argentiera, 494 *note.*

King (Bianchini, Giovanni; Chinch), John, captain of the "Royal Merchant," (George) his past and present services to Venice, 22; his frolic at the expense of the Podesta of Cittanuova, 210, Venetian complaint concerning, 225, 236; his explanation, 248; intercession for, 403, 419, successful, 420, 422.

King-at-arms. *See* Heralds.

King of the Romans, intrigue touching election of, 426.

King's Evil, King James, at first, declines to "touch" for, on rational grounds, 69, 295, cures worked by, 517.

Kingston on Thames, Ambassador of Brunswick lodged and boarded at, 111; despatches dated from, 146, 147.

Kinloss, in Scotland, lay Abbot, or Commendator of, 22 *and note.*

Kinloss, Lord. *See* Bruce, Edward.

Kronland, Duke of, kinsman of Queen Anne, comes to England, to seek King James' mediation with Duke Charles of Sweden, 583.

L

L'Hoste, Nicolas, otherwise Tes, Secretary to M. de Villeroy, his treachery, 212; proposal to embalm, after his suicide, to stand his trial, 215; effects of the discovery of his treachery, 222, 249.

La Martiniere, "Le Grand Dictionnaire géographique," cited, 216*n*.

Lambeth, King to cross from, to Westminster, for coronation, 97.

Lancilotto, Tomaso, 248.

Languedoc, 90.

Las, or Lans, Abraham, English sea captain, in command of Venetian ship, 303, 338.

Lasso, Don Rodrigo, 193.

Le Fevre de la Boderie, Antoine, arrives in London as Ambassador-in-Ordinary from France, his character, 523 *and note;* conversation with, 527, 564; urges claims to precedence over Spanish Ambassador, 583; supports Venetian attitude to Pope, 584; report of interview (1607) with, touching Anglo-French negotiations for joint intervention on behalf of Venice, 684 *and note*, 690, 691; proposes Anglo-French league with Venice, 692, 693.

Lead. See Trade.

Leather. See Trade.

Leghorn, English trade with, 3, 23, 129; English merchants at, 237; grain exported to, 566; English pirate at, 681; ship from, arrives in London, with Ducal presents, 699.

"Legion." *See* Ships.

Lello, Henry, English Ambassador in Constantinople, 466*n*. *See* Turkey.

Lennox, Duke of. *See* Stuart, Lodovic.

Lentolo, Paolo, letter from, to Sir Henry Wotton, offering Swiss aid to Venice, 644.

Lepanto, Castle of, attacked (1603) and burned by Maltese galleys, 8; guns for, 71; resort of pirates, 322.

....., Venetian Consul at. *See* Biffi.

Lerma, Duke of. *See* Sandoval.

Lestimo. *See* Alestimo.

"Lettere di Principi," book quoted from, by Sir Henry Wotton, 555.

Levant, English piracy in. *See Piracy.*

"Levant Company," its trade in currants, its charter to be renewed, 40 *and note*, 78; dissolved, a gain to Venice, English Ambassador in Constantinople being salaried by, 91; case of, against Venetian Republic stated, 109; proposal to recall capital from Constantinople, 158: opinions in England, upon representations of English Ambassador in Turkey, as to value of Levant trade, 175; negotiations between Company and Crown for renewal of charter, 190, 192, 213; position of, as affected by Bill, passed in Commons, freeing trade, 233, 236, 243; currant tax, levied by, if required, for up-keep of English embassy in Constantinople, exacted by King James for his own benefit; his expressed desire that all commerce with Turkey should cease, 278, and Levant trade be concentrated at, and through Venice, 294; currant tax taken from, and farmed to Lord Suffolk, 295, 306; difficulties of merchants, 306, they re-open whole question, Lord

"Levant Company"—*cont.*

Suffolk's party in the Council oppose, 340, 348; the Levant trade, meanwhile, being ruined, the Privy Council end by beseeching Company to take Currant tax again, keep Ambassador, &c.; refusal of Company, whose members find East Indian trade, to which they had transferred capital, more profitable, 364; confirmed, and powers of, extended to Italy, 427; their trade at Constantinople nearly extinct, 477; dread by, of Turkish reprisals, for capture of ship by Englishman flying flag of Tuscany, 483 (*cf.* 470); matter of the currant tax and, 503 *and note*, 510, 517; disquisition on, 739 (*pp.* 503, 504).

Lewkenor (Luchner), Sir Lewis, official receiver of Ambassadors, 142, 157, 160, 164, 182, 323, 332, 416, 427, 465, 473, 502, 503, 739 (*p.* 523).

Licences for Taverns in England, 201 *note.*

"Lieger," 63, 78, 102. *See* Ambassadors.

Ligne, John de, Prince of Barbançon, Count of Aremberg, Ambassador (1603) from Flanders (the Archduke) to England, 36; safe conduct for, 66; expected, 68; Dutch propose to intercept, 69, 72, 86; arrives, 78; laid up with gout, 81; episode on his voyage, 86; his mission complimentary only; still in bed with gout, 87; requests audiences, 90; the Marquis de Rosny leaves without visiting, 91; received in audience, urges peace with Spain, 96; assures King that Archduke was not concerned in Raleigh's plot, 101; King's promise to, *re* aid for Dutch, 101, 104; further negotiations with, declined pending his receipt of power to treat for peace, 113; discovered in relations with Lord Cobham, 124; audience requested by, 136, granted, his proposals for peace, 136; returns home for instructions, 141; application to, in capacity of Grand Admiral, 145; his complicity in Raleigh's plot, 164, 168, denied, 179; house taken for, in London, 199; expected, 205, detained by gout, 213; to conduct the peace negotiations without the Constable of Castille, 217, 220, 223, 248; unable to attend ratification of peace, being in bed with gout, 266; King's present to, 267; his signature to treaty, 268; his son-in-law expected in England, as Ambassador, 313.

Lilly, Edward, petitions Privy Council, 23.

Lindsay (Lingi), James, knt., message from King James sent by, to Pope, 118; leaves Rome for Spain, 334 *and note;* hopes excited in Pope's mind

Lindsay, James—*cont.*
by mission of, 347 (*cf.* 324), 353; in Spanish pay, 361, 399; cross of St. Iago conferred on, 703.
Linen. See Trade.
Lingi, Giacomo. *See* Lindsay, James.
"Liona." *See* Ships.
Lire, Venetian, value in exchange, 35, 43.
Lisle, Viscount. *See* Sidney.
Litemberg, Landgrave of, Imperial Ambassador to James I., 396, 404, 408.
Lithuania, Ambassador of. *See* Radziwil.
....., Duke of Kronland's claim to part of, 583.
Litres, 598*n*.
"Little Phœnix." *See* Ships.
Littlejohn *alias* Owen, Nicholas, 498.
Lochem, taken by Spanish, 560, recovered by Count Maurice, 618.
Lock, Benjamin, English merchant trading to the Levant, deposition by, 8.
London (1603), trade from, to Leghorn, 3, 23.
...., Lord Mayor and Council of, King's letter to, on his accession, 6.
...., Roman Catholics released from prison in, 6.
...., trade from, to Levant, 8.
...., King James proclaimed in, 32.
...., Italian merchant in, tenders for supply of saltpetre to Venetian Government, 35.
...., crowded for coronation, 55.
...., plague appears in, "bills of mortality" in, 55.
...., precautions against plague in, 66, deaths from, 69, 72, 78, 81, 91, 118.
...., plague in, arrested by cold, 72, increased by heat, 125.
...., "great Italian garden," of merchant of Lucca, opposite, in Borough, 56.
...., proposal to postpone Coronation on account of plague in, 91.
...., book against Roman Church appears in, of Scottish origin, 93, suppressed in Paris, 108.
...., avoided by King, on account of plague, on occasion of Coronation, 97.
...., concession to Italian merchant in, 109.
...., chapel of Venetian Resident in, to be open to fellow-countrymen, 118.
...., two Venetians and half-dozen Italians only, resident in, 118.
...., foreigners attend "mass" at, French embassy in, 118, 131.
London (1603)—*cont.*
...., plague rages in, inhabitants forbidden to quit, 128, 132, mortality from, 147, 158, decreases in, in December, 167, 175, 190.
...., loan refused by, to King, 158.
..... (1604), state entry into, 192, 199.
...., healthiness of, 242, 246.
...., Royal entry into, a great reception, 291.
..... (1606), state entry into, of King of Denmark, 560.
...., Roman Catholics arrested in, leaving Spanish Ambassador's house after hearing "mass," 569.
...., plague keeps Court away from, 583.
...., exchange between, and Venice, 595 (*cf.* 78 and 147).
..... (1607), land near, not favourable to corn growing, 658.
...., "broadsheet" published in, with licence from Archbishop of Canterbury, called "News from Venice," suppressed by Lord Salisbury, at request of Venetian Ambassador, 730.
...., municipal government of, described, 739 (*p.* 503).
.. .., despatches dated from, 6, 12, 22, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 55, 56, 66, 69, 72, 73, 78, 81, 87, 90, 91, 96, 181, 182, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 199, 201, 204, 205, 207, 213, 214, 216, 220, 221, 223, 227, 229, 232, 233, 236, 238, 241, 242, 243, 246, 248, 251, 259, 261, 266, 267, 274, 278, 288, 291, 292, 295, 300, 301, 306, 307, 312, 313, 323, 325, 331, 332, 333, 340, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 352, 353, 355, 360, 361, 363, 364, 365, 368, 369, 373, 374, 384, 385, 390, 391, 396, 397, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408, 410, 411, 415, 416, 426, 427, 432, 433, 435, 436, 439, 440, 442, 443, 445, 447, 453, 454, 456, 457, 463, 464, 465, 473, 474, 482, 483, 484, 486, 487, 489, 490, 498, 499, 502, 503, 510, 511, 515, 516, 517, 522, 523, 526, 527, 531, 532, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 544, 546, 547, 550, 551, 553, 554, 556, 560, 561, 563, 564, 566, 569, 570, 573, 578, 579, 583, 584, 585, 589, 591, 592, 595, 596, 598, 599, 608, 618, 619, 623, 627, 628, 629, 632, 635, 636, 642, 643, 652, 654, 655, 659, 660, 665, 666, 669, 674, 675, 680, 683, 684, 689, 690, 691, 692, 694, 699, 701, 702, 707, 713, 714, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 726, 727, 730, 732, 733, 735, 737, 738; Appendix III.
....., St. Paul's, Puritans summoned before Bishops (1605) at, 347.

London—*cont.*
....., Tower of, Lord Southampton released from, 22; mint in, 36; King enters, 55; view of, from "great Italian garden," in Borough, 56; King enters without sword, 97; conspirators (Raleigh's plot) lodged in, 104; Irish deputation sent to, 113, 118; Sir Anthony Standen committed to, 188, removed from, with Raleigh, and three others on occasion of royal visit to; release of prisoners in, bull-baiting at, 201; King makes State entry into London from, 201; Henry Constable committed to, 213, released, with Sir Anthony Standen, 259; Thomas Bywater committed to, 355 *and note* (*cf.* 352 *note*); Thomas Douglas *alias* Gray, the forger, committed to, 390; Guy Fawkes tortured in, 443, 445; Roman Catholic lords consigned to, 454, fined and released, 538; observation that persons committed to, seldom leave, 454, 457, 474; death in, of Francis Tresham, 464; Franchesi, Tomaso, in, 556, 565; Sir Christopher Pigott, M.P., committed to, for speaking contemptuously of Scottish nation in debate on Union, 699 *and note;* description of, 739 (*p.* 502).
....., Tower Hill, 565.
..... *See* Doctors Commons; Levant Company.
London Bridge, described, 739 (*p.* 503).
London, Bishop of. *See* Bancroft, Richard; Fletcher, Dr. Richard.
Longo, Antonio, in Venetian prison, 612.
....., Hieronimo, Venetian Senator, 1.
Longueville Duchesse de. *See* Mary of Lorraine.
Lopez, Edward, Portuguese sea captain, 184.
Loredan, House of, case of English creditors of, 524, 530, 539, 541, 555, 582.
....., Lorenzo, Vice-Doge, 387.
Lorraine, saltpetre exported from, to England, 35; Ambassador from, in England, 96, 104, attends Coronation, 105; Sir Anthony Standen's mission to, 99; King James' negotiations with Tuscany and Pope conducted through, 104; route *viâ* to Venice, from England, 248; embassy from Duke of, arrives in England, 522 (*see* "Magliana"), to congratulate on escape from Gunpowder Plot, and announce marriage of Duc de Bar, 578; son of the Duke of, the Count de Vaudemont, in England, 585 (*see* "Vaudemont"); attack on Sir Henry Wotton's secretary in, 630, 659; secretary of Duke of, in Venice, his views as reported to Senate by Sir Henry Wotton, 673, 696.
Lorraine, Mary of. *See* Mary.
Lubeck, Danish attempt on, 251.
Lucca, merchant of, in London, his Southwark garden, 56; Englishman at, contracts with Pope for supply of powder, 658.
"Lucky Elizabeth." *See* Ships.
Luter, Geoffrey, English merchant in Venice, 22, 387, 388, 421, 524.
Lyons, post *viâ*, from London to Venice, 475.

M

Madalene, wife of James V. of Scotland, daughter of Francis I., 81.
Madame of France. *See* Bar, Duchess of.
Madonna, dei Miracoli, Venice, 612.
Madrid, English Ambasador ill lodged at, 520.
....., despatches dated from, 520, 545, 558, 559, 571, 581, 607, 631, 638, 647, 653, 663, 668, 670, 678, 679, 685, 698, 703, 709, 734.
Magellan, Straits of, 56.
Magliana, Baron, Secret Chamberlain of the Pope, sent Ambassador by Duke of Lorraine, to congratulate King James on escape from Gunpowder Plot, and to announce marriage of his heir, 522; his commission from the Pope, 578, uncertainty as to, 584, confirmed, 592.
Majolica, 302.
Malamocco, port of, 225, 236, 555.
Malipiero, Ser Thomà, Leonardo, and Zuanne, 389, 394, 409.
Malta, galleys from capture and burn castles of Patras and Lepanto, 8; privateer fitted out from, makes Turkish prize, and loses it to English, 195, 196, 197; privateer from captures English pirates, 211; crew of English pirate hail from, 286; mentioned, 287; capture by privateer of, 494, 639; Savoyard pirate flies flag of, 682.
Manners, Roger, Earl of Rutland, Ambassador Extraordinary (1603), with Garter, to Christian IV., King of Denmark, 81, returns, 113.
Mantua, Duke of, sides with Venice, against Pope, 561.
Mar, Earl of. *See* Erskine, John.
Marcello, Alvise, in command of Venetian galley, 209.
Marcello, Zuanne, Councillor, 616.
Marciliana, Venetian, 14, 15, 24, 25, 26, 57, 221, 224, 286.

Marco son of Zuanne of Venice, master of the "Moresini," called "Santa Maria," deposition by, 303.
Marischal, Earl. *See* Keith.
"Marita." *See* Ships.
Markham, Griffin, knt., arrested for complicity in Raleigh's plot, 101. Spanish design on, 451, 463.
Marseilles, ship of, trading to Sicily, 4; Consuls of, 53; mentioned, 115;
Marshal of England (Feb. 1603-4). *See* Somerset.
Marsilio, ——, Papal action against, 625.
"Martinenga." *See* Ships.
Martini, "Manuale di Metrologia," cited, 337, Appendix IV.
Martini, Petro, of Marseilles, master of ship "Sant' Antonio," deposition by, 4.
"Marubin." *See* Ships.
Mary of Lorraine, Duchesse de Longueville, wife of James V. of Scotland, daughter of Claude, Duc de Guise, 81.
Mary, Princess, daughter of James I., born, 363, baptized, 368.
Mary, Queen, causes the Lady Jane to be executed, 22.
Mary Queen of Scots, reflections on her execution, her son's resentment of, 22, 40; her portrait in evidence in England, 22; honours for descendants of the Duke of Norfolk, who was betrothed to her, 34; details of her murder of Darnley, her alleged design to kill her own son, 40; King James' lamentations over, 55; mentioned, 81; ascendancy in England of party who compassed her death, 101; arrest in Paris of Scottish Catholic, formerly her servant, 228, to be executed, 308, exiled, 370; King James' daughter christened after, 368.
Masques, 312, 323, 332.
Mathias, the Archduke, 673.
Maupas, de. *See* Cauchon de Maupas.
Maurice, Count, of Nassau, his plan (1603) to flood Flanders, 11; his brother's embassy to England, 36; quarrel between French and English in camp of, 118; mentioned, 136; his army (1604), 193; mentioned, 217; besieges Sluys, 227, 233, 234, 243, and takes it, 261; English recruits for, 274; attacks Antwerp (1605), 373, 374, foiled, 385; English desertions from, 395; defeated by Marquis Spinola, 436; great Spanish preparations against (1606), 490, his dispositions to resist, 527, 556; decisive action urged on, by France, 583; his position improved by mutiny of Spinola's troops, 608 *and note;* his successes at Lochem and Grœnlo, 618; retires before Spinola, 642; requires (1607) troops in excess of previous year; his illness, 716.
Measures and *Weights*:—
Barilla, 337 *and note.*
Botte, 337 *and note.*
Litre, 598 *note.*
Mezzeni, 598 *note.*
Peso Sootile, or Veneziano, Venetian light weight, 35 *and note.*
Scandaglio, 595 *and note.*
Stara, 595 *and note.*
Mecklenburgh, Ulric, Duke of, 91.
Medici, Ferdinand de', Grand Duke of Tuscany. *See* Tuscany.
....., Giovanni de', brother of the Grand Duke, expected in England, 364, 368, lands at Dover, 373, arrives in London, 385, departs disgusted, 390.
....., Marie de', Queen of France, her anger against François de Balsac d'Entragues, 244.
Megietti, Roberto, publisher, 625 *and note.*
Mehemet III., Sultan of Turkey (1603), letters from, to Queen Elizabeth, 41, 74, 75, 115, 126, 161, 168, 169, sudden death of, his successor, 173.
Mehmet, Sanjak of the Morea. *See* Morea.
Mehmet, General in Hungary, appointed Grand Vizier, 256, 273, his death, 528.
Melos, 470, 493, 494.
"Mema et Constantina." *See* Ships.
Mendozza, Don Bernardino di, Spanish Ambassador (1588) in France, Appendix III. (*p.* 526).
Mercede, Church of the, mock burial in, 685.
"Merchant Royal." *See* Ships.
Messina, 4; ship of, captured, 23, 418; ship bound for, captured, 152; arrest of English merchantman at, 707, 714, 718.
Mezzeni, 598*n.*
Michiel, Maffio, Venetian Governor of Zante, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 14, 20, 24, 27, 29, 47, 57, 65, 71, 88, 152, 153, 194, 198, 209, 211, 218, 219, 224, 226, 231, 269, 271, 284, 297, 298, 302, 311.
....., ..., letters to and from the Sanjak of the Morea, 48, 49, 50, 89.
....., ..., his goods plundered, with special good will, by English "pirates," in revenge for his execution of English sailors, 302, 336, 338, 339, 352.
Middleburg, 307.
Milan, 223, 582, 594, 607, 651, 658, 673.
....., "Biblioteca Ambrosiana" of, MS. from, Appendix III.
Militia, English, particulars of, 739 (*p.* 505).
Milo, William Piers, the pirate, at, 78; piracy off, 682.
....., Gulf of, English vessel taken by French in, 88, 115, 126.

Milos, despatch dated from, 494.

Mocenigo, Giovanni, Venetian Ambassador in Turkey, despatch from, 293.

Modena, Archives of, despatch from, 504.

....., ..., News Letter from, 562, 624.

....., Duke of. *See* Este, d'.

Modon, resort of privateers, 14, 15, 21, 25, 26, 30, 47, 48, 51; proposal to hang Governor of, as an abettor of pirates, 84, 103; instance of protection afforded by, to pirates, 218, 224, 231, 252; resort of pirates, 221, 262, 263, 272, 322; fight off, 639; Turkish connivance with piracy at, 676; blockaded by pirates, Venetian ships sent to relieve, 697.

....., despatch dated from, 26.

Molart, Baron de, sent by Duke of Lorraine on special embassy to King James (1606) to congratulate, 522.

Molin, Nicolo, "lieger" of Venice in England, his birth and fortune described to King, 78; his goods plundered in transit by "pirates," 145, 221; mishaps on his journey to England, 149, 151, 157, 159, 160; informs his Government he will be unable to obtain leave to export saltpetre from England without bribing Ministers, 274; his adventures at a wedding at Court, 323; his conversation with Cecil, 353; recalled, 356, at own request, 384; leaves England, 486, taking priest, explanation, 490 *and note;* in Paris, 492; his old acquaintance with Sir Thomas Glover, 617.

....., ..., instructions to, 225, 260, 279, 289, 315, 336, 377, 378, 381, 422.

....., ..., recalled, 356, 431, made Senator, 435.

....., ..., detailed report by, on climate, constitution, &c., of England, 739.

....., ..., Venetian Ambassador in *England*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 151, 157, 158, 160, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 172, 175, 181, 182, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 213, 214, 216, 217, 220, 221, 223, 227, 229, 232, 233, 236, 238, 241, 242, 243, 246, 248, 251, 259, 261, 266, 267, 274, 278, 291, 292, 295, 300, 301, 306, 307, 312, 313, 323, 325, 331, 332, 333, 340, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 352, 353, 355, 360, 361, 363, 364, 365, 368, 369, 373, 374, 384, 385, 390, 391, 396, 397, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408, 410, 411, 415, 416, 426, 427, 432, 433, 435, 436, 439, 440, 442, 443, 445, 447, 453, 454, 456, 457, 463, 464, 465, 473, 474, 484.

Molin, Pietro da, of the Supreme Court, Venice, 616.

Mondino, Francesco, Venetian at Zante, his mission to secure Turkish co-operation in suppressing piracy, 29, 269.

***Monies*:—Angels, value in ducats, 118.**

Copper, English merchants in Spain forced to accept payment in, at 20 per cent. loss, 265.

Crowns, in pounds sterling, 312 *and note.*

Denari, 35.

Dobloons, 494.

Ducat, the Venetian, exchange value of, 35, 43, 55 *and note*, 147; value of, in Angels, 118; silver, 145; payment made in, and partly in purple broadcloth, 309; exchange value, in scudi, 469; 521; 598. *See also* Appendix IV.

Gazzettas, Venetian, 23.

Grossi, 524, 598.

Lire, Venetian, value in exchange, 35, 43.

Ongari, 524, 539.

Piccoli, 598.

Scudi, value in ducats, 469.

Sequins, 13, 329, 494.

Soldi, Venetian, exchange value, 35, 43, 598.

Sultanini, 329.

Reals, Spanish, 145.

Zecchini, 524, 539.

..... currency, English, light weight, 147.

....., exchange, between Venice and London, 78, 147, 595.

....., value of "a million of gold," in English currency, treatise on, Appendix IV. (*pp.* 534-535).

***Monitoria*, Papal, 617.**

***Monopolies*, in the Currant Trade, 40, 78; in tin, abrogated, 78; Levant Company dissolved, Scaramelli's recommendations to his government thereon, 91; Scaramelli's report on, 109; question of the monopoly of the Levant Company again raised, 190, 192, 213; Spanish monopoly of trade with Indies, attempt to embody in treaty with England, 233; expected abolition of the "Merchant Companies'" monopolies, 236; "Monopoly Bill" before parliament, 243; endeavour of the Hanse Towns to obtain renewal of monopolies in England, 278; question of the Levant Company's monopoly, the King adverse; Ambassador Molin's advice to his government on this occasion, 278; Danish trading privileges; the Levant Company reconstituted, 427; divers monopolies in London, their illegality, persons interested in, 435; Ambassador Molin's retrospect of the Levant Company, his regret that his advice to his government was neglected, 739 (*p.* 503).**

Montagu, Lord. *See* Browne.
Montalto, Cardinal, 600.
Monte, Gregorio, Agent and representative of Sir Henry Wotton, 594.
....., Hieronimo, outlaw of Vincenza, his pardon solicited by Sir Henry Wotton, 708 *and note.*
Monteagle, Lord. *See* Parker, William.
Montecuccoli, Signor, or Count, Alfonso, Ambassador from Grand Duke of Tuscany, in England, 132, 147; insulted by Spanish Ambassador, 158, 175; asserts precedence over Savoy, 182, 185; departs, 190, 200.
Montgomery, Lord. *See* Herbert, Philip.
Moray (Moret), Earl of. *See* Stewart, James.
Mordaunt, Henry, Lord Mordaunt of Turvey, Roman Catholic, sent to Tower, 454.
More, David, Gentleman of King's Chamber, a Scot, bearer of King's (James I.) first letter to citizens of London, 6; called "King's Chamberlain," 22.
Morea, English Consul of, 115, 133.
....., Mehmet, "Sanjak" of, his relations, and correspondence, with Venetian authorities in Zante, 14, 29, 30, 47, 48, 49, 50, 65, 71, 88, 89, 218, 224, 226, 231; fresh orders for, to repress piracy; his mother the Sultana intervenes, 252, 253, 254, 255; his retinue very chargeable to towns visited by, 262; further orders to, 262, 263, which he accepts, surrendering English prisoners, to be hung by Venetians at Zante, 269.
"Moresina." *See* Ships.
Moresini, Andrea, 441.
....., Francesco, 356, 371.
....., Piero, Councillor, 616.
"Moresini." *See* Ships.
Moreton, Albertus, knt., nephew of Sir Henry Wotton, 521 *and note;* secretary to uncle, appears before Council of Ten, to request arrest of English spy, 605; requests interview between Sir Henry Wotton and Secretary to Senate, 609; introduced to Venetian Cabinet, 630; his rapid journey home; received in audience by King James, 654, 659; encourages King to remain firm in support of Republic, 675.
Moretta, despatch dated from, 586.
Morocco, saltpetre exported from, 35; English trade with, spoilt by civil feuds in, 190; arrival at Zante of candidate for Crown of, nature of claim, 297; alleged mission to, from Emperor of Germany, of Sir Anthony Sherley, 607, 631; port in, to be secured by Spain, 638, 670.
Morosini, Iseppo, Venetian Senator, 1.
Morris, Isbrand, 129.
Mosto, Consul da, his ship plundered, Venetian action touching, 13.
Motte, Claude della, of Paris, in Maltese service, deposition by, 196.
Mountjoy, Lord. *See* Blount, Charles.
Mozzetta, 105.
Mules, 216, 258.
Murad Pasha, General in Hungary, appointed Grand Vizier, 640.
Muscatel. See Trade.
Muscovy Company, as affected by Bill freeing trade; embassy despatched by, 236; nature of trade of, 739 (*p.* 503).
Mustaphà Pasha, Lieutenant Grand Vizier, tragic story of, 329.

N

Nani, Agostino, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 324, 334, 412, 459, 491.
....., Frederico, striking likeness to, of King James I., 66.
Naples, Corradin's execution at, 22; horses from, requested by King James, 141; ship of, 195; instruction to Viceroy of, to observe terms of Anglo-Spanish treaty, 480, 481; proposed surrender of Papal claims over, to Spain, 658; troops raised in, to support Pope (1607), 679.
Nassau, Count Henry of, brother of Count Maurice, his embassy (1603) to England, 36; in command (1606) in Friesland, 527.
....., Count Maurice of. *See* Maurice.
....., Justin de, Appendix III. (*p.* 532).
Nauplia, resort of pirates, 71; "the Compass," *berton* from, plundered by pirates, 681; the "Carminati," *berton* from, captured by English pirates, 682.
Navy, English, described, 739 (*pp.* 504-5).
Nervesa, Abbè of. *See* Brandolin.
Netherlands, United, or States of Holland, Zealand, and Brabant (1603), fleet of, in English harbour, on return from Portuguese Indies, 6.
....., ..., expect assistance from James I., 10, 11.
....., ..., plan of campaign of, against Flanders, 11.
....., ..., James I.'s orders as to succours for, 12.
....., ..., troops from England arrive in; significance of, 12.
....., ..., foreigners shipped to, from England, to prepare King James' succession, 16.

Netherlands, United, or States of Holland, &c. (1603)—*cont.*

....., ..., strong places in ("cautionary towns"), mortgaged to English; Spanish design to obtain, by bribing James I., 31, 70, 73, 83.

....., ..., question of continued English aid for, 31, 34, 36.

....., ..., saltpetre imported into England *vid*, 35.

....., ..., embassy from, awaited in England, 36, arrives, 40, 55.

....., ..., negotiations between, and the Archduke, opened, 36.

....., ..., amnesty to Flemish refugees in, 36.

....., ..., Ostend relieved from, 39.

....., ..., representations by embassy from, in England, 55.

....., ..., French support of; proposed recognition of, as the "States of Holland"; instructions to French Ambassador to England, 64; denounced by King James, who classes States as "rebels," 66.

....., ..., office of arbitrator between, and Archduke, desired by James I., in contrast to late Queen's policy, 66.

....., ..., send ships to intercept Ambassador from Archduke to England, King James' annoyance, 69; their reason, 72, 86.

....., ..., review of state of, after thirty years' war, wealth of the Church appropriated by, system of taxation in, astuteness of Governors of, 69.

....., ..., policy of King James towards, attitude of Privy Council in England to, 73; practical independence of Friesland, Holland, and Zealand, with limited right of navigation to East Indies, to be recognized, 73.

....., ..., great expenses of Ambassadors from, in England, 73.

....., ..., dependence of, on England, for all military stores, 73, 229.

....., ..., dependent on Dantzig for breadstuff, fear of Denmark's cutting off supply, by closing Belt, 73; the alternative supplies through France, 73.

....., ..., Ambassadors from, refused audience by James I., arrange casual meeting between, and their chief, Barneveldt, 81; in constant communication with French Ambassadors, 81.

....., ..., Spanish hopes of subduing, in event of peace with England, and failing French support, 82.

Netherlands, United, or States of Holland, &c. (1603)—*cont.*

....., ..., reported to have offered a protectorate to King James, in return for his continuing war against Spain; question of the "guarantee towns in," 83.

....., ..., ships of, made to strike flag to English, 86.

....., ..., summary of results of De Rosny's mission, as affecting; to receive money from France, part of debt due to England, and to have leave to levy troops in England and Scotland, 90, 93, 98, 100, 107, 124, 154, 168.

....., ..., proof, afforded to King James, of continuous assistance received by, from France, subsequent to peace of Vervins, 90.

....., ..., offer by, to hire fleet to Venice, 91.

....., ..., Venetian ship taken by Dutch privateer, 91.

....., ..., opinion of Ambassadors of, that King James desired peace with Spain to avoid involving Scotland in war, 91.

....., ..., Ambassadors of, leave England, 96.

....., ..., Scottish levies for, under Lord Buccleugh, 97; not to sail, 101; Dutch Agents sent to England to expedite, 104; Spanish dislike of, 112; stopped, 113, 136, depart, 147, 188.

....., ..., twelve ships of, sail to harry Spaniards, 97.

....., ..., French aid for, in money, 104.

....., ..., English invitation to States General of, to commit proposals to writing, 113.

....., ..., separation of, from Spain, an English condition of peace, 111, 113.

....., ..., Dutch in Venice associated to English, 118.

....., ..., trouble in camp of, between English and French, 118.

....., ..., English recruits valued in, as heartening the Dutch in struggle, 118.

....., ..., peace proposals of Archduke, as affecting, 136, King Henry IV.'s views on, 137.

....., ..., Spanish demand that English aid for, shall cease, 142.

....., ..., flight to, of English pirate from Levant, expected, 145.

....., ..., possible choice by, of Archduke Albert, as their Lord, on his abandonment by Spain, 148.

....., ..., French payments to, under Anglo-French treaty, 168, 200.

Netherlands, United, or States of Holland, &c.—*cont.*
....., ... (1604), Venetian representations to, touching captured ships, 184.
....., ..., large Scottish reinforcements for, 188.
....., ..., "cautionary towns" in, their surrender to Spain a condition of peace, 213.
....., ..., horses presented by, to James I., 216.
....., ..., refuse to negotiate except on "basis of an independent state," 217.
....., ..., position of, towards Anglo-Spanish peace conferences, 229, 233, 236, 241, 242, 246, 259.
....., ..., historical review of connexion of, with House of Burgundy, 230.
....., ..., outrage by men of, on sailors from Sandwich, retaliation, 251.
....., ..., Spanish special Envoy fears capture by fleet of, on voyage to England; personal intervention of King James, 259.
....., ..., fears in, occasioned by Anglo-Spanish peace, 259.
....., ..., their proposed inclusion in Empire, 261.
....., ..., recruiting in England for, as in France, possible, in spite of treaties, 267.
....., ..., effect in Flanders of their success at Sluys, 267.
....., ..., case of the "cautionary towns" in, revived by Spain, 267.
....., ..., Venetian opinion that they would submit to the Archduke on his promising to recognize privileges accorded by House of Burgundy, 268.
....., ..., English levies for, leave England, after Spanish protest, 274, 278, 288, 307.
....., ..., cause of, popular in England; their abandonment, for a Spanish alliance, disliked, 278.
....., ..., Anglo-Spanish treaty, as affecting, 288.
....., ..., English "corsairs" take service with, after Anglo-Spanish peace, 292, 331, 341.
....., ..., naval activity of, off Flemish coasts, English ship seized, 301, 312.
....., ..., Commissioners from, expected in England, 301, 307, 312, remain away, at desire of King James, 325, 333.
....., ..., King James refuses to persuade, or force, to conclude peace with Spain, 307.
....., ..., great preparations in, for next year's campaign against Spain singlehanded, 317.

Netherlands, United, or States of Holland, &c.—*cont.*
....., ... (1605), continued financial support for, from France, 318.
....., ..., recognition of, as free Republic, indispensable condition of peace with Spain, 325.
....., ..., free trade with, question as altered by "neutrality" of England, 333.
....., ..., recruiting for, in England, 341, 357, 360.
....., ..., vessel of, manned by English, makes Portuguese prize in the Downs; diplomatic discussion concerning, 348.
....., ..., "Dutch and English interests identical," English opinion, 348.
....., ..., spice-laden ship of, shelters in England, for fear of ships of Dunquerque, 352.
....., ..., quarrel between ships of, and "Dunquerquers" in Plymouth harbour, 352.
....., ..., assistance for, from England, unchecked by Anglo-Spanish treaty, 360.
....., ..., mediation with, of King James, sought by Archduke, to induce them to accept a "reasonable composition" with him, 363.
....., ..., fear that they may put themselves under French protection affects English policy towards, 365.
....., ..., Flanders blockaded by, trade with England prevented, refusal of King James to prevent by force, 369, 385.
....., ..., attack Antwerp, 373, 374.
....., ..., Spanish fleet, with troops for Flanders, destroyed by, off Dover, 385, 391.
....., ..., their power at sea and in Channel, English acquiescence in, 397, 408.
....., ..., defeat of Count Maurice, English troops' heavy loss, 436.
....., ... (1606), offer to maintain fleet, free of charge, for King James, if he will make war on Spain, 468.
....., ..., apply for assistance in England, troops granted for defence of Brill, 474.
....., ..., ship of, with Spanish prize, taken into English port, diplomatic discussion, 474.
....., ..., fleet fitted out in, against Spanish coasts, 483, 511, returns, 534.
....., ..., French aid for, 483, 490, 499, 500, 506, 511, 538.
....., ..., great Spanish preparations against; English alarm, 490.
....., ..., English determination to assist, 499, difficulty in, 511, 538, but genuine, 573.

Netherlands, United, or States of Holland, &c. (1606)—*cont.*
....., ..., settlement made by, in East Indies, 515; new route to, to be attempted by, 538.
....., ..., large English enlistments with, 550.
....., ..., proposed winter invasion of, 573.
....., ..., company formed in, to promote permanent settlement in West Indies, 579.
....., ..., forces of, in better position, thanks to mutiny of Spinola's troops, 608 *and note.*
....., ..., offer by, of naval and other assistance to Venice, 618.
....., ..., successes of, in Flanders, 618.
....., ..., proposed embassy from, to England, to urge further support, 632.
....., ..., check to, in Flanders, 642.
....., ..., anticipated union of English fleet with Dutch in West Indies, Spanish alarm, 643, 652, 685.
....., ... (1607), men of Dunquerque sailing from English ports, attacked and driven back by ships of, 660.
....., ..., effect upon Spanish war against, of Franquezza's fall, 668.
....., ..., threatened peace between, and Spain, for lack of support, English alarm, 669.
....., ..., overtures to, from Spain, for truce; commissioners from, arrive at Brussels; English alarm, and threats, 678.
....., ..., peace with, or truce, necessary to Spain, while supporting Pope in Italy against Venetians; English opposition to the truce denounced by Duke of Lerma, 679.
....., ..., the English remedy, viz., the marriage of the Infanta to the Prince of Wales, with Holland as dower; Sir Charles Cornwallis' prescription, 679.
....., ..., effect on, of Spanish policy in Italy; desire in, for continuance of war, 680.
....., ..., Spanish galleons wrecked while chasing Dutch vessels, 680.
....., ..., King James' indifference to, contrasted with his zeal for Venice; the inference, 687.
....., ..., estimate of sum expended by France on behalf of, 688.
....., ..., satisfaction in, at Papal recruiting in Flanders, 689.
....., ..., Jeremy Valemen, of bankrupt firm of name, in Spain, desires to go to, 698.
....., ..., negotiations with, of Archduke, regarded in, as "blind," to free Spain's hands in Italy, 699.

Netherlands, United, or States of Holland, &c. (1607)—*cont.*
....., ..., fleet of, in readiness, 699, 701.
....., ..., negotiations by, with France, for pledging strong places in; English jealousy; question of "cautionary towns" revived, 701.
....., ..., English jealousy of French relations with, 707.
....., ..., truce between, and Archduke, on terms of the recognition of their independence and the inclusion of the King of Spain, on eve of arrangement, 716.
....., ..., inability of, to dispense with English and French assistance; illness of Count Maurice, 716.
...., ..., reported expulsion of, by Spanish from Island of Terranata in East Indies, 716, 721.
....., ..., English anxiety at conclusion of truce between, and Archduke, 717, 721.
....., ..., importance attached by King James to Spanish recognition of Dutch independence, 720.
....., ..., truce to be ratified by Spain in three months; not to apply to sea, 720.
....., ..., motives of, in negotiating truce, 721.
....., ..., question of debt of two millions of gold due by, to England, as affected by truce, 721.
....., ..., terms of truce, 722, 723.
....., ..., incorporation of Flanders with, expected on Infanta's decease, 721.
....., ..., Lord Salisbury's analysis of motives of Spain in negotiating truce, 727.
....., ..., King James' interpretation of sense attached by Spain to the word "independence" as conceded to Dutch, 727.
....., ..., Archduke's scheme to reunite, with Flanders, expelling Spanish, and granting liberal government, 730.
....., ..., French negotiations for joint action with England touching, 732.
....., ..., naval victory by, over Spanish, 737, 738.
....., ..., dislike of King James to Dutch, as "rebels," 739 (*pp.* 520-521).
....., ... *See also* Cautionary Towns; Maurice, Count.

Neuberg, Wolfgang William, Count Palatine of, his Ambassador in England, 216 *and note;* his second son in England, touching the Cleves succession, 360, attends Chapter of "Garter," 365.

Neuce, William, Captain, his plot against King James, 550 *and note*; said to be designed to recapture Sluys, 553; 555, 556, 558, 560, 562, 565, 569, 570, 581, 599.
Neuchâtel, 644.
Neufville, Nicolas de, Seigneur de Villeroi, 64, 200; treachery of Tes, his secretary, 212, 215, 222, 249: mentioned, 523*n*; discourages Venetian reliance on England, 687; report of interviews with, touching proposed league between England, France, and Venice, 693, 711.
Neufville de Villeroi, Charles de, Marquis d'Alincourt, 671.
Neutrals, rights of, 3, 4.
Nevill, Charles, Earl of Westmorland, refugee in Spain (1588), Appendix III. (*p.* 533).
Neville, Sir Henry, ex-Ambassador to France, released, 22; honoured by James I., 40.
Newman, Edward, petitions Privy Council, 23.
News Letters, 562, 624.
"*News from Venice*," a broadsheet, printed in London and licensed by Archbishop, suppressed by Lord Salisbury, at request of Venetian Ambassador, 730; text of it, 731.
Nonsuch, King at, 111; palace of, given to Queen Anne, 118.
Norfolk, Duke of. *See* Howard, Thomas.
North Sea fishery, 739 (*p.* 522).
Northumberland, Earl of. *See* Percy, Henry.
Nôtre Dame, church of, 90.
Nottingham, Abraham, captain of the "Grace," 109.
Nottingham, Earl of. *See* Howard, Charles.

O

O'Neil, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, returns "pardon" and submits unconditionally (1603) to James I., 34; proposes to visit England, 66; arrives in London, popular outburst against, 78; well received by King, but not allowed to return to Ireland, 81; sends back Spanish subsidies, 95; alarm of, and desire to return home, 118; revolt (1606) of his son-in-law, 487; Irish rising attributed to, 553.
Oatlands, co. Surrey, King at, 97, 102; King's children at, 104; plague appears at, children removed, 118; King at, 248, leaves, 251, returns to, 396, 404.
Ocagna, prison of, 685.
Offly, Robert, of London, merchant, 129.
Offreddo, Monsignore, Papal Nuncio at Venice, 641.
Oil. *See* Trade.
Oldcorne, Edward, Jesuit, taken at Hindlip, 486.
Olden-Barneveldt, Jehan van, his embassy (1603) to England, 36; expresses his hopes of French, failing English, support, 55; meeting between, and King James, in gallery at Greenwich, 81.
Olet, Robert, English sea captain, 194.
Olororeh (?), Christopher, of Southampton, 141.
Ongari, 524, 539.
Oriago, on the Brenta, 615*n*.
Orkney (Orches), Earl of, 69.
Orkneys, the, Danish claim to, 433, 739 (*p.* 519).
Ormesin, Ponte, Venice, 615*n*.
Orsini, Don Virginio, Duke of Bracciano, proposed Envoy to James I. from Pope, 154.
Ostend, English succour for, 34, 36; siege pressed, but reliefs thrown in, 39; fall of, expected in Spain, 61; to be abandoned by England, 73; machine for bombarding, 99 *and note*, 108; pay of besiegers unpaid, 148; splendid defences of, 180; fall of, expected, 202, 227, 233; reported fall of, 234; desperate condition of, 242, 248, 251, 259; protracted defence of, contrasted with fall of Sluys, 261; fresh effort of defenders, 266, 268; its fall, 278 *and note*.
Otranto, 598.
Owen, Hugh, Gunpowder Plot conspirator, arrested in Flanders, 454, 457, 464, 487, 496, 497, 499, 501, 520; refusal of the Archduke to surrender, 739 (*p.* 520).
Owen *alias* Littlejohn, Nicholas, his suicide after torture, 498.
Oxford, Spanish Ambassador goes to, on arrival in England, 128; mentioned, 135; Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors lodged at Jesus College in, 136; remarks on University of, 136; Roman Catholic priest expelled from, 355; imposture of "the sleeping preacher" at, 364 *and note*; King's "progress" to, 404 (*cf.* 396), 407, 410, his performances and anti-Papal outbreak at, 415.
....., despatches dated from, 135, 136.

P

Padavino, Venetian Secretary of Senate, 81.

Padua, Benedictine bred at, sent to England, 77; case of Antonio Dotto of, 169; the Rectors in, 299; University of, 426; Dotto, a great family in, 524; mentioned, 617, 622, 736.

Paget, Thomas, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, refugee (1588) in Spain, Appendix III. (*p.* 533).

Palatine, Counts, of the Rhine, Neuberg branch of, 216*n*, 360.

....., Elector, Frederick, Ambassadors from (1603) in England, to request King's intercession with King of France for the Duke de Bouillon, 72; they take leave, 78; their request refused, 81: catches, and forwards home, a Scottish forger, 390, 396; backs claims of Marquis of Brandenburg to Cleves succession, 625; Sir Henry Wotton's service at Court of, 664.

Paleocastro, in Candia, 57, 58.

Palma, 299.

Papacy, "proud Bishops of" denounced by James I., 22; his fear of, 73; "detestable" book against, appears in London, 93; claim of, to absolve subjects from allegiance, 132; King James favours a conference of theologians to discuss claims of, 136; claim of, to Ireland, 142, 147; claims made by, in other than spiritual matters, the cause of Cecil's determination to repress the Roman Catholic party in England, 353; Papal support of temporal authority in England, 397*n*; Papal dispensation for Henry IV.'s marriage invalid, 399; question of power of Pope to depose Sovereigns, 486, discourse on, by Sir Henry Wotton, 518, by King James, 532; oath devised to counteract, 534, 535 *and note;* "Monitoria" and "Interdicts," weapons of, 617, 622; book by Lord Northampton against temporal authority of, 635; claims of, over Naples and Sicily, proposed surrender to Spain, contrary to the Bull "Toties," 658.

"*Papacy, to enjoy the,*" phrase applied to James I., 73.

Papilla, Zuanne, supercargo of the "Moresina," deposition by, 287.

Paris, many Scots resident in, 10; Antonio Perez leaves, 181.

....., despatches dated from, 10, 11, 16, 17, 28, 38, 39, 63, 64, 67, 68, 86, 93, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 114, 124, 130, 131, 137, 138, 139, 148, 149, 154, 161, 168, 179, 183, 189, 200, 203, 206, 212, 215, 222, 228, 234, 235, 239, 240, 244, 245, 247, 249, 258, 264, 265, 270, 308, 319, 320, 327, 335, 343, 351, 359, 370, 375, 395, 402, 444, 450, 451, 455, 462, 472, 492, 506, 513, 542, 543, 590, 603, 656, 662, 671, 686, 687, 688, 693, 710, 711.

Paris, Giovanni de, master of the "Geopandita," 141.

Parker, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, "elevates Host" at Queen Elizabeth's Coronation, 69.

....., William, Lord Monteagle, 442, 475.

Parliament (1603), arches erected for Coronation in July, to be used for opening of, in October, 97.

...., objects with which summoned, 132.

...., postponed, on account of plague, 147.

..... (1604), summoned by proclamation deprecating the return of Roman Catholic, or Puritan members, 186.

...., opened in State by King, with speech, 204.

...., case of the Buckinghamshire election, 205, 207, 214.

...., King resigns right of nominating "Undertaker" for, 205.

...., question of Union with Scotland discussed in, 214.

...., Commissioners appointed by to consider Union, 220, 227.

...., *verbatim* report of speech in, on Anglo-Spanish peace, 230.

...., bill passed in Commons, dissolving all trading monopolies, 233; King's attitude to, 236.

...., refuses a subsidy to King, prorogued, 238.

...., repressive legislation introduced in Commons against Roman Catholics, 241.

...., to be prorogued, 242; prorogued; King's speech; bills against Roman Catholics and Monopolies not sanctioned, 243.

...., reluctance of King to resort to, for supplies, 295.

...., strength in of Puritans, 313.

..... (1605), again prorogued, 325, 415.

...., King's interference in elections for, 410, 415.

...., question of Union to be withdrawn from, and subsidy to be pressed for, 433.

...., to meet on 15 November (O.S.); a subsidy to be asked for; abuses in customs and the question of Monopolies to be raised in, 435.

...., grounds of opposition by, to grant of subsidy; Puritan element in, 440.

...., plot to destroy. *See* "Gunpowder Plot."

..... (1606), penal legislation in, against Roman Catholics, expected, 483, begun, 490.

...., subsidies voted in, subject to reform of King's expenditure and Household, 499, which he defers, 526.

Parliament (1606)—*cont.*
...., prorogued, 532.
...., preparations for meeting of; expected antagonism in, to Spain, and to King's gifts to his servants, 623.
...., opened by King; his speech, 632.
...., the Union pressed upon, 635, a hopeless question, 642, 643.
...., further legislation in, against Roman Catholics, expected, 643.
...., adjourned without prospect of Union being carried, 652, 654.
..... (1607), continues to sit, engaged only with question of Union; member committed to Tower for speaking against, 699 *and note*.
...., King's authority brought to bear on, in favour of Union, 701.
...., direct appeal to, by owners of ship, the "Trial," arrested by Spanish at Messina, 707.
...., discussion of Union renewed in; subject lends itself to extension of parliamentary, as opposed to Royal, authority, 713.
...., question raised in, of damage done to English commerce by Spain; the legality of reprisals discussed, 714, 718.
...., King's speech to, on subject of Union; his threat to dissolve and summon at York, or to supersede by "his own absolute authority," 718.
...., reply prepared by, to King's speech on the Union, 727.
...., King proposes to dissolve, and to influence elections to another, 738.
...., influence of Crown on elections to, 739 (*p.* 509).
Parliamentary Commissions for trial of conspirators, 101, 132 (*see* "Raleigh"); to consider the Union with Scotland, 220, 227.
Parma, Duke of. *See* Farnese.
Parry (Perrê), ——, his piracy, 53.
....., Sir Thomas, English Ambassador in Paris, 107; an Italian scholar, 161; communicates account of Gunpowder Plot to Henry IV., 450; retires, 462.
Parsons (Persons, Presonio), "Father" Robert, Jesuit, his plot against King, said to have been disclosed by a brother Jesuit, 105; his correspondence with Sir Anthony Standen, 188; at Rome, 505.
Parthenio, Pietro, his cipher adopted by Council of Ten, 671*n*.
Patras, 7, 8; attack on (1603), by Maltese galleys, 8; English Consuls at, 30, arrested by Venetians, 47, 48, 50, imprisoned by English Ambassador, 133; a resort of pirates, 322, 448;
Patras—*cont.*
English Consul at, in league with pirates, 681.
Paul IV., Pope, 555.
Paul V., Pope (Camillo Borghese) (1605), proposes to send Jesuits to England, 412.
....., ..., requests Venetian Government to further interests of Roman Catholics in England, 430.
....., ..., his instructions to Roman Catholics in England not to resist law, 434.
....., ..., his connivance suspected in the Gunpowder plot, 443, anxiety of Nuncio in Paris, 450, 472; alleged proof, 510.
....., ..., dispenses Dr. Whorwelle from residence, 459.
....., ... (1606), reported decision of, to excommunicate King James, 463.
....., ..., his offer, through Nuncio in Paris, to have conspirators in Gunpowder plot arrested, if found in Papal States, 472.
....., ..., his quarrel with Venice, 482, 505, 519. *See under* "Venice."
....., ..., English spies about, report his relations with Jesuits, 505.
....., ..., Cecil's estimate of, 532.
....., ..., his Venetian policy studied in England, 537, causes apprehension of aggressions at English expense, 538, 547.
....., ..., Spanish support for, in Venetian quarrel, 552, 560, 561, 564, 569, 577.
....., ..., his supposed Agent in England, 578.
....., ..., his Bull, prohibiting Roman Catholics in England to take oath of allegiance, or resort to English Church services, 578 *and note*.
....., ..., raises money and troops against Venice, 580, 582; appoints Duke of Parma his general, 588; Venetian account of his preparations, 591; Duke of Savoy desires to be made general of, 594; an accord difficult, 596; further preparations of, 600; English officer in service of, 600, 601, 602.
....., ..., alliance against, between Venice, Denmark, and German Princes, suggested by English, 617.
....., ..., Sir Henry Wotton's views as to his conduct, the Doge's reply; his pamphlets due to "the race of friars, priests, and parasites of the Court of Rome," "idle by nature," 622.
....., ..., an accommodation between, and Venice anticipated, 625, 628, 635.

Paul V., Pope (1606)—*cont.*
....., ..., Venetian terms for compromise with, 633.
....., ..., his negotiation with Sir Henry Wotton, 641.
....., ..., Spain raises troops to assist, 651.
....., ... (1607), responsible, by stirring up discord in Christendom, for conclusion of peace by Empire with the Turks, 654.
....., ..., alleged Spanish proposal to surrender claims of Church over Naples and Sicily, for cash payment, 658.
....., ..., contracts with Englishman for supply of gunpowder, 658.
....., ..., his position, as against Venice, condemned in Scotland, 659.
....., ..., Spanish preparations to aid by force, 661.
....., ..., requests loan of English officer from Spain, 661, 673.
....., ..., "brief" addressed by, to Roman Catholics in England, 666, 667, 675, 689.
....., ..., secures services of an expert in cipher, 671.
....., ..., in view of his continued armaments, encouraged by Spain, Venice notifies France and England of desire for alliance, 672, 673.
....., ..., Duke of Lerma's declaration of Spanish determination to support, 679.
....., ..., France disposed to disregard, in view of Spanish preparations in Italy, 684.
....., ..., troops raised for, in Flanders; Dutch satisfaction at, 689.
....., ..., French policy towards, contrasted with English, in either case Spain being aimed at, 690.
....., ..., King James on French attitude towards, 691.
....., ..., disinclination of France to break with, 693.
....., ..., maintains his pretensions, against Venice, 695.
....., ..., terms negotiated for, with Venice, declined, 704, 705.
....., ..., contracts for supply of gunpowder, 708.
....., ..., Henry IV. of France suggests his inclusion in a Franco-Venetian "league," 710.
....., ..., accommodation between, and Venice, arrived at, 715, 720, 720A, 720B.
Paul, Father, of Venice. *See* Sarpi.
Pazzo, Lambriano, letter to, 30.
"Pearl." *See* Ships.
Pearson, Richard, English merchant in Zante, 59.
Peerage, Scottish, English refusal to incorporate with English, 214.
Pensioners, Band of Gentlemen, captaincy of, taken from Earl of Northumberland and conferred on Lord Suffolk, 547; expense of maintenance of, 739 (*p.* 508).
Penzo, Francesco, of Chioggia, master of the "Grassa," deposition by, 286.
Perastina, 494.
Percy, Allan, knight, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, 160; his services as Colonel of English levies desired by Spanish; he is forbidden to serve, 369, 385; arrested, 547 *and note*.
....., Dorothy, Countess of Northumberland, sponsor to Queen's daughter, 368; received by King James; begs her husband may stand his trial, 457.
....., Henry, Earl of Northumberland, banished the Court by Queen Elizabeth, sworn of the Privy Council (1603), 34; his brother, 160; his relationship to the conspirator, Thomas Percy, 442; suspected of connivance in plot, 443, 445, 447; committed to Tower, 454; his enmity to Cecil, 454, 457, 474; claims trial by his peers, 457; clears himself, 474; his release expected, 523; heavily fined and sentenced to be imprisoned for life; his connexion with plot established, 547.
....., Lucy, Lady, 665*n*.
....., Thomas, conspirator, 442, 443, 445, 446, 447, 454, 475.
Perez Antonio, leaves France for England, 181; arrives at Dover, but is detained there, and returns to France, 192, owing to Spanish representations, 200; his case, 497, 553.
Persons, Father. *See* Parsons.
Pert, Nicholas, his murder, 371, 387, 400, 409, 417, 419, 421, 447, 615*n*.
Perth, Earl of. *See* Drummond.
Pervis, ——, farmer of the salt pans in Cyprus, 134.
Peso sootile, or Venetian light weight, 35 *and note*.
Petre, John, Lord Petre of Writtle, Coronation peerage, 105*n*.
Peutres, Edward, representations on behalf of, to Venice, 730.
Philip II., his personal quarrel with Queen Elizabeth, 73; his struggle with England like that of "giants against heaven," 142; respects the Adriatic, 577.
Philip III. of Spain (1606), proposes to change title of "Catholic King" for "Defender of the Faith," 521.
...., his letter to Pope, touching quarrel with Venice, 552, 560, 561, 564, 569, 577, 591, 594.
..... (1607), daughter born to, 571.

Philip III. of Spain (1607)—*cont.*

...., resents proposition of match between House of Savoy and Stuarts, 663.

...., his concern as to election of King of the Romans, 673.

...., "would pawn his very person rather than allow the Vicar of Christ to be ill treated," 679.

Picardy, Henry IV. in, 38, 64; open to Spanish attack, 90.

Piccoli, 598.

Piedmont, Prince of, Spanish proposal to betroth to Elizabeth (of Bohemia), 81.

Piers, William (John), deposition as to piracy of, 21; order by Grand Signor concerning, 42; in list of "pirates" calling at Tunis, 53; owners of his ship arrested, 72; return home of some of his crew, himself reported at Milo, 78; sails into Plymouth, 87; his arrest at suit of Venetian Agent, 87; Venetian Senate directs his prosecution, 94; arrested, Venetian Agent in England writes of "torture" for him, 96; his life in prison, 97; his case mentioned to King, 102, 166; included in general pardon, 166, 170; his execution insisted on by King, 170; money offered by, to escape hanging, 181, 187.

Pigott, Sir Christopher, M.P., committed to Tower, for speaking against Union, 699.

Pinder, Paul, representations by Cecil on behalf of, to Venetian Government, 193, 403.

Pinner, Nicolo, English officer, to take service with Venice, 582, 588; gold collar presented to, 597; is presented to the Doge, 600; mentioned, 611, 622.

Piperi, Januli, Venetian Consul at Melos, despatch from to the Venetian Ambassador in Turkey, 494.

Piracy (1603), enemy's (Spanish) goods taken out of neutral (French) bottom, 3, 4.

...., French ship plundered by English, goods sold to Turks, 7.

...., Venetian ship twice plundered by English, once by ship of Royal Navy, 9.

...., Consul da Mosto's case (*see* Vol. IX.), 13.

...., English captain arrested by Turks for plundering Venetian ship, 14, 15, 24, 25, 26, 27, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, executed by Venetians, 65, 156.

...., Sherley, Thomas, case of, 19, 56.

Piracy (1603)—*cont.*

...., the "Balbiana," case of, taken by ship of Rochelle, with mixed Dutch, English, and French crew, 20, 166, 174.

...., Venetian ship taken by William Piers, 21.

...., Whitbrook, Hugh, alleged piracy by, 23.

...., Turkish action for suppression of, 29, 41.

...., lucrative nature of, 41.

...., English Consul's connivance in, 47.

.... list of English pirates in Levant, 53.

...., caution money exacted by Venetians at Zante from English ships leaving, to check, 57, 60, 498.

...., English pirates captured by Venetians, 57, 59.

...., return home of English pirates on accession of James I., 69.

...., officially discountenanced by Turks, privately encouraged, 71.

...., English Privy Council implicated in, 72.

...., Venetian Agent in England protests against, 72.

...., Turkish embassy to England touching, 74, 116, 161.

...., Venetian action to suppress, in England; Piers' return home, 78, 79, his arrest, 87, 102, 166, 170, 181, 187.

...., Turkish Governor of Modon to be hung for abetting, 84, 103.

...., profits of Beglierbey of Tunis from encouraging, 85.

...., quarrel between Governor of Zante and the Sanjak of the Morea over person of alleged pirate, 88, 89.

...., capture of English ship by French privateer as alleged pirate, 88, 115, 126.

...., by Dutch, 91.

...., Capudan Pasha evades request to suppress, 92.

...., arrest of English merchants at Salonica as concerned in, 103.

...., English bribes to Turkish officials touching, 103, 115.

...., Captain Tomkins of Southampton, case of, 125, 128, 132, 141, 145, 166, 170.

...., English pirates on coast of Barbary, at Tunis, &c., 125; their exclusion from, the best remedy, 170.

...., English offer (78) to send Royal ship inside Straits of Gibraltar to arrest pirates not carried out, 125, 166, 170, 208.

...., the "Angel," case of, wrongly arrested by Venetians as pirate, 129.

Piracy (1603)—*cont.*
...., action by Grand Signor to suppress, 134.
...., English official connivance at, King James' anger, 141, 145, 166, 169, 181.
...., text of King James' proclamation against, 146.
...., fine seamanship of English pirates in Levant, 152.
...., cases of, by English, 152, 153.
...., insufficient protection against, by Venetian fleet, 153, 176.
...., by French, under English flag, 154.
...., revenge by English, for execution of pirates at Zante, 156.
...., caution money to be required of ship leaving England, 166, 208.
...., the Lord High Admiral's apology for; the Spanish war its cause, 167, 221.
...., pirates sentenced to death at Southampton, 174.
..... (1604), by English, reported, 176.
...., six pirates hung in England, at Southampton, 181, 187.
...., English merchantmen, accused of smuggling, threaten Zante, 194, 198.
...., Turkish prize taken by English from Maltese privateer, 195, 196, 197.
...., satisfaction of Venetian government at measures taken against, in England, 208.
...., Capt. John King's jest with the Podestà in Istria, a piratical act, 210, 225, 236, 248, 403, 419, 420, 422.
...., English privateers taken by French pirate, 211.
...., English pirate, commander Vespasian Saier, with prize, chased into Modon by Venetian Admiral, 218, 224; the prize surrendered by Turks, 226; the commander rescued by populace, 231.
...., Englishmen blow up their own ship rather than surrender, 219.
...., Venetian representations concerning, 220, 221.
...., reparation for, to be sought either by civil action or by criminal prosecution; Venetian objections to the alternative endorsed by King James, 221.
...., English merchantmen cleared for action at Malamocco, crews arrested, 225.
...., English pirate arrested by Turkish official at Modon, rescued by populace, 231.

Piracy (1604)—*cont.*
...., Englishmen, banished from home, take to piracy on coasts of Barbary, arrested by Turks, released by Beglierbey of Algiers and commissioned by him on basis of half plunder; offended by Turkish militia, they enter service of Grand Duke of Tuscany, and on his instructions, destroy Turkish galleys, &c., 216, 220, 223, 236, full account, 237.
...., pressure brought to bear by Venetians on Sanjak of the Morea to hang English pirates, 252, 253, 254, 255.
...., Turkish Governors of Coron and Modon receive orders not to shelter pirates, 262, 263.
...., Sanjak consents to hanging of English pirates; their execution at Zante, 269, English revenge for, 302.
...., Turkish crews, from Tunis, aboard English pirates, 271, 272.
...., English merchantman attacked by Venetian Admiral, for refusing to acknowledge his flag and right of search, 273, 315, 328, 331, 339.
...., depositions of masters and supercargos of four vessels attacked by English pirates, 284, 285, 286, 287.
...., English "corsairs" enter Dutch service on conclusion of peace between England and Spain, 292, 331.
...., caution money exacted by Governor of Zante, against smuggling and piracy, from English vessels, 298.
...., Governor of Zante's property destroyed, his majolica broken, the cage birds of his women kind killed, &c., by English pirates, for the sake of the Englishmen hung by him, 302, 303, 336, 338, 339, 352.
...., English ship captured after seven years' piracy, 311.
..... (1605), English demand for discrimination on part of Venetians between pirates and honest merchantmen, 321.
...., exclusion of pirates from Turkish ports demanded by Venetians, 322.
...., the Sultan of Turkey, for his amusement, causes three pirates to be dashed head foremost on the ground and then flung into the sea, 329.
...., Englishmen enter Dutch service, with view of practising piracy in Levant; caution money to be exacted by Dutch, 331.
...., Turkish correspondence relating to, 358.

Piracy (1605)—*cont.*
...., proposed regulations for English merchantmen meeting Venetian galleys in Venetian waters, the penalty of disobedience to be arrested as pirates, 371, 376, 377, 380, 381, 403, 404, 407, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422, 429, 439.
...., English merchantmen arrested by Turks as pirate, 437, 466, burnt in dock, 470.
..... (1606), Turkish alarm at increase of piracy, 466, 470.
...., English ship taken by Savoyards, 470.
...., piracy at Alexandretta, 477.
...., piracy at expense of English by ships of Malta and Savoy, 494.
...., prize brought into Sapienza by English, 634, 639.
..... (1607), Frenchman, from Toulon, guilty of, at expense of Venetians, posted at English ports, 655.
...., the "Liona" burnt by pirates, Turkish refusal of redress, 676; goods out of, bought by English, instance of official connivance at piracy, 681, further action touching, 700.
...., closing of Turkish ports to English only cure for, 681.
...., ship from Nauplia, already plundered by a Savoyard, again plundered by English and taken to Barbary, 681.
...., similar case, the Englishman flying the "Flemish" flag, carrying a few Turks, the rest English, 682.
...., shipping at Modon blockaded by pirates, ships (one English) sent to the rescue from Zante, 697.
...., English ship, the "Trial," arrested at Messina on suspicion of, 707; release demanded, 714, released, 718.
"Pirat or sea-rover," 146.
"Pirona." *See* Ships.
Pizzamani, ship belonging to the, plundered by French pirate, 655.
Plague, the (1603), 55, 66, 69, 72 *bis*, 78, 81, 91 *bis*, 96, 97; attacks Royal Household, 113, 118, 128; abates in London, 118; increases in virulence, 125, 128, 132; death from, at Oxford, 136; moral effects of, 136; appears at Winchester, 142; hinders English trade with France, 145; delays meeting of Parliament, 147; effect of, on collection of taxes, and trade of London, 158; diminishes in London, thanks to cold (December), 167, 172, 175; revives (1604), 186, decreases, 188, 190, 199, 201, 204, 207, 213, revives, 217, 220, 223, 227; diminishes, 233, 236; bad in country, 238; nearly extinct in town, 242, 248, 251, 259; raging in
Plague, the (1604)—*cont.*
country, St. Bartholomew's Fair to be forbidden on account of, 261; the fair held, 268; death rate from, 266, abates, 268, rises in town and country, increased by Fair, causes abandonment of Royal Progress, 274; deaths from, 278, 288, 291; supposed (1605) revival of, proves to be small-pox, 435; revives (1606), 553, 556, 560, 564; appears in Scotland, 564; stationary, 566; on increase, 569, drives Court away from London, 583, 596; at Hampton Court, 599; had ceased, 623; threatens (1607) to revive, Court leaves town to avoid, 727.
Plantagenet, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 230.
Plymouth, return of buccaneers to, 78, 87, 170; ship of, 225; quarrel in, of Dutch and "Dunquerquers," 8[illegible]; Jesuits executed at, 596.
Poland, Ambassador from, to England, 145, arrives, 164, banquetted, 182, obtains leave to raise recruits in England, 193; Agent of Duke Charles, uncle of King of, in London, 199, refused audience, 202; Jesuit disturbances in, 547; war between, and Duke Charles of Sweden, 583; English relations with, 739 (*p.* 519).
Polino (Polognia), 494 *and note*.
"Ponte." *See* Ships.
Ponte, Agostin dal, 91.
Pontois, John, master of the "Marita," 309, 314, 318.
Pope. *See* Clement VIII.
..... *See* Paul V.
Popham, John, order to, from King, to arrest anti-Scottish "swaggerers," 217*n*.
"Porcupine," defence of Ostend called, 227.
Portsmouth, return of buccaneers to, 78, 135; Venetian Ambassadors arrive at, 159, 465.
Portugal, Queen Elizabeth's policy of attack on Spain through, 34.
....., alleged redemption of Portuguese subjects by Sir Anthony Sherley in Morocco, 631.
....., alleged frauds in, of Sir Anthony Sherley, 670.
....., Don Antonio of. *See* Antonio.
....., Don Sebastian of. *See* Sebastian.
Posevino, Antonio, Jesuit, in Venice, 50[illegible]; his work, according to Sir Henry Wotton, published under the name of Cominuoli, or Cominicoli, 641.
Postnati, question of the, or automatic Union of England and Scotland, 307, 713. *See also* "Union."
Portuguese Indies. *See* Indies, East.
Prague, despatch dated from, 382.

Precedence among Ambassadors in England:—
....., of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Burgundy over Venetian, 40.
....., of the Archdukes of Flanders over Venetian, 91.
....., of Savoy over the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 182, 185.
....., refusal of King James to decide question, as between France and Spain, 201, 204, 216, 312, 325.
....., of the Ambassador Venice over Ulric, Duke of Holstein, 323.
....., violent dispute between Ambassadors of France and Spain as to, 332; the action of the French Ambassador endorsed by orders from home, 560.
....., Ambassador of the Archduke ordered not to yield precedence to Venice, 365; the like orders given to their Ambassador by the Republic, 378, received, 396; the question discussed at length; the Archduke's claim based on his succession to the rights of the Dukes of Burgundy, 502.
....., Venetian Ambassador seeks the King's arbitrament on his claim, 510; renewed instructions to him from home on the point, 514; despatch from him, on his intrigues touching, 515; explains his case to the King, 516; Sir Henry Wotton's remarks on, at Venice, 524; audience with King touching, delayed, 526; conversation with French Ambassador as to, 527; communication concerning, by Senate, to Sir Henry Wotton, 529; interviews between the Ambassador and both the King and Lord Salisbury concerning, 531; question still undecided, 537; Sir Henry Wotton's account of, 539, the Doge's reply, 540, 541.
....., claim by King James for precedence of his representative in Paris over Papal Nuncio, 542.
....., Venetian precedence over Archduke, device for overcoming difficulty, 544, 546; thanks to the Venetian Ambassador from his government, for his firmness in matter, 557; further report on, 563; Sir Henry Wotton's comments, 565.
....., of France over Spain, renewed trouble as to, 563.
....., King of Denmark, upon English example, refuses to discriminate between France and Spain, 583.
....., continued insistence of Venetian Ambassador on his claim, 585; is received by Queen Anne before the Archduke's Ambassador, 589, and similarly by the King, 683.

Precedence among Ambassadors in England—*cont.*
....., historical review of the matter by Ambassador Molin; the refusal of King James to come to any decision on the point, 739 (*p.* 523).
President, Lord, in Scotland. *See* Elphinstone, James.
..... of the Council. *See* Stuart, Lodovic.
Presonio, Father. *See* Parsons.
Press, of seamen in Kent, 97.
Prevesa, 303.
Primate of England to be primate of Great Britain, 312.
Prisons, Venetian, 5.
Prioli, Ruberto di, of the Supreme Court, 616.
Priuli, Antonio, Venetian Senator, 555.
....., Francesco, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, despatch from, to Doge and Senate, 296, 310, 317, 326, 346, 354, 357, 362, 366, 372, 383, 386, 392, 393, 398, 399, 405, 413, 428, 434, 438, 452, 460, 467, 468, 480, 488, 495, 496, 500, 501, 520, 558, 559, 571, 581, 607, 631, 638, 647, 653, 663, 668, 670, 678, 679, 685, 698, ["Piero"] 703, 709, 734.
....., Piero, Venetian Ambassador in France, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 450, 451, 455, 462, 472, 492, 506, 513, 542, 543, 545, 586, 590, 603, 656, 662, 671, 686, 687, 688, 693, 710, 711.
Privy Council, English (1603), action by, touching nomination of heir to throne, 6.
....., ..., Scots admitted to, 22, 55.
....., ..., petition to, 23.
....., ..., attend proclamation of King James I., 32.
....., ..., significance of English appointments to, 34.
....., ..., alarm of members of, at King's resentment at his mother's execution; their justification, 40.
....., ..., interested individually in privateering ventures, 72.
....., ..., divided on Spanish policy of King, 73.
....., ..., details of bribery by Spain of Scottish members of, 83.
....., ..., orders by, to judge of Admiralty Court to interview the Venetian Secretary touching a case in which the Venetian Republic was concerned, 97.
....., ..., device of, to secure absence from, of Scottish rivals, 97, or to bribe them, 101.
....., ..., opposition by Protestant members of, to Queen Anne's influence, on ground of her reputed religion, 111.

Privy Council, English (1603)—*cont.*
....., ..., Spanish bribes for, 112, 139.
....., ..., neglect of, by M. de Rosny, 139, 141.
....., ..., policy of, in matter of piracy, 170.
....., ... (1604), Spanish bribes for, 186, 189, and French, 191.
....., ..., intervention of, in Buckinghamshire election, 205, 207, 214.
....., ..., of the King's religion, 213.
....., ..., jealousy in Scotland of Scottish members of, 227.
....., ..., action by, to prevent sale, out of England, of "big ships" rendered useless by conclusion of peace with Spain, 236, 238.
....., ..., King guided by, 274.
....., ..., Venetian Ambassador proposes to bribe, 274.
....., ... (1605), Lord Suffolk's friends in, support him against the Levant Company in the matter of his farm of the Currant Tax, 340.
....., ..., King, out of consideration for his health, delegates his authority to, in writing, 341.
....., ..., advocacy of toleration by Puritan members of, 347.
....., ..., members of, take the Communion with King; list of absentees drawn up, 360.
....., ..., enforcement of Recusancy laws left to, 373.
....., ..., book suppressed by order of, 374, *cf.* 368.
....., ..., names of Spanish pensioners in, communicated to King by Sir Charles Cornwallis, 399; the King's views on subject, 404.
....., ..., Spaniards conduct their business through members of, in Spanish pay, 434.
....., ..., dread of parliamentary discussion by members of, interested in customs and monopolies, 435.
....., ... (1606), sold to Spain, in opinion of King Henry IV. of France, 586.
....., ... (1607), Dutch demand for help, backed by threat of coming to terms with Spain, considered by, in King's absence, 669.
....., ..., opposition by Spanish party in, to issue of letters of marque against Spain, 674.
....., ..., protest by, against King's absence from town, during negotiations for Union, 701.
....., ..., venality of, causes owners of the "Trial," arrested by Spanish, to appeal direct to Parliament, 707.
Privy Council, English (1607)—*cont.*
....., ..., reproached by King as in receipt of Spanish bribes, 717.
....., ..., essay on the powers of, 739 (*pp.* 508-509).
..... (Scottish), formed, 97.
..... (Venetian). *See* Council of Ten.
Privy Seal Bonds, money borrowed on, 261, proposed repayment by subsidy, 415.
Progresses, Royal, 223, 238, 246; abandoned on account of plague, 274; to Oxford, 396, 404, 407, 410, 415, 416; "usual annual," 566, to Salisbury, 573, 578, 583.
Prophecying, a disease, 341.
Protestant, contrasted with *Calvinist*, 22; the name to cover both Calvinists and Puritans, King James' proposal, 206.
Provençe, 90.
Pule, Captain. *See* Bully.
Pun, by Sir Henry Wotton, 471 *and note.*
Puritans, condemned as "a very plague" by James I., 22; presence in Parliament deprecated by proclamation, 186; "pestilent sect," 199; to be called Protestants, 206; mentioned, 243; proclamation issued for their submission to the Bishops, 251; a "cursed sect," petition by, to King at Royston, taken by him as "almost an act of rebellion," their strength in Parliament, 313; danger feared from, some account of, 341, required to submit to Bishops, King's determination to suppress, 347, their resentment, 352, 355; Haydock's imposture fathered on, 368; their strength in Parliament, 440; King asserts his prerogative by "issuing constitutions" against, 738; principal opponents of the Union, in England, of this party, 738; their distinctive principles and power, 739 (*p.* 511). *See also* "Conformity."
Purple broad cloth, 309.
Purveyance, grievance of, 440 *and note.*
Pyrrhon the Sceptic, 518.

Q

Quarnale, Carnale, the jib, 376 *and note.*
Quattr' occhi, Dr., 615*n.*
Queen's Chamberlain. *See* Sidney, Robert.
Querini, Quirini, Antonio, writer in defence of Venice, against Papal claims, 589, 590, 642.
....., ..., Marco, Savio of Venice, 419.
....., ..., Paulo, 69.
Quieto, port of, 210.

R

"Rabuca." *See* Ships.

Radziwil, ——, Marshal of Lithuania, on embassy to England, drowned by men of Dunquerque, 345.

Ragusa, ship of, taken by English pirate, 71; relations of, to Venice, 91; doctor fetched from, by Grand Vizier, 256; mentioned, 387, 388, 419.

Raisins. *See* Trade.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, aimed at by Essex's plot, 40; his plot against James I., discovered, 96, 101; out of favour with King, as concerned in the death of Essex, 104; attempts suicide, 111; to be tried by Parliamentary Commission, 132; capture of last of his fellow conspirators, 136; preparations for trial of, at Winchester, 158, 160; the trial, 164; his evidence in Arabella Stuart's favour, 164; sentences passed at trial, 167; his relations with Ambassador of Archduke, 164, 168; his fate, 172, 175; removed from Tower, 201; one of his offices re-granted, 312.

Rammakens (Ramachin), 73.

Ramsay, John, Viscount Hadington, his marriage, 652 *and note*, 660 *and note*, 665.

Ranuccio, Prince. *See* Farnese.

Ratcliffe, Robert, Earl of Sussex, marriage of his daughter Elizabeth, 652*n*, 660 *and note*, 665.

Reals, Spanish, 145.

Recusants, Recusancy Fines. *See* Roman Catholics.

Religion, established, in England, King's (James I.) attitude to, on his accession, 6, 16, 22, 40, 55, 69; King proclaims himself Head of "Anglican Church," 66; vestments of clergy of, at Coronation, 105.

..... *See* Conformity; Puritans; Roman Catholics.

Renier, Constantin, Vice-Doge, 417.

Reusch, "Der Index den Verbotenen Bücher," cited, 625.

Rezasco, "Dizionario," cited, 439*n*, 595*n*.

Rhine, the, imports to England *vid*, 35; Spanish design to cross when frozen into Holland, 573.

Rhodes, 152.

Richardot, President, 113, 141; Commissioner for Anglo-Spanish peace, 217, 223, 248; his signature (as "Richardotus") to treaty, 268; his son expected to go Ambassador from Flanders to England, 313; mentioned, 527.

Richmond, co. Surrey, King James proclaimed at, 32; Danish Ambassador lodged at, 111; King at, 396, 453.

"*Rights of Nations*." *See International Law*.

Rimondo, ——, Englishman, 303.

Rizzardo, Giovanni, Ducal Notary, Venice, 613.

Rizzio, David (Gioseppe Rosso), a Piedmontese, murdered by Darnley in Queen Mary's lap, 40.

Rochfort, M. de, Chevalier, of Malta, 494.

Rochelle, pirate ship from, manned by French, Dutch, and English, 20; threatened introduction into, of Jesuits, 690.

Rochester, naval review at, 238, 242, 243.

Rock crystal, present of vessels of, to Queen, 266.

Rockingham, King at, 266.

Rohan, Duke of, 130; relieves Bergen-op-Zoom, 579.

Roll or Rowles, Jasper, English merchant settled in Zante, 57, 60, 129.

Rolls, Master of. *See* Bruce, Edward.

Rome, despatches dated from, 140, 143, 150, 155, 165, 324, 334, 412, 459, 491.

Roman Catholics, in England, attitude towards of King (1603), 6; those in prison in London, released, 6; reason of their imprisonment, 16; payments by, for "recusancy," to be remitted, 22; repeal of law, making it a capital offence to take Latin Orders, sought by, 22; James I., prior to accession, counts on support of, 34, a purely political intrigue, 36; plot by, against King, 40; priest preaches before King, sent to London under arrest, 40; strengthened by King's neglect of Cecil, 55; petition by ten, for liberty of conscience, banished, 63; supposed desire of, to abduct Prince of Wales, 66; several among, follow King to Church, 66; to have leave to sell goods and leave kingdom, 69; recommended to King by French Ambasador, who replies he will "never hurt a Catholic"; recusancy fines enforced on, 91; King James' negotiations concerning, with Pope, before accession, 91; plot by (Raleigh's) against King, 96, 101; petition by, for repeal of "recusancy" fines, 101; relations of, with Papal Agent in England, 104; Queen's patronage of, and Henry the Fourth's support of; "recusancy" fines on, abolished, 111, 118; "Mass" in London, at Ambassadors' houses, 118, 131; attitude to, of Government, after discovery of Raleigh's plot, 132; attitude of Scottish, to Union, 147; openly abetted by Spanish Ambassador, 147; release (1604) of Roman Catholic priests, after 18

Roman Catholics, in England (1604)—*cont.*
years' imprisonment, 193, 199; proclamation against priests and Jesuits, 199, not strictly enforced, 203; petition by, for liberty of conscience, King's speech at opening of parliament favourable to, 204; "Mass" priest arrested, condemned to death, reprieved, 216; rising in Northern County, in favour of the "Mass," 241; repressive measures against, pass Lower House; King well disposed to Roman Catholics, 241; bill against had not passed Upper House when Parliament was prorogued; King's zeal for expulsion of priests, 243; old laws against confirmed by King, and under them a priest and a layman hanged at York, 251; members of order of St. Benedict despatched to England from Rome (1605), and "congregation," or "committee" of cardinals appointed to further cause of, 324, 334, 347; penalties to be reinforced against, to correct report of King's "conversion" to Roman Catholic tenets, 347, 353, recusancy fines reinforced, 353 *and note*, and priests expelled, 355; rigorous treatment of, instances; their future dependent on attitude of new Pope, 361; abandoned by King, to save his "word," to mercies of Privy Council, 373; Spanish attempt to raise regiment of, 374, 385 (*cf.* 326, 360, 365, 369); disturbances by, in Herefordshire ("Wales"), 384, 390, 397 *and note*, 408, 432; Jesuits to be sent to, from Rome, 412; King James' outbreak against tenets of, at Oxford, 415; despair of, "recusancy" laws being enforced, their property seized, two executed at York, and priests imprisoned so strictly they die; Pope's injunctions to, to respect law, 432; fresh legislation against expected, 440; terror among, after discovery of Gunpowder plot, 445; execration of, legislation to be devised against, reckoned as half the population, 454; King's reluctance to punish, weakened by threat of excommunication, 463; plot attributed to, 464; measures for their suppression, 483, 486, 487, 490; their position injured by Henry Garnet's public examination and the disgust excited thereby, 510, oath of allegiance devised to discover, 534, 535; laws against recusants, 536; priests to leave England, proclamation, 538, 547; Jesuit activity alarms governments and affects position of, for worse, 547; general determination among, to take oath of allegiance, 564; laws against, enforced; arrested on leaving chapel of Spanish embassy, 569: Papal Bull probihiting their attendance at services of English church, or taking

Roman Catholics, in England (1605)—*cont.*
oath of allegiance, 578 *and note*, renewed, agitation among, further laws against, 643; English legislation against translated into Spanish by Jesuits with alterations and additions, 647; Brief addressed to, by Paul V.; indignation of King James, 666, 667, 689, execution of two priests a direct consequence of, 699; despair of, at "rigid attitude" of Pope, 699; priest reprieved, declaration of temporal allegiance by other, 702; historical narration concerning, 739 (*p.* 512).
..... *See also* Jesuits; Papacy; Pope.
....., in Ireland. *See* Ireland.
Rome, Palazzo San Marco in, cost of repairs, 469.
....., University of, 147.
Romans, King of, ceremony proper to creation of, 12; election of, *see* Germany.
Ronaccio, Secretary, mission from Savoy to Spain, 290.
Rosny, Marquis de. *See* Béthune, Maximilien.
Rosso, Gioseppe. *See* Rizzio.
....., Zaccaria, Secretary to Venetian Senate, his secret interview with Sir Henry Wotton, 609, 610, 611; complaint to, by same, 648.
Rotterdam, 345.
Rouen, English cloth seized at, 343, 359, 370.
Roveda, Alexander, from Milan, Spanish representative at Anglo-Spanish peace conferences 223, 229, 233; his signature (as "Alexander Rovidius") to treaty, 268.
Rovigo, 617.
"Royal Merchant." *See* Ships.
Royston, King sporting at, 295, *cf.* 291; deputation of Puritans interview King at, 313; King when at, will see personal attendants only, 331; King returns to, 333, 347, 433.
"Rubbi." *See* Ships.
Ruchani, Don Anastasio, letter from, 59.
Rudolf II. of Germany, question of succession to, 426, 511, 537, 566, 625.
Russell, William, Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, Coronation peerage, 106*n*.
Rutland, Earl of. *See* Manners.

S

Sacheverel, ——, noted pirate, in Dutch service, 331.

Sackville, Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer, his, and his sons, representations, on behalf of English Captain, to Venetian Agent, 22; Sir George Hume associated with, in office, 55; his opinion of French, 90; his gentleness, 132; created Earl of Dorset, 201; Anglo-Spanish peace Commissioner, 229; signs treaty of peace, 268; presents to, from Archduke, 365.
"Sacra." *See* Ships.
Sagredo, ——, Venetian Councillor, 419.
....., Nicolo, Venetian Senator, 1.
Saier, Vespasian, English sea captain (pirate), 226.
St. Andrew, ——, English knight, aboard pirate, 285.
St. Bartholomew's Fair, 261, 268, 569.
St. Benedict, Order of, members of, sent to England, 324.
St. Germains, 444.
St. Iago, Order of (Spanish), to be conferred on Sir Anthony Sherley, 698, 703.
"Salamander." *See* Ships.
Salamon, Marco, of Candia, supercargo of the "Spelegato," deposition by, 285.
Salignac, M. de. *See* Gontaut.
Salis, Hercules von, Ambassador of Grisons in Venice, 690 *and note*, 696.
Salisbury, Court removed to, from Winchester, on account of plague, 142, 160; discomforts of, 164; dearth of provisions at, 167; King visits in "progress," 573.
....., despatches dated from, 160, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172.
Salisbury, Earl of. *See* Cecil, Robert.
Salò, 728.
Salonica, 103, 470.
Salt fish. See Trade.
Salt pans in Cyprus, 134.
..... in Corfu, 196.
Salter, Nicholas, 129.
***Saltpetre*, Venetian government seek to buy, in England, 34; its history in England, 35; quantity of in England at conclusion of war with Spain, 236; commission from Venetian government to buy, 260, 274, 313.**
"Salvetta." *See* Ships.
Sambier, M., Maltese commander, 196.
San Cancian, Venice, 612.
San Germano, Marquis of, Special Embassy of, from Spain, to congratulate King James on escape, 460, 468, 474, 488, 499, 500, 501, arrives in Paris, 513, in England, and departs again, 522; at home again, 545.
San Gerolamo, church of nuns of, in Venice, 611.
San Giorgio Maggiore, in Venice, 77.
San Giovanni and San Paolo, church of, Venice, 641.
"San Giovanni Battista." *See* Ships.
San Giovanni Grisostomo, bridge of, Venice, 612.
San Marco, Seminary of, Venice, 696.
San Spirito, Venice, Island of, 275.
Sandoval, Francis de Roxas de, Duke of Lerma, 452, 571; interview with, as reported to Venetian Ambassador in Spain by Sir Charles Cornwallis, pledging Spain to support of Pope, 679.
Sandwich, massacre of men of, by Dutch, retaliation, 251.
Sanjak, Turkish officials called, 13, 14, 29, 30, 47, 48, 49, 50, 65, 71, 88, 89, 218, 224, 226, 231, 252, 262, 263, 269.
Sanquhair, Lord. *See* Crichton, Robert.
"Sant Antonio." *See* Ships.
Santa Cruz, Marquis of, his slight on Venetian authority, 577.
Santa Giustina, in Padua, 77.
"Santa Maria." *See* Ships.
Santa Maura, "Sanjak" of, 13, 29.
Santa Severina, Duke of. *See* Spinola.
Santorio, Doctor, employed by English Embassy in Venice, 696.
Sanudo, Alvise, Vice-Doge, 441.
Sapienza, 15, 25, 634, 639,
Saraceni, Canon, 554 *and note*.
Saragosa. *See* Syracuse.
Sardines. See Trade.
Sarmiento, ——, Spanish fleet under destroyed, 385*n*.
Sarpi, Peter, Venetian Servite Friar, "Father Paul" in religion, his book, 505, esteemed in England, 583, 584, 589, 590; Papal citation to, 625; protection afforded to, by Republic, commended by Sir Henry Wotton, 720B.
Savari, François, Sieur de Breves, French Ambassador in Turkey, charters ship to attack English vessels in Levant, the ship in action, 88, 115, 126; retires (1605) to Jerusalem, 342.
Savii alla Mercanzia, sentence against, in favour of English merchant, 600, 504
Savoy, Duke of, proposal for match between his children and King James', 81, between him and Arabella Stuart, 164; Ambassador from, slighted by King James, as to precedence over Florentine Ambassador, 182, 185, departs, 185; urges match between his daughter and Prince of Wales, 290; piracy by ship of, 494; court paid by, to King James, 591; seeks to be appointed General to Pope, 594; seeks Spanish approval of match between his son and a daughter of England; English appreciation of his ancient lineage,

Savoy, Duke of—*cont.*
663; urges match between his daughter, and the Emperor, 673; to go to Venice as Imperial Ambassador, 696, 704, 705, arrives, 717, 719; his relations to England, 739 (*p.* 520).

Savoyards, English pirates call themselves, 286; English ship taken by, after fight, 470; piracy by, 681, under Maltese flag, 682.

Saxony, precedence of Ambassador of, 40; promise of Duke of, to support James I.'s claim to English crown, 91; service of Sir Henry Wotton at Ducal Court of, 665.

Scandaglio, 595*n*.

Scaramelli, Giovanni Carlo, Venetian Secretary in England, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 6, 12, 22, 34, 35, 36, 40, 55, 56, 66, 69, 72, 73, 78, 81, 87, 90, 91, 96, 97, 101, 102, 104, 105, 109-10, 111, 113, 118, 125, 128, 132, 135, 136, 141, 142, 145, 147, 180, 184.

....., ..., despatches to, 18, 43, 79, 94, 117.

....., ..., credentials for, 43, 80.

....., ..., reports from, 282, 505, 509.

....., ..., private nature of his English mission, its success, his consequent lack of money for expenses, his payment by commission, 22, 55, 78; message to, from King, 56; received in audience, 64; hindered by non-arrival of credentials and limited scope of original commission, 69; received in audience, 78; his expenses to be defrayed by Republic, 79; his audience with King, at Hampton Court, 102; his recall, 117; his audience with King at Woodstock, 141; his usual activity, 151, 157; takes leave of King, 169; present at Council, 170; departs for home, 175; stays at Antwerp, inspects Ostend, 180; at Venice, in communication with Sir Henry Wotton, 275, 282, report of interview with, 505, 509; interview referred to, 609, 611.

Scheldt, The, Dutch flotilla on, 11.

Sciarra, Marco, case of, cited by Sir Henry Wotton, 720*n*.

Scoghmorton, Arthur. *See* Throckmorton.

Scotland (1603), many natives of, resident in Paris, their satisfaction at quiet succession of James I., 10.

...., troops raised in, for Netherlands, delayed, 11, sail, 12.

...., French negotiations with, in Queen Elizabeth's lifetime, 12; French opposition to union of crowns, 12.

...., Papal Agent in, during Queen Elizabeth's life, 16.

Scotland (1603)—*cont.*
...., feuds among nobility of, pacified by James I., 17.

...., popularity in, of King's accession to English throne, 32, 33.

...., rebellious nature of people of, inclines King to peace policy abroad, 36.

...., Scottish guard of French King disused, 38.

...., ministers of religion in, ordered in King's absence to refer themselves to Council in, 38.

...., disorder among nobility of, at King's accession to English throne, 40.

...., advancement for grandees of, in England, 55.

...., French Scottish guard advise retention in Scotland of Prince of Wales, 66.

...., taxable value of, increased by Spanish commerce; foreign trade of, previously, chiefly with Brittany and Denmark, 69.

...., *pro*-French party in, 69.

...., Scotsmen in Spain go into England, 76.

...., Scottish members of English Privy Council bribed by Spain, 83.

...., value to, of peace with Spain, 91.

...., book against Roman doctrine published in, reprinted in London, 93, suppressed in Paris, 108.

...., Government of, to be entrusted to Council of twenty, a device of English Privy Council to get rid of Scottish rivals, 97.

...., troops from, for Dutch, 97, 101, 104, 112, 113, 136, 147.

...., Scottish members of English Privy Council bought over by English, 101.

...., collisions on frontiers of, between English and Scots, 101.

...., Scottish interfere to protect English from French soldiery in Dutch camp, 118.

...., details of proposed union of, with England, 132; attitude of Scottish nobility to, 147.

...., enlistment in, for Dutch service, of unruly "borderers," allowed, to clear country of, 147.

...., Scottish in Spain, take service under Archduke, 161.

..... (1604), Scottish guard of French King, to be re-organized under Prince Charles, with title of Duke of Albany, 205.

...., the union between, and England, difficulties *re* peerage and taxation, 214.

Scotland (1604)—*cont.*
....., Parliament meets in; view held that England ought to sue humbly for the Union, 223; jealousy in, of Scotsmen sworn of English Privy Council, 227; commissioners for Union appointed by, 233, to come to London, 243, 274, 278, 288, arrive, 292, with the exception of the Earl Marischal and another, 292, 295; some lose their luggage on way, 292, which King orders they shall receive compensation for, 295; terms of Union, 307.
...., French treaty, offensive and defensive, negotiated with "King of Scots," with clause for payment by French of their contingent, voided by use of new title "Britain," 301, negotiations for renewal, 325.
...., proposition that Archbishop of Canterbury should be primate of "Great Britain," 312.
..... (1605), a gold mine at Closeburn, 341.
...., Puritan excesses in, 347.
...., execution of a Scottish forger in England, attributed to English hatred of the race, 396.
...., resistance in, to Bishops and King, 433, almost a rebellion, 440, King to visit, 453.
...., King's reliance on Scottish subjects after discovery of Gunpowder Plot, 445; Anglo-Scottish relations embittered, 456.
..... (1606), troops raised in, for Archduke, their transit stopped, 464.
....., religious disturbances in, 487, over trial of the ministers, 534.
....., Scottish garrison for Bergen-op-Zoom, 527, reported slaughter of, 579.
...., sympathy in, with Venice, 532.
...., reported removal of Chancellor and President in, 534.
...., reported acceptance in, of King's views of Church government, 564.
...., plague appears in, 564.
...., ecclesiastical reform in, considered by King a preliminary to Union; Bishops arrive in London to discuss, 578, the proceedings stormy, 592; "even Scottish Ecclesiastical business cools down," 599; to be discussed in Parliament, 608; compulsion resolved on by King, 632, together with personal exercise of authority there, 643.
..... (1607), Union between, and England, further discussed in English Parliament; English M.P. committed to Tower for speaking against, and to disparagement of Scottish nation, 699.
Scotland (1607)—*cont.*
...., abandonment by of French alliance, an English condition to acceptance of the Union, 699.
...., continued opposition in, to Union, 713, promoted by French, 718.
...., demand that King, or his son, should reside in, 713.
...., rising on West coast, to be suppressed by Earl of Argyll, 737, 738.
....., Hereditary Constable of. *See* Hay.
....., Treasurer of. *See* Hume, George, knt.
Scott, Walter, knt., Lord Scott of Buccleugh, to command Scottish levies to aid Dutch, 97, 101, 136; crosses with, to Holland, 147, 188.
Scotti, Dutch trade in, with England, 233.
Scottish Guard, in France, 38, 66, 73, 739 (*p.* 517).
Scrofula. See King's Evil.
Scudi, value in ducats, 469.
Search, right of, at sea, Venetian assertion of, 328, 338, 339.
Sebastian, Don of Portugal, 297.
Secretary (Scottish) of King James. *See* Elphinstone, James.
Segbert, King of the East Saxons, 36.
Seget, Thomas, a young Scot under arrest in Venice, case of, 277, 304; condemned to imprisonment, 305, 367, 371, 389, 394, 401, 409, 419, 421, 423, 424, acquitted, 425, 429.
"Selvago, Artur Georgeartur," 101.
Sempill, Colonel, 161.
Sequins, 13, 329, 494.
Sessa, Duke of, 521.
Seton (Seaton), Alexander, Lord Fyvie, Earl of Dunfermline, "Governor" of Prince Charles, his action *re* the Union, 147; reported removal of, from office of Lord Chancellor of Scotland, 534 *and note*, 547; a friend of Giustinian, the Venetian Ambassador, 599, who sends him pamphlets on quarrel between Pope and Venice; Seton's opinion adverse to Pope, 659.
Sevile, 438.
Seymour, Edward, Earl of Hertford, secures son's adhesion to James I., 6; Ambassador to Flanders, 333, 360, 363, 368, 373.
....., Edward, styled Lord Beauchamp, 6.
Shaw, ——, Roman Catholic priest, 397.
Sherley, Anthony, his arrest at Venice, 1, his papers seized; 2, removed to larger prison, 5; enquiry at Venice, as to his share in his brother's booty, 19; order for his release, 37; leave given him, on medical certificate, to stay on in Venice, 44, 45, 46; King James' representations to Venetian Agent in favour of, as kinsman and

Sherley, Anthony—*cont.*
partizan of Earl of Essex, 56; resolutions concerning, forwarded to England, 79; further representations by King in favour of, 102; the like, by Cecil, 104; decree of exile from Venice rescinded in compliment to King James, 123, 141; expelled from Venetian territory with four days' notice, 299; at the Imperial Court, 382; associated with Dr. Whorwelle, 459; appears at Madrid in character of Agent of the Emperor; hostile attitude towards, of English Ambassador, 607; his alleged frauds, 607; alleged redemption by, of Portuguese slaves, 631; endeavours to secure port in Morocco for Spain, 638, 670; falls into discredit, pursued by creditors in Madrid, who received encouragement from English Ambassador, 670; his credit with Spanish Government revives, his salary increased, Order of St. Iago destined for; to be employed in naval command; "he goes on taking everyone in," 698; cross of St. Iago conferred on, 703; seeks command of Spanish fleet; Spanish distrust of him, 734.

....., Henry, in Persia, 55.

....., Thomas, the buccaneer, his brother's connexion with, 19; prisoner to Turks, at Zea, recommended by King James to Doge and Senate, 56; return of a ship of his to England, 78; mentioned by King, 102; released by Turks, 466.

Sherley, (Thomas, knt.,) intercedes with King James at Theobalds for (his sons), 56; debts to Crown remitted, 72.

Ships, "Adventure," H.M.S., 436 *note*.
"Alsecho," English ship, 125.
"Angel," captured by Venetians of Zante, an English ship, 88 *and note;* chartered by Ambassador of King of Fez, 126 *and note;* memorial of owners of, 129, Venetian comment on, 328, 330; case of, 356.
"Balbi," of Venice, 414.
"Balbiana," captured off Cyprus by mixed crew of French, Dutch, and English, from Rochelle, 20, 72; captain responsible detected, 125, 128; affair of, 132, 134, 135, 141, 145, 166, 174, 331.
"Bonaventura," English, sent by Governor of Zante to rescue shipping blockaded by pirates in Modon, 697.
"Carminati," a *berton* from Nauplia, to Venice, plundered successively by Savoyards and English, taken westward by latter, 682.
Ships—cont.
"Compass, The," a *berton* of Nauplia, plundered by Savoyard, and again by English *berton* and taken to Barbary, 681.
"Davis," case of, 449.
"Foscarina," sent by Governor in Zante to relieve blockade of Modon by pirates, 697.
"Geopandita," Venetian ship, plundered by English, 141.
"George Buonaventura," case of, 109.
"Ghirarda," Venetian, plundered by English, 271.
"Grace," The, English ship arrested at Zante, case of, 109.
"Grassa," *marciliana*, of Venice, attacked by English pirate, 286.
"Greyhound," English ship, smuggles currants out of Zante, 194, 208, 221, 232.
"Ima," plundered, 170.
"Jesus," trading from Venice to Zante, 9.
"Legion," of Dartmouth, captain of arrested by Venetians, 51.
"Liona," Venetian ship, burnt by pirates, Venetian application to Turkish officials for compensation, refused, 676, portion of cargo bought by English Consul at Patras, 681; Turkish opposition to restitution of goods in, 700.
"Little Phœnix," engaged in Venetian trade, 118; alleged smuggling by, at Zante, 194, 208.
"Lucky Elizabeth," of London, sold to Venetian, 309.
"Marita," seized at Venice, 309.
"Martinenga," Venetian, 252.
"Marubin," or "Marubbin," plundered by English, 153, 156.
"Mema et Constantina," Venetian trader, 26, 54, 57, 60, 221.
"Merchant Royal," takes Turkish galleon, 470, 483, 517 *and note*, 537, 539, 540, 541, 553 *and note*.
"Moresina," fired on, by English pirate, 287.
"Moresini," or "Morosini," called the "Santa Maria," with goods of governor of Zante aboard, plundered by English, 302, 336, 338.
"Pearl," English ship trading to Constantinople, expelled from Zante, 209.
"Pirona," attacked by English pirate, 284.
"Ponte," prize taken by Dutch, 184.
"Rabuca," English ship, 125.
"Royal Merchant," Capt. George King, conveys goods restored by English, from London to Venice, 22, 243.

Ships—cont.
"Rubbi," taken by English, 633, 639, 682.
"Sacra," English, refuses to be searched by Venetians, 328.
"Salamander," English vessel, in Levant, 57, 60; taken by French, 88.
"Salvetta," ships soldiers for protection, 57.
"San Giovanni Battista," Venetian, captured by English, 21.
"Sant' Antonio," trading from Marseilles to Sicily, 4, 7.
"Santa Maria." *See* "Moresini," *above*.
"Spelegato," galleon, of Candia, attacked by English pirate, 285.
"Speranza," the affair of, occasions Scaramelli's mission; its successful conclusion, 22, 55, 87.
"Sultana," Turkish galleon taken by English, 470, 483, 517 *and note*.
"Thomas," of London, sails for Leghorn and Levant, 23, case of, 109, 418.
"Thomas William Good Fortune," trading from London to Leghorn, 3, 4.
"Thomasina," stopped at Venetian customs, 555.
"Trial," arrested by Spaniards at Messina, 707 *and note*; demand for release of, 714; released, on payment made, 718.
"Ulysses," trading from London to Levant, 8.
"Veniera," case of, 13, 29, 42, 55; memorial on, presented to King James, 66; owners of, arrested, 72; her arrival at Plymouth, 87; approval by Venetian Senate of Secretary's action in matter of, 94; the ship recovered for owners, 96; case of mentioned to King, 102, 166; wound up, 125; case of, 181.
"Veniera" (No. 2), prize taken by Dutch, 184.
"Vidala," captured by English, 224 (*cf.* 218), 226.
"Vidalla," 494.
"White Horse," English, from Plymouth, 225.
See Bertone, Marciliana, Tartana.

Ships, Big, sold by English upon peace being made with Spain, 236.

Sicily, corn exported from, to France, 3, 4.
....., ship captured off, by English (1597). *See* Whitbrook, Hugh.
....., letter from King of Spain to Viceroy of Naples, in favour of English commerce, under treaty, 480, 481, ineffectual, 571.
....., proposed surrender (1607) of Papal claims over, to Spain, 668.

Sicily—*cont.*
....., troops raised in, to support Pope against Venice, 679.
....., English pirate at, 681.

Sidney, Robert, Lord Sidney, Viscount Lisle, Earl of Leicester, Queen's Chamberlain, ex-Governor of Flushing, appointed Ambassador to Flanders, 160; his creation as Viscount Lisle, 368 *and note*; his accidental disgrace, 416, clears himself, 427.

Sieur, James le, English Agent to Denmark, his return; censured for support of De Bouillon, 188.

Silk. See Trade.

Sillery, Nicholas Brulart de, 200.

Sixtus V., Pope, his controversy with Republic of Venice, 720n.

Skoffi Sinan, appointed Lieutenant Grand Vizier, 329.

Sluys, siege of, 227, 233, 234, 243, 248, 251, 259; falls, 261, 266; effect of fall, in Flanders, 267; Spanish attack on, repulsed, 534, 538; alleged plot to capture, 553 (*see* Neuce, William).

Small-pox, very common in England, 435.

Smuggling, 194, 198, 209, 232 (*cf.* 248), 448.

Smyrna, Venetian trade with, 141.

Soldi, Venetian, value in exchange, 35, 43, 598.

Somerset, Edward, Earl of Worcester, Marshal (1603-4) of England, bribed by Spaniards, 189; sent (1605) to pacify Roman Catholic rising in Herefordshire, 390, 397, 408; a Gunpowder Plot Commissioner, 454.

Somerset House, the Spanish embassy lodged in, 207, 229, gorgeous decoration of, for reception of Spanish special envoy, 261.

Sopheme, Eliseo, English resident in Venice, 728n.

Sophia, Queen of Denmark, daughter of Ulric, Duke of Mecklenburg, 91.

Soranzo, Francesco, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, despatch from, to Doge and Senate, 382.

Souburg, 73.

Southampton (*Antona*), 125, 128, 135, 141 (*bis*), 142, 145, 147 (*bis*), 149, 151; water of, too shallow for Venetian galleon, 159; ancient trade between, and Venice, 170; trial of pirates at, 174, their execution, 181.

Southampton, despatches dated from, 157, 158, 159.
....., Earl of. *See* Wriothesley.
....., Vice-Admiral of, 132.

Southwark, "great Italian garden" in the Borough, 55.

Spahis, Chief of the, 256.

Spain (1603). Sicilian corn seized as Spanish, by English vessel, 3, 4.
...., English relations to, in Netherlands, speculations concerning, 12.
...., Turks willing to buy goods of, from privateers, 15.
...., peace between, and England, expected from James I.'s "conversion," 16.
...., theft by ships of, from Venetian, 21.
...., consul of, at Zante, Venetian support of, 23.
...., relations of, to England, as altered by accession of James I., reviewed, 31; question of Flanders; scheme to bribe England to surrender fortresses mortgaged by Dutch, 31, 70.
...., relations with, of James I., before accession, 34.
...., policy of Queen Elizabeth for Venetian alliance against, 34.
...., Ambassador from, to attend Coronation of James I., 34, 61.
...., peace between, and England, opposed by France, 36, by Dutch Agent, 36, 55.
...., inclination of King James for peace with, 55, 61
...., fleet designed to harass, stopped by King James, 55, 61.
...., anxiety in, for peace with England, orders not to molest English shipping, 61.
...., Ambassador from, to England, appointed, 62, 66.
...., good understanding with, reckoned impossible in England, 63.
...., French attitude to, touching England and Holland, 64.
...., personal obligations to, of James I. and his wife, 69.
...., importance of trade with, to Scotland, 69, 91.
...., prospect of peace with England improves, advice of Nuncio to, to arm, 70.
...., King James' scheme of peace with, including settlement of Low Countries, 73.
...., Infante of, childless, 73.
...., Scotsmen in, leave for England, to further negotiations for peace, 75.
...., growing hopes in, of peace, and of recovering "Flanders," *i.e.*, Netherlands, 82, 83.
...., bribery by, of Scottish members of Privy Council in England, amount sent, and channel, 83; bribery by, of English Ministers, 137.
...., money sent from, to foment insurrection in Ireland, 83, returned by Earl of Tyrone, 95.
Spain (1603)—*cont.*
...., present of money from, to King James, to balance loss of money advanced by England on "guarantee towns" in Holland, in event of his agreeing to peace, 83.
...., aid furnished by France, in time of peace, to enemies of, *i.e.*, Dutch, 90.
...., English order making prizes taken from, after one month after Queen Elizabeth's death, illegal, 96; proof of King's desire for peace with, 96.
...., demands upon, as price of peace with England, 107.
...., question of peace with England, 111, 114; bribery by, of English ministers, 112, 139, 144, 154; *modus vivendi* arrived at, viz., no succours to leave England for Dutch, English trade to be free in Flanders and Spain, 113, 136.
...., secret treaty between France and England known to, and resented by, 139.
...., conditions of peace between, and England, on either side, 142.
...., operation of Inquisition in, on English trade, 142.
...., denial by, to King James, of title of "Lord of Ireland," 142, 147.
...., intrigue in, against the Archduke Albert, 148, 193.
...., peace with, spoken of as certain by King James, 166.
..... (1604), Raleigh's conspiracy not abetted in, 179.
...., peace commissioner with full powers leaves, 181.
...., ships trading south of Tropic of Cancer treated by, as "hostile"; Dutch deductions, 184.
...., gold sent from, for King James and his ministers, 186, 189, 229.
...., proposals by, to King James, for peace conference outside England, 181, repudiated by King, 186, renewed, 188, 191, 193, and refused, 202, 203, abandoned, 205.
...., objections in, to English trade with Portuguese Indies, 186, 191.
...., reinforcements from, for Flanders purposely delayed, 193.
...., Ambassador of, in England, disputes French Ambassador's precedence, 201. *See Precedence.*
...., eagerness of King James for peace with, 205
...., excuses for non-arrival in England of plenipotentiary of (the Constable of Castille), proposal to proceed without, 217, the conferences, 223, 229, 233, 236, 241; summary of terms of peace, 242, 246; 248, 251, 257, 259, 261; treaty of peace be-

Spain (1604)—*cont.*
tween, and England, ratified, 266, 268, 276; proclaimed in, 296; special mission from England to receive the oath to, 301 (*see* Howard, Charles); signed at Valladolid, 383; conduct of special mission impugned, 411.
...., acceptance by, of English demands, 240.
...., negotiations between, and France, parallel to English, for free trade, 245, 259, 274, 292, 333.
...., money lavished by, on contrivers of Anglo-Spanish peace, 259, 261.
...., payments in, to English traders, made in copper, 265.
...., desire of, to raise troops in England, 242, 266.
...., immense quantity, and value, of presents made on behalf of, in England, at ratification of Anglo-Spanish peace, 266, 267 *and note*, 288, 427.
...., interpretation of clause in Anglo-Spanish treaty touching East Indian navigation, 291.
...., horrible outrage by natives of, on English, in West Indies, 307.
...., English special embassy to, 301, its splendour, 312.
...., proposal to marry Infanta of, to Prince of Wales, with Low Countries as her dower, 313, 325, 399.
..... (1605), customs levied on English merchants in, contrary to treaty, 325, and ship seized in Levant, special mission from England occasioned by, 333, compensation demanded, 398, refused, 560, 564.
.... attempt by, to raise troops in England, excuse for bribery, difficulty of transhipping them, 326, 346, 360, 365, 369, 374, 385, 391, 393, 397, 404, 408, 410, 416, 426.
...., men of Dunquerque drown Lithuanian Envoy to England; representations to, concerning, 345.
...., vessel of (Portuguese), taken by Dutch in the Downs, case of, 348.
...., Sir Charles Cornwallis appointed Ambassador to, 348.
...., King James' goodwill doubted in, 362; representations to touching Dutch blockade of Flanders, and levy of English recruits for Archduke, 369, 397.
...., troops from, on way to England, 362, 370, destined for Flanders, 375, fleet with, destroyed by Dutch off Dover, 385, 391.
...., false professions of, to England, 399.
...., pensioners of, in England, 399, 404.

Spain (1605)—*cont.*
...., English Ambassador, and his complaints, neglected at Court of, 405.
...., indictment of conduct of Lord Nottingham in, 411.
...., value attached in, to English alliance, instance, 413.
...., resentment in at King James' action in refusing convoy to Spanish troops sheltering at Dover, 428; they finally cross to Dunquerque, 456.
...., English ministers in pay of, 434.
...., recruiting for, in Ireland, 440.
...., suspected complicity of, in Gunpowder Plot, 450, 451, disproved, 454.
...., plot in, to seize Marseilles, 451.
...., reception in, of news of Gunpowder Plot, 452.
...., special embassy from, to congratulate King James on escape; present for King, 460, 463.
..... (1606), trial of cases in, to which Englishmen are parties, 468, 481.
...., letter from King of, to Viceroy of Naples, for better observance of Anglo-Spanish treaty, 480, 481, fruitless, 571.
...., all recruiting by, in England, to be stopped, 487.
...., English children sent to, to be educated, 487.
...., outrage by Spaniards on English, in West Indies; West Indian trade claimed by England, 511.
...., King's proposed change of title, 521.
...., implicated in Neuce's conspiracy, 550, 553, 558, 581.
...., declaration by, in favour of Pope in his quarrel with Venice, 552, 560, 561, 564, 569, 577, 591, 594.
...., English fury against, 553, 556, 564.
...., failure of Sir Thomas Wilson's mission to, *see* "Wilson."
...., lack of money in, 560.
...., deputation of English merchants to King James, to complain of outrages by, 564, further remonstrances, 570.
...., proposal to raise money in, by taxing, Jews, clergy, and silver, 568.
...., Roman Catholics arrested leaving chapel of Ambassador of, in London, 569.
...., English Ambassador in, unable to procure restitution of goods taken from English merchantmen by Spanish and Sicilian vessels; privateering the only remedy, 571.

Spain (1606)—*cont.*

...., peace with England a necessity to; unable to resent, by war, the assistance given to the Dutch; consequent haughtiness of English, 573.

...., mission to, from Emperor, of Sir Anthony Sherley, on behalf of Pope against Venice, 607, 638.

...., Spanish troops in Flanders mutiny, the cause, 608 *and note*, 618.

...., bad plight of affairs of, in Flanders, 618.

...., rising temper against, in England, 623, 635, 659.

...., match between Infanta of, and Prince of Wales urged by English Ambassador in, 638.

...., a port in Morocco for, Sir Anthony Sherley's scheme, 638.

...., alarm in, at Dutch and English naval preparations for West Indies, 643, 652.

...., false translation circulated in, by Jesuits, of English penal legislation against Roman Catholics, 647, 653.

...., orders issued from, to Count Fuentes to raise troops to assist Pope, 651.

.... English Ambassador in, instructed to avoid quarrel with, 653.

..... (1607), alleged proposal by to Pope, to surrender for cash, the claims of his Church over Naples and Sicily, 658.

...., Ambassador of, in England, asserts determination of his government to preserve peace in Italy, 659.

...., reply of, through Ambassador, to complaints of English merchants, 660, 665.

...., arms against Venice, threatens Crema, 661.

...., dislike in, to Anglo-Savoy marriage, 663.

...., Spanish present for English bride, 665.

...., war with Dutch fomented by Franquezza, his fall, 668.

...., her "greed for extension," in Italy, causes her to encourage Pope in arming against Venice, 672.

...., Sir Henry Wotton's discourse upon the liberation of Italy from yoke of, 673.

...., proposed issue of English letters of marque against, in default of satisfaction from; promises of Ambassador of, 674.

...., distrust in, of English attitude, negotiations with Cornwallis closed; the Archduke instructed to negotiate truce with States; English alarm and threats, 678.

Spain (1607)—*cont.*

...., determination of, to support the Pope against Venice; consequent necessity of peace, or truce, with Dutch; English disaffection to the latter, and encouragement of Venetians in their attitude, condemned as unfriendly by Duke of Lerma; reply of Sir Charles Cornwallis, 679.

...., English perception of the close dependence of Dutch affairs on policy of, in Italy, 680.

...., enthusiastic desire in England for war with, 680.

...., bribery by, in England, 680, 683.

...., joint complaint by Ambassadors of, and of the Archduke Albert, to English Privy Council; reply of Lord Salisbury dwelling on English grievances and threatening war; great anxiety of Spain to keep peace, 683.

...., preparations of, in Italy, reconcile Henry IV. to active policy there, in conjunction with Venice, Italian Princes, and England, 684 *and note*.

...., proposed Anglo-French-Italian league against, answers to Venetian representatives concerning, in London and Paris, 686, 687, 688, 689; analysis of French and English attitude to, 690.

...., position of, solely dependent on revenue from Indies; statement of de Rosny, 688.

...., attitude of, to the Grisons, 690, an excuse for France to intervene on behalf of Venice, 691.

...., expressed opinion of Lord Salisbury that there was a sincere desire in, for accord between Pope and Venice, the better to prosecute war in Flanders, 692.

...., France ready to break with, 693.

...., reports spread in, by English Ambassador, of rupture between Venice and Pope, and of negotiation of Anglo-Venetian League, 698.

...., patronage of Sir Anthony Sherley in, his proposed employment by, at sea, 698.

...., negotiations by, for "accord" with Dutch, attributed to designs of, in Italy, 699.

...., reported declaration by, to King James, of support to be given by, to Pope, against Venice, 702.

...., King James thought "worthless." and his ministers "venal" in, 703.

...., honours and pensions conferred in, on English refugees and visitors, 703.

Spain (1607)—*cont.*
...., release of Englishmen imprisoned in, for trading in Indies, refused by, 709.
...., popular indignation in England against; reparation for English merchants demanded, or the right of private reprisal to be revived, 714, 718.
...., Lord Northampton a friend of, his efforts at an accommodation between, and England, 714.
...., King's consent given to conditions laid down by Dutch as preliminary to truce, 716.
...., reported success by, over Dutch, in Island of Terranata in East Indies, 716.
...., bribery by, of English Privy Council, alleged by King James as cause of English neglect of Dutch interests, 717.
...., Lord Salisbury's views on significance of truce between, and Dutch, 727.
...., relations to, of Henry IV. of France, English jealousy of, 732.
...., naval victory by Dutch over, 737, 738.
...., English shipping sequestrated in, 737, 738.
...., review of Anglo-Scottish relations with, 739 (*pp.* 518-519).
..... *See* Austria, Archduke of; Philip III.; Velasco, Ferdinando de.
Spanish Armada (A.D. 1587-8), Historical Narrative of composition and causes of destruction of, Appendix III. (*p.* 525).
"Spelegato." *See* Ships.
Spencer, Robert, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, coronation peerage, 105*n*.
"Speranza." *See* Ships.
Spinola, Don Gaston, intended Envoy from Flanders to England (1603), 28, 36, 39.
....., Frederico, 108.
....., Marquess of, brother of Frederico, 90; created Duke of Santa Severina, appointed to conclude siege of Ostend, 108, 148, his mound, 180, captures the "Porcupine," 227, his further success, 233, 242; sent to relieve Sluys, 248, 251, fails, 259, 261, 266; his command, 268; arrives in Spain (after fall of Ostend), 310; opposed to Count Maurice at Antwerp, 385; English desert to, from Count Maurice, 395; mentioned, 427; success over Count Maurice, 436; mentioned, 588; threatens Bergen-op-Zoom, 547; his successes, 556, 560, 570; his rumoured capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, 579; mutiny in his camp, 608 *and note*, 618; forces Count Maurice to retire, 642; his powerlessness in face of mutiny, 652.
Stag hunting, 384.
Staines, co. Middlesex, despatch dated from, 132.
Standen, Sir Anthony, Knt., his antecedents, sent on mission (1603) to Venice and Tuscany, 81, 87, 91, 96; arrives in Paris, 99; received at Venice, 119, 120, 121, 122, 141; Papal overtures to, in Florence, 154; takes portrait of James I. to Venice, 164; committed to Tower on his return, for treasonable correspondence with Pope, 188; enquiries into case of, 190, favourable to, 259; his release from Tower, 259; interview with, 491; his reception at Venice, Appendix I. (*p.* 524).
Standish, ——, Roman Catholic priest, 397.
Stanford, ——, Roman Catholic priest, 397.
Stanhope, John, Knt., Vice-Chamberlain, created Lord Stanhope of Hatrington, 368, put on Privy Council, 416 *and note*.
Stanley, Edward, brother of William, at Milan, in Spanish service, 661; present at attempted surprise of Crema, 673.
Stanley, Thomas, appointed Colonel of levies to be raised in England for the Archduke, 369; member of Council of War in Flanders; his suspected complicity in Gunpowder Plot, 454, 487.
Stanley, William, brother of Edward serving in Flanders, his services requested by Pope, 661, 673.
Stara, 595*n*, 598*n*.
Steffano, piratical Frenchman, 655.
Stewart, James, Earl of Moray, opposes Union, 292.
Stewart, Francis, *quondam* Earl of Bothwell, in Spain, 161.
Stillyard, 408*n*.
Stirling Castle, Prince of Wales at, 66.
Stor, Stephen, supplies Pope with gunpowder, 708.
Stourton, Edward, Lord Stourton, Roman Catholic, sent to Tower, 454, fined 1,000*l*., 539 *and note*.
Stratico, "Vocabolario di Marina," cited, 376.
Strivali, Strivale, 26, 271, 272, 285, 286, 311.
Stuart, Arabella, submits to James I., 6; to appear at Queen's funeral as sole Princess of the Blood, 22, 34; her negotiations with Flanders, 36*n*; not present at Queen's funeral, 40; offered, in 1588, as bride to Duke of Parma's son, 66; "a regular termagant," visits King James, his disposition to marry her, in event of wife's decease, 66; encouragement of, by French Ambassador, 73; alleged complicity of, in Raleigh's plot, 101; summoned to Court, 113; Raleigh's plot in favour of, 164; her proposed

Stuart, Arabella—*cont.*
marriage to Duke of Savoy, 164; accompanies King and Queen in State entry into London, 201; sponsor to Queen's daughter, 368; her position at Court, 739 (*p.* 514).
....., Catherine, born de Balsac, relict of Esmè, Duke of Lennox, pensioned by James I., 189 *and note*, 327 *note*, 348 *and note*.
....., Esmè, Duke of Lennox, 189 *note*, 327 *note*.
....., Lodovic, Duke of Lennox, mentioned, 36; appointed President of the Council, 55, 81; goes to Scotland to quiet Queen, 66, 69; created K.G., 81; report of his conversation with King, 102; his Roman Catholic leanings, in King's confidence, 147; attends King, at banquet, 169; the only existing Duke, 201; to raise troops in Scotland, for French King's Scottish guard, 205; jealousy of, in Scottish parliament, on account of appointment to English Privy Council, 227; appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to France, 288, 312, 320, arrives there, 327; received by Henry IV., intercedes for his cousin, the Marquise de Verneuil, 335; her brother and father respited out of courtesy to, 343; complains of his reception at French Court, 345, French reply, 348; takes leave, obtains pardon for the Marquise de Verneuil and her father, 351; attends Imperial Ambassador, 404; receives King Christian of Denmark, 556; mentioned, 707.
....., Mary, Queen of Scots. *See* Mary.
Stuckley, Thomas, Irish refugee (1588) in Spain, Appendix III. (*p.* 533).
Suda, 285.
Suffolk, Earl of. *See* Howard, Thomas.
Sugar. *See* Trade.
Sully, Duc de. *See* Béthune.
"Sultana." *See* Ships.
Sultanini, 329.
Sulz, Baron. *See* Zouche.
Sumachi, Georgio, Sig., arrested by Turks, 152, 153.
Sunbury, co. Middlesex, despatches dated from, 101, 102, 104, 105, 109, 111, 113, 118, 125, 128.
Sur, Count de, proposed as Flemish Ambassador to England, 39.
Sweden, Duke Charles of, 199, 202, 583.
Swiss, the, disquisition on, 644; troops raised among, by Spain, for attack on Venice, 651, 661.
Sword blades. *See* Trade.
Sydney, Robert. *See* Sidney.
Syracuse (Saragosa), 9.
Syria, English trade with, and the Venetians, 109.

T

Tabinet, braccia of, 145.
Targone, Pompey, his machines, 99*n.*, fail, 108.
Tartana, Savoyard ship, 470, 494.
Taxis, Juan de, Count of Villa Mediana, appointed Ambassador (1603) from Spain to England, 62; safe conduct for, granted, 66, expected, 68; reaches Paris, 76; mentioned, 82, 86; at Brussels, 90; awaited in England, 96, King's jest on his delay, 97; the delay intentional, 104; question of his powers, 113; presents to be made by, in England, 127; arrives in England, 128, 132, 136; his boasting, 141, 147; received in audience at Winchester, 142, question of his powers, 142, 147; abets Roman Catholics at Southampton, 147; insults Florentine Ambassador, 147, 158, 175; negotiates for a London residence, 181; backs claims of Savoy to precedence over Tuscany, 182; contests precedence of French Ambassador, 201, 204, 216, personal reconciliation, 220; arranges for peace conference without the special envoy (the Constable of Castille), 217, 223; present in white, with embroidery, at ratification of treaty of peace, 266; gifts made, and received by, on ratification of peace, 266, 267; his signature to treaty, 268; his interview with Duke Ulric of Holstein, 301; question of his precedence, 312; banquet given by, to Duke Ulric, 333; prefers to stop Dutch recruiting, rather than to recruit for Spain, in England, 346; superseded, 396; lingers in England, after arrival of successor, to conclude business of shipping English recruits to Flanders, 408, 410, 416; departs unsuccessful, 426, 427; suspected, by French, of acquaintance with Gunpowder Plot, 450; at Valladolid, 452.
Taxis, Juan Battista de, 182.
Tedesco, Giovanni, 612.
Terrail, Du, French officer in service of Archduke, 534, 538*n.*
Terrarnata, Island of, in East Indies, captured by Spaniards from Dutch, 716, 721.
Tes, ——, Secretary of M. de Villeroy. *See* L'Hoste, Nicholas.
Thames, men-of-war inspected by King in, 55.
"The Sherley Brothers," cited, 459, 491.
Theobalds (Tibals), co. Herts., King James at, 40, 56; the guest of Cecil at, 251; King at, 404, 407, with King of Denmark, 561.

Thiene, ——, case of, 521, 524.
"Thomas." *See* Ships.
"Thomas William Good Fortune." *See* Ships.
"Thomasina." *See* Ships.
Thou, Jacques Auguste de, his history cited by Sir Henry Wotton, 64.
Thou, de. *See* Tour, Baron du.
Thoua (?), ——, his piracy, 53.
Thread. *See* Trade.
Throckmorton (Scoghmorton), Sir Arthur, Knt., arrested for complicity in Raleigh's plot, 101.
Thynne. *See* Thiene.
Tin. *See* Trade.
Toledo, Ferdinand Alvarez de, Duke of Alva, 555.
Toledo, Fernando di, Don, to command infantry to be sent (1607) from Spain to support Pope against Venice, 679.
Toledo, Pedro de, Don, 529.
Tomkins (Tumnechin), Thomas, of Southampton, captain of English ship in Levant, 7; accused of piracy, 125, 128, 132, 135, 141; proclamation against, 145, 146; his case mentioned to King, 166, comes up at Council, 170.
Ton, Venetian, "light weight," 35*n*.
Torches, wax candles and, 23.
Torricella, Zuan Battista, supercargo on "Balbi," exiled from Venice, 414.
Torture, to be applied to "pirate" imprisoned in England, 96; applied to Guy Faux, 443, 445; to servant of Jesuit, 498.
"*Toties*," Papal Bull called, 658 *and note*.
Toulon, French pirate from, 655.
Tour, Baron du. *See* Cauchon de Maupas.
Tour d'Auvergne, Henri de la, Duke of Bouillon, King James' intercession for, with Henry IV., requested by Elector Palatine, 72, refused, 81; claims of, advocated by English Agent, without instructions, 187; Henry IV.'s preparations against, a supposed "blind," 490, 500; Henry IV. comes to agreement with, 511.
Tower. *See* London, Tower of.
Trade, Dutch, with England, 233; (Flemish), 658.
....., English, with Chios, 194.
....., ..., with Denmark, 427.
....., ..., with East Indies. *See* Indies, East.
....., ..., with Flanders, proposal of Archduke to free, 113. 136, 141, 658.
....., ..., with France, in *broadcloth* and *kerseys*, 145, 343, 359, 370.
....., ..., with Pope, in gunpowder, 658.
....., ..., with Leghorn, in *broadcloth, iron, lead, leather*, and *tin*, 3; in *leather*, 129; in *corn*, 595, 598.
Trade, English—*cont*.
....., ..., with the Levant, in *currants*, 40, 129; in *sugar*, 69; in *broadcloth, kerseys, lead*, and *tin*, 129, 175.
....., ..., ..., Venetian laws directed against, 109; King James' policy to concentrate at, and through, Venice, 278, 294, ruined accordingly, and capital transferred to East Indian trade, 364. *See* "Levant Company."
....., ..., with Morocco, 190, Algiers and Tunis, 129.
....., ..., with Smyrna, 194.
....., ..., with Tripoli, in *cotton* and *gall nuts*, 129, 470.
....., ..., with Turkey, King James' neglect of, 169, 175, 278. *See* "Levant Company."
....., ..., with Venice, in *broadcloth, lead, salt fish*, and *tin*, 118; in *corn*, 595, 596, 598, 608, 619, 623, 627, 629, 632, 635, 636, 641, 643, 658, 660.
....., ..., with Zante, in *corn*, 22, 23, 57, 126; in *currants*, alleged smuggling, 194 (*see* "Smuggling"); in *raisins*, 22.
....., French, with Sicily, in *corn*, 3, 4.
....., ..., with Levant, in *leather* and *oil*, 7.
....., Papal, 155.
....., Sicilian, in *corn*, 23; in *wood*, 23.
....., Turkish, in *corn*, 196.
....., Venetian, in *sardines*, 9; in *oil*, 15, 51; in *wood*, 14, 15, 24, 25, 57; in *chestnuts*, 51; in *glasses*, 51; in *cloth*, 51; in *cotton*, 51; in *silk*, 51, 141, 682; with Smyrna, in *cloth of gold*, 141; in *wool*, 141; in *wine*, 655; in *acorns (volonie)*, 682; in *gall nuts*, 682; in *blankets*, 682.
..... in *acorns (volonie)*, Venetian, 682.
..... in *blankets*, Venetian, 682.
..... in *broadcloth*, English with Leghorn, 3; with Venice, 118; with Levant, 129; with France, 145; *purple broadcloth*, exported from Venice, 309.
..... in *candles, wax*, 23.
..... in *chestnuts*, Venetian, 51.
..... in *cloth*, Venetian, 51.
...., Dutch, with England, 233.
..... in *cloth of gold*, Venetian, 141.
..... in *copper*, 23.
....., in *corn*, English, with Ancona, 441.
....., ..., ..., with Flanders, 658.
....., ..., ..., with Italy, 566.
....., ..., ..., with Venice, 595, 596, 598, 608, 619, 623, 627, 629, 632, 635, 636, 641, 643, 658, 660.
....., ..., ..., with Zante, 22, 23, 57, 126.
....., ..., French, with Sicily, 3, 4.
....., ..., Sicilian, 23.

Trade, in corn—*cont.*
....., ..., Turkish, 196.
....., ..., Venetian with Levant, 682.
....., in *cotton*, English, with Levant, 470.
....., ..., ..., with Smyrna, 194.
....., ..., ..., with Tripoli, 129.
....., ..., Venetian, 51, 109.
..... in *Cretan wine*, English, 109.
..... in *currants*, English, with Zante, 40, 129, 555; monopoly of, revoked, 78; history of trade in, 109; smuggling practised by English at Zante, 194, 198, 448; English dislike to prohibition of export of, from Zante, 248; tax on, levied in England, appropriated to up-keep of embassy in Constantinople, taken for his own use by King James, 278, 295, 306. *See* "Currant Tax."
..... in *gall nuts*, English with Tripoli, 129, 470; Venetian, 682; 739 (*p.* 502).
..... in *glasses*, Venetian, 51.
..... in *gunpowder*, 233, 313, 453, 470, 477, 494, 658.
..... in *harquebusses*, English, 494.
..... in *iron*, English with Leghorn, 3.
..... in *kerseys*, English with France, 145; with Levant, 129, 175, 470, 494; *web of kersey*, 337.
..... in *leather*, English with Leghorn, 3.
...., French with Levant, 7.
..... in *lead*, English, with Leghorn, 3, Levant, 129, Venice, 118.
..... in *linen*, English and Venetian rivalry for, 109.
..... in *muscatel*, English, 132.
..... in *oil*, French with Levant, 7.
...., Venetian with Levant, 15, 51.
..... in *planks* or *staves* and *hoops*, English, 195, 196.
..... in *raisins*, from Zante, 22.
..... in *salt fish*, English, from Plymouth, with Venice, 118.
..... in *saltpetre*, 34, 35, 236, 260, 313.
..... in *sardines*, Venetian, 9.
..... in *silk*, English with Smyrna, 194.
...., Venetian, 51, 141, 682.
..... in *sugar*, English, 69.
..... in *sword blades*, English, 494.
..... in *tallow*, English, with Levant, 508.
..... in *thread*, English and Venetian, 109.
..... in *tin*, English, home trade in, freed, 78, with Leghorn, 3, with Levant, 129, 470, 508, with Venice, 118.
..... in *wax candles*, and *torches*, 23.
..... in *wine*, Venetian, 655.
..... in *wood*, Sicilian, 23.
...., Venetian, 14, 15, 24, 25, 57.
..... in *wool*, English and Venetian, 109.
...., Venetian, 141.
Trade, Free, Secretary Scaramelli's disquisition on, 109; between England and Flanders, 113, 136, 141; in East Indies, *see* Indies, East; bill in favour of, passes in House of Commons, 233, 236 (*see* "Monopolies"); privileges of Hanse Towns denied, "open markets" preferred, 278; with Venice, 294, 314, 318, 321, 330, 336, 337, 340; with Dutch, 333.
See also Levant Company.
Trapani, ship of, captured, 23, 418.
Treasurer, Lord. *See* Sackville, Thomas.
..... of Scotland. *See* Hume, George, Knt.
Trentino, troops raised in, by Spain, against Venice, 661.
Tresham, Francis, conspirator, death of, in Tower, 464.
Treviso, 299.
"Trial." *See* Ships.
Tripoli, resort of English pirates, 51; English trade with, 129.
Tripoli, in Syria, 309, 477.
Trivulzio, Teodoro, Count, killed by Count Maurice, 436.
Tron, Nicolò, 69, 87.
Tumnechin, Thomas. *See* Tomkins.
Tunis, resort of English pirates, 15, 51, 53, 87, 125.
....., order to Turkish officials of, re piracy, 42, 49.
....., immense profits of Beglierbey of, from conniving at piracy; French prizes at, 85.
....., English trade with, 129.
....., exclusion of pirates from, desired, 170.
....., outrage, against Turks, by English pirates, near, 237.
....., half the crew of an English pirate, Turks from, 272, 470.
Turkey (1603), French Ambassador to, engaged in trade, 7.
...., Venetian representations to, touching case of English piracy, 13; bribe to naval authorities of, 13.
...., local authorities of, imprison English pirate, 14, 15, 25, 26.
...., willing to buy Spanish goods of pirates, 15.
...., orders obtained from, by Venetians, touching piracy, 29, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 71.
...., Imperial letters from, to Queen Elizabeth, touching piracy in Levant, 41, 74, reference to "capitulations," 75.
...., officers of, disregard orders from Constantinople, and trade with and shelter English privateers, 71, 84, 115, 134.
...., proposal in, to hang Governor of Modon, as an abettor of English pirates, 84, 103.

Turkey (1603)—*cont.*
....., immense profits of officials of, from connivance at piracy, 85.
....., French Ambassador in, arms ship which takes English prize, 88, 115, 126.
....., English Ambassador in, dependent for salary on Levant Company, 91, 278.
....., Venetian representations *re* piracy, to Capudan Pasha in, 92.
....., methods of English Ambassador in, 103, 115.
....., letter from Grand Vizier of, to King James, mentions "capitulations" of Sultan Murad, and complains of piracy, 115, 126, 161, 168, 169.
....., English Ambassador in, puts English Consul in irons. *See* Jonah.
....., order by Grand Signor for arrest of abettor of English pirates, 134.
....., English Ambassador in, slighted, on reported conclusion of Anglo-Spanish peace; proposal of English merchants to withdraw capital from, 158.
....., King James' expression as to alliance with, 169, 175, 278.
....., Venetian influence with, considered effectual for suppression of piracy in Mediterranean, by English Privy Council, 170.
....., death of Sultan of, his successor, 173, cause of death, 178.
....., English Ambassador in, represents loss of English influence in, since Queen Elizabeth's death; caused by Anglo-Spanish alliance, 175.
....., discussion in England as to value of Levantine trade, 175.
(1604), new Grand Vizier, 177, his death, 256.
....., Levant Company and English Ambassador in, 190, 192.
....., adventures of corn-laden ship owned in, 195, 196, 197.
....., galleys of, burnt by Englishman, at instance of Grand Duke of Tuscany, off Algiers; anxiety in England at probable consequences, 216, 220, 223, 236, full details of, 237.
....., Turkish protection for English "pirates," 218, 231.
....., ships leave England for, with Secretary of Ambassador, 223.
....., orders from Sultan to Sanjak of the Morca, for repression of piracy, 252, 253, 254, 255, 262, 263.
....., death of Grand Vizier of, on road to Belgrade; his successor Mehmet, 256.
....., English "pirate" manned by Turks, 272.

Turkey (1604)—*cont.*
....., Secretary to English embassy in, attacked on return to Constantinople, by Venetian Admiral, 273, 289, heroic defence, 300; 306, 315, 345.
....., King James proposes to abandon all relations with, 278.
....., Secretary of English embassy in, presents letters from King James to Sultan; his probable nomination as Ambassador, 283.
....., English Ambassador in, declines invitation of Venetian Ambassadors, 293.
....., candidate favoured in, for throne of Morocco, 297.
....., English Ambassador in, ordered to "take his policy" from Ambassador at Venice, 304.
(1605), Venetian representations to, *re* harbouring of pirates, 322.
....., the humours of the Sultan of, tragedies at Court, 329.
....., change of French Ambassadors in, 342.
....., peace with Empire desired by, choice of an intermediary; England not available, being unrepresented at Imperial Court, 350.
....., trade with, exchanged by English merchants for more profitable East Indian, 364.
....., aid against, in Hungary solicited in England by Emperor, 396.
....., anti-English feeling in, ship arrested as pirate, 437.
(1606), Sultan alarmed at growth of piracy, disposed to cease relations with English, 466, 477, advantages to, of English alliance, 477.
....., reputed English pirate burned, with cargo, at Constantinople, supposed work of Turks, 470 (*cf.* 437), 485, 517, English representations to Venice concerning, 537, 539, 540, 541, 553, 565.
....., Turkish ships taken by English pirates, 470, flying flag of Tuscany, alarm of Levant merchants in England, 483, 517, 560.
....., gunpowder imported into, from England, 470, 477.
....., English Ambassador in, anxious to retire; trade between and England reduced to nothing, 477.
....., purchases by, of tin and tallow for arsenal, 508.
....., English Ambassador in, on good terms with Venetian, 567.
....., appointment of Sir Thomas Glover as English Ambassador in, 617, 624.
....., the Grand Vizier, Dervisch Pasha, done to death in the Seraglio by the Sultan's order; Murad Pasha

Turkey (1606)—*cont.*
succeeds him, with Hassan Pasha as his Lieutenant, 640.
....., ..., Venetian explanation to, of quarrel with Pope, the refusal of Republic to break with, 649.
...., arrival of Sir Thomas Glover, 650.
..... (1607), conclusion of peace between, and Empire, English disgust, 654.
...., Venetian application for redress touching cargo of vessel ("Liona") burnt by pirates refused by Turks at Modon, 676, in league with pirates, 681; further negotiations touching, 700.
...., closing of ports of, to English, only care for piracy, 681.
...., part of the crew of an English pirate, Turks, 682.
...., "big, fierce dogs," bought in England, to be sent to, by Venetian Government, 694.
...., English Ambassador in, tries to appropriate church to Anglican worship, 712.
...., claim by English to cover commerce with, of other nations, by their flag; French protest, 712, endorsed by Venetians, 724; the matter reported to Sir Henry Wotton, who brings it, in lukewarm fashion, to the notice of the Venetian Cabinet; their reply, 736.
...., dislike and disdain of King James for any alliance with, 739 (*p.* 519).
.... *See also* Achmet; Cicala; Mehemet III.

Turner, Captain William, spy in English service, his arrest at Venice requested by Sir Henry Wotton, 605, description of, 606 *and note*; his arrest urged, 611, his arrest, 612, 613, 614, 616, 617, 620, 622, 630; still in prison, reported ill, his proposed release, 696.

Tars, di. *See* Tour, Baron du.

Tuscany, Grand Duke of (1603), intermediary in King James the First's negotiations with the Pope, 34.
...., proposed loan by, to Scotland, 72.
....., ..., English Envoy to, 81.
...., English exile at court of, in reign of Queen Elizabeth, 9[illegible].
....., ..., King James' negotiations with, *viâ* Lorraine, 104.
....., ..., Ambassador from, arrives in England, 132, 147.
....., ..., insults to, and to his Ambassador, by Spanish Ambassador in England, 147, 158, 175.
....., ..., his employment of (Sir) Henry Wotton on a Scottish mission, 172, 291.

Tuscany, Grand Duke of—*cont.*
....., ... (1604), question of precedence of his Ambassador over Savoy, 182.
....., ..., Turkish fort and galleys destroyed by Englishmen in his employment, 216, annoyance in England, 220, 223, 236; history of the affair, 237.
....., ..., obtains licence to export gunpowder from England, 233, 236.
....., ..., buys ships in England, on conclusion of peace with Spain, 236, 238.
....., ..., (Sir) Henry Wotton's employment by, in Scotland, the occasion of King James' esteem for that gentleman, 291.
....., ..., powder exported from England by, 313.
....., ... (1605), his well chosen, annual, presents acceptable at English Court, 364.
....., ..., ... libellous book concerning, suppressed in England, 368, 374.
....., ..., gunpowder and cannon bought by, in England, 453, 477.
....., ... (1606), English *berton*, flying his flag, captures Turkish galleon, English annoyance and alarm, 483, 517, Turkish retaliation, 553.
....., ..., buys ships in Amsterdam, attempts to recruit crews in England, 560, and fails, permission being refused by Privy Council on account of his attacks on Turks, 566.
....., ..., his increasing attention to commercial and naval concerns, 560.
....., ..., buys wheat in Flanders, 566.
....., ..., great court paid by, to King James, 591.
....., ..., wheat bought for, in England, 595, 598, 629.
....., ..., advocates match between Dauphin and the Infanta of Spain, 638.
....., ... (1607), favourite of Secretary Franqueza condemned to death for sale to, of State secrets, 678.
....., ..., annual presents from, to King James, arrive, 699.
....., ..., informs King James, by express, of accommodation between Venice and Pope, 720.
....., ..., review of his relations with England, 739 (*p.* 520).

Tyrol, troops raised in, by Spain, against Venice, 661.

Tyrone, Earl of. *See* O'Neil.

U

Udine, 299.

Ulric of Denmark, Duke of Holstein, brother of Queen Anne, arrives in England, to recruit soldiers for Hungary, 295, his frankness, 301; attends wedding of Lord Montgomery, 323; banquet to, by Spanish Ambassador, 333; tournament conducted by, 360; lingers in England, 363; invested K.G., 368; sponsor to Queen's daughter, 368; immense expense of his visit, pension for, 374; Queen's quarrel with, his unwillingness to depart, slights Venetian Ambassador (*cf.* 323), 384; King James intercedes with Emperor for favourite of, 426; expected in England, 707.

"Ulysses." *See* Ships.

Undertaker, the, in Parliament, lays matters before House and carries bills from Commons to Lords, right to nominate foregone by Crown, 205.

Underwriting, Venetian, 128, 153.

Union, the (1603), between England and Scotland, proposal to unite under name of "Britain"; Scottish opposition assured, 132.

....., ..., Scottish demands:—A joint council, each country to retain its name and laws, 147.

....., ... (1604), the King bent upon, 205.

....., ..., English demands:—Four great offices to be reserved to Englishmen; no Scot to be appointed to English office for 12 years; Scottish peers not to rank in England; taxation to be applied equally, 214.

....., ..., King labours for, 217.

....., ..., Commissioners to be appointed to arrange, 220.

....., ..., wrath in Scotland at English opposition to, 223.

....., ..., English Commissioners appointed; Scottish not, 227, at last appointed; dispute as to meeting place, 233, London to be the place, 243.

....., ..., Scottish Commissioners expected; intention of King to preside, 274; their arrival, 278, some delayed, 292.

....., ..., King goes hunting, the Commissioners protest; common coinage, reciprocal trade, and intermarriage agreed to, 295.

....., ..., success of commission; terms agreed to; the "postnati," i.e., subjects of either kingdom born

Union, the (1604)—*cont.*

since Queen's death, to be eligible for office, &c., in either country, 307; subscribed by Commissioners, 312.

....., ... (1605), English parliament meets to sanction, 415; proves impracticable, 433, 499, 510, 517.

....., ..., conditions in Scotland favourable to, *quâ* Church discipline, 564, 578; but Conference of Scottish Ministers and English Bishops miscarries; the union of kingdoms without union of churches held impossible, 592.

....., ..., English parliament meets to consider; strong measures to be taken with Scottish Ministers of Religion, 632; small prospect of success, 635, 642, 652.

....., ... (1607), King's eagerness for Union, 680.

....., ..., debates in parliament on; member committed to Tower for contempt of Scottish nation, 699.

....., ..., advantages of, if carried, to Crown, 701.

....., ..., successful conclusion expected, 707.

....., ..., question of the "postnati," if carried, automatic union secured, 713, 714.

....., ..., Scottish opposition to; King's proposal to throttle English opposition by summoning fresh parliament at York; his address to the Lower House, 718, their reply, 727.

....., ..., King's anxiety for, 733, 738.

....., ..., the Puritan party in England its chief opponents, 738.

Uzzon, ——. *See* Hudson.

V

Vail, or strike the foretopsail, English ships required to, in presence of galleys of Venetian Republic, by agreement with English government, 371, 376*n*. *See* "Venice."

Vaison, bishopric of, in district of Avignon, given by Pope to Scotsman, 40, 118.

Vale, Antonio, Secretary at Zante, 152.

Valemen, bankrupt firm of, 698.

....., Jeremy, ally of Sir Anthony Sherley, in Spain, 698.

Valencia and Aragon, government of, offered to Archduke, 148, 193.

Valeran, M., expert in cipher, 671.

Valladolid, despatches dated from, 31, 33, 61, 62, 70, 82, 83, 95, 112, 127, 144, 163, 250, 257, 276, 290, 296, 310, 317, 326, 346, 354, 357, 362, 366, 372, 383, 386, 392, 393, 398, 399, 405, 413, 428, 434, 438, 452, 460, 457, 468, 480, 481, 488, 495, 496, 500, 501.

....., Lord Nottingham's conduct in, 411.

Valle, Giovanni Antonio, Venetian, 47.

Valois, Charles de, comte d'Auvergne, illegitimate brother of the Marquise de Verneuil, concerned in stepfather, François d'Entragues' plot, 235, 239; condemned to death, respited to please Duke of Lennox, 343.

Valona, 13, 577.

Valtelline, 702.

Vaudemont, François, Count of, son of Duke of Lorraine, General of Republic Venice, arrives in England, 585 *and note*, to raise troops, 589, 592, hunting with King, 596, departs, 599; illness of member of suite, 603; disposed to renew his contract with Republic, 608, 618; warmth of King James in discussing affairs of Republic with, 673.

Vaughan, Richard, Bishop of Chester, translated to London, 288 *and note*; coerces Puritans, 347.

Velasco, Don Juan Ferdinando de, Duke of Frias, Constable of Castille, leaves for Flanders, 148 *and note*, with full powers to conclude peace with England, 181; his reception by the Archduke, 186; his great age, 186, 191; presses for conference outside England, 202; decides to come to England, 205; to be lodged in Somerset House, 207; his arrival put off, on plea of health, 213, King's annoyance, 217; summons Roveda from Milan to represent him, 223; insufficiency of his powers, 229; expected in London, 246, 248, 250, 251, arrives, 259, his reception, 261, 266; presents given, and received, by, on ratification of Anglo-Spanish peace, 266, 267: his signature to treaty, 268; sees, and protests against, ship loads of recruits leaving Thames for Holland, 274; his reception in Spain on return, 310; mentioned, 391, 734.

Velutelli, Acerbo, 109.

Vendramin, Chevalier, at head of Senators, receives Sir Henry Wotton, 275.

....., Francesco, Venetian Ambassador in *Rome*, despatches from, to Doge and Senate, 140, 143, 150, 155, 165.

Venetico, 156.

Veneto, the, 600.

Verneuil, Marquise de. *See* Entragues d'.

Venice (1603), Anthony Sherley arrested at, 1, 2, 5.

...., alliance with, desired by James I., 6.

Venice (1603)—*cont.*

...., ships of, plundered by English, 9, 13, 14, 24, 25, 26, 27. *See* Piracy.

...., concerted action between, and Turkey, for suppression of English piracy, 13, 14, 15, 25, 26, 29, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 71.

...., English claim against, *re* corn detained in Zante, 22, detailed, 23.

...., sketch of Queen Elizabeth's policy for aggrandizement of, in Italy, at cost of Spain, 34.

...., saltpetre commissioned by, in England, 34, 35.

...., precedence of representative of, anciently postponed, in England, to Saxony, Brandenburg, and Burgundy, 40.

...., opposition of, to Levant Company, 40.

...., letters of congratulation from, to King James, 43.

...., motion by Senate of, to send Ambassadors, ordinary and extraordinary, to England, with scale of pay, 43.

...., arrest by officials of, of English Consul at Patras, 47, 50.

...., compliments of King James to Agent of, and representations to, in favour of the Sherleys, 56.

...., representative of, in Zante, exacts caution money from English ships leaving that port, 57; hangs pirates at Zante, 65.

...., representative of, received in audience by James I., 66.

...., intended application to, by James I., for loan, 72.

...., determination of King James to suppress buccaneering at expense of, 78.

...., mission to, of Anthony Standen, to announce King James' succession, 81, 87, 91.

...., representations by Ambassador of, in Turkey, as to support given by Turkish officials to pirates from England, 84.

...., Dutch offer to, of a fleet, on hire, 91.

...., ship of, taken by Dutch privateer, 91.

...., precedence of Ambassadors of, disputed by Flemish envoys, 91.

...., advantage to, of dissolution of Levant Company, 91.

...., maritime laws of, their effect on Ragusa and Ancona, 91.

...., detailed statement of English case against, 109.

...., Resident from, in London, to be allowed use of Roman rite in his house, for self, suite, and resident

Venice (1603)—*cont.*
Venetians and Italians in London; the like claimed for English Resident in Venice, 118, 131; Sir Henry Wotton's compromise, 282, 304.
...., "thousands of English" resident in, 118, 165, mostly Roman Catholics, 282.
...., Sir Anthony Sherley's sentence of exile from, rescinded, 123, 141.
...., ships of, insured; too big for English ports, 128, an instance, 159.
...., causes of growth of English piracy at expense of, 128.
...., Papal threats against, *re* traffic with heretics, 165.
...., ancient trade between, and Southampton, 170.
..... (1604), Paul Pinder's claim against, 193.
...., proposal by, that a King's officer shall accompany every ship trading from England to Mediterranean, 208, 232.
...., representations on behalf of, to King James, *re* piracy, &c., 221.
...., Wotton's instructions, *re* English claims against; English desire for all differences to be forgotten, 247.
...., Ambassador of, commissioned to buy saltpetre in England, 260, bribery required, 274; 313.
...., post to, time taken by, 261.
...., Venetian Admiral attacks English ship, with Secretary of English embassy in Constantinople on board; defect of signalling alleged, 273, 289, heroic defence, 300, 306, 315, 331, 345.
...., advantages to accrue to, from King James' attitude to Turk, 278.
...., treatment of merchants at, and question of customs, English representations touching, 294, 318, 328, 330, 336, 337, 345, 367, 371, 419.
...., religious service in house of English Ambassador in, 282, 304.
..... (1605), refusal of English vessels in waters of, to submit to search, 328, 338, 339.
...., list of English custom dues levied on Venetian traders, 337.
...., disquisition on English and Venetian custom dues, 340.
...., question of the precedence over Agents of, of Ambassador of the Archduke, 365, 378, 396, 502, 510, 513, 515, 516, 524, 527, 529, 531, 537, 539, 540, 541, 544, 546, 557, 563, 565, 583, 585, 589.
...., regulations by English Government for conduct of English ships in Venetian waters, in presence of Venetian Navy, 371; request for further

Venice (1605)—*cont.*
concession, 376, 377, 380, 381, 403, 404, 407, 417, 419, 420, 421; 422, 429, 439, 729, Appendix II. (*p.* 525).
...., anchorage tax on English vessels at, 429, 439, 441, 447, 475, 483, 586, 630.
...., custom dues, instructions to Ambassador concerning, 430.
...., tax in, called "Cottimo," English protest against, 439 *and note*.
...., death of Doge, Sir Henry Wotton's condolences, 461.
..... (1606), quarrel between, and Pope, touching goods and persons of ecclesiastics, 482, 505, 507, 509, 512, 519, 521, 522, 524, 526, 527, 530. 531, 532, 533, 547, 549, 554, 559, 560, 561, 565, 573, 580, 582, 583, 584, 586, 588, 589, 590, 591, 593, 596, 600, 608, 617, 618, 622, 623, 625, 626, 627, 628, 630, 633, 635, 637, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 648, 649, 651, 652, 656, 658, 659, 661, 662, 664, 666, 671, 672, 673, 675, 677, 679, 680, 683, 684, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 695, 696, 698, 699, 702, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 715, 717, 719, 720, 720A, 720B, 726, 735.
...., English priest conveyed out of England by retiring Ambassador of, 490.
...., complaint by English of ill-will shewn by Agents of, at Constantinople, 537, 539; Venetian reply, 540, 541, 553, 565.
...., English aid against Pope solicited by, 561, promised by King and Cecil, 561, and confirmed by Ambassador in Venice, 572, 582, 584, 588.
...., Count of Vaudemont, "General" of, 585 *and note*, 589, 592.
...., Secretary Herbert's charge to adjust commercial differences between and England, not acted on, 585.
...., wheat bought for, in England, 595, 596, 598, 608, 619, 623, 627, 629, 632, 635, 636, 641, 643, 658, 660.
...., King James' support of, against Pope, based on his respect for "independence of Princes," 591.
...., English spy arrested in, on Sir Henry Wotton's motion, 605, 606, 609, 610, 611, 612.
...., offer of German aid for, 611, 617, 630.
...., league between, and German Princes, urged on, by Sir Henry Wotton, 617, King James disposed to rely on, 618.
...., formal offer of Dutch aid for, 618.

Venice (1606)—*cont.*
...., efforts by, to procure publication by King James of his declaration in favour of, 618, 623, 627.
...., special embassy from, to King James, 627.
...., opposition of Lord Salisbury to desired declaration, 628.
...., terms of compromise offered by, to Pope, 633, 672.
...., the Calvinistic worship at the English embassy in, 641.
...., declaration of King James in favour of, unknown to English Ambassador in Paris, Sir Henry Wotton's explanation, 641; Venetian reliance on England, 641.
...., unfavourable report from Ambassador of, in England as to prospect of King James' declaration in favour of being published, 642.
...., offer, through Sir Henry Wotton, of aid to, from Swiss, 644.
...., Ambassador of, in Turkey, states officially that cause of quarrel between, and Pope, is the Venetian refusal to break with Grand Turk, 649.
...., Spain commences to arm against, 651, 661.
...., belief in England that accommodation between, and Pope, had been reached, 652, 659.
..... (1607), Jesuits intrigue, through the confessor of Henry IV., to secure reentrance of their order into State of, 656.
...., question of export of corn to, from England, discussed with Senate, by Sir Henry Wotton; Lord Salisbury's recommendation to them to buy through Flemish merchants, 658.
...., position of, against Pope, approved by Chancellor Seton, 659.
...., corn leaves England for, 660.
...., Spanish attack on, Crema threatened, Sir Henry Wotton's information, 661.
...., criticism of Republic's position by Henry IV., 662.
...., alliance between, and German Princes, again urged by Sir Henry Wotton, 664.
...., new cipher adopted by, 671*n*.
...., English Ambassador notified by, that, in face of Papal armaments, the Republic is prepared to enter into English alliance; the like notification to France, 672.
...., a "league" and a "council" recommended to, by Sir Henry Wotton, who explains, in reply to notification above, that it would be derogatory to King James to negotiate on Republic's behalf, without pledge that she would not, meanwhile, come to terms with Pope, 673.

Venice (1607)—*cont.*
.... Ambassador of, in England, informed by his Government of their interviews with Ambassadors of France and Spain touching proposed league, and instructed to explain state of affairs to King, 677.
...., Duke of Lerma announces Spanish determination to support Pope against; immense military preparations against, of Spain, 679.
...., offers to Ambassador of, in England, by individuals, of their services, 683.
...., fear of an arrangement between, and Pope, hinders English action; efforts by England and France to arrive at understanding together; report of conversation with French Ambassador in England, 684 *and note*.
...., notification by, to King James, of readiness to join Anglo-French league against Spain, his reply, 686, 689.
...., coolness of French to suggested league, 687, 688.
...., remarks of King James to Venetian Ambassador on expected weakening of Pope's attitude towards, 689.
...., French support of, to be declared on the excuse of the Grisons; King James' suggestion, 690.
...., matter of the league on behalf of, analysis of divergent policies of France and England regarding, 690, 691.
...., return of Jesuits to territory of, advocated by Henry IV. of France, 691.
...., "big fierce dogs" commissioned by, in England, as present to Turkey, 694.
...., Sir Henry Wotton to be notified that preparations in, for war continue, pending result of negotiations, 695.
...., discourse of Sir Henry Wotton to Cabinet, on League, &c., 696.
...., petition presented by Sir Henry Wotton for admission of boy, under age, to Seminary of San Marco, 696.
...., Venetian Governor in Zante employs English ship against pirates at Modon, 697.
...., Sir Anthony Sherley to be employed against, at sea, 698.
...., reported Spanish declaration against, to King James, in favour of Pope, 702.
...., progress of negotiations for accord between, and Pope, reported to English Ambassador, 704, 705.
...., relations of, with the Grisons, 707.

Venice (1607)—*cont.*
....., English Ambassador goes to Court, at Madrid, in Venetian Ambassador's carriage, to mark good relations between England and, 709.
....., warned by Henry IV. of France to place no reliance on King James; league between, and France, proposed, without England and with Pope, 710.
...., French Ambassador's proposal of a league with, disavowed by his Government, 711.
...., accord between, and Pope, attained; Sir Henry Wotton's congratulations; part in, played by King James' declaration in favour of Venice, 715.
...., renewed pledges to, by King James, 719.
...., news of the accommodation between, and Pope, reaches England, 720.
...., terms of the accommodation, 720A, 720B.
...., English claim to cover shipping of other nations with their flag in Turkish waters opposed by Venetian representative, as contrary to French "capitulations," 724 (*cf.* 712).
...., official notification by, to King James, of accord with Pope; proposal to accredit an Ambassador Extraordinary negatived, 725.
...., re-issue by, of orders *re* English shipping, 729, Appendix II. (*p.* 525).
...., English "broadsheet," attributing to the Venetians that they ran counter in points of doctrine to the Pope, suppressed at request of their Ambassador in London, 730, 731.
....., despatch dated at, 504.
Venice, Archives of, called "Ceremoniali III.," extract from, 275.
....., Archives of, called "Collegio Ceremoniale," extract from, Appendix I.
....., Archives of, called "Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Principi," extracts from, 277, 282, 294, 304, 309, 318, 321, 330, 339, 356, 367, 371, 379, 387, 388, 409, 417, 418, 419, 421, 429, 441, 449, 461, 471, 475, 476, 509, 524, 530, 539, 541, 555, 565, 609, 728.
....., Archives of, called "Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni Roma," extracts from, 505, 512, 518, 521, 533, 552, 568, 572, 577, 582, 588, 594, 600, 617, 622, 625, 630, 637, 641, 645, 648, 658, 661, 664, 673, 696, 706, 708, 715, 720B, 736.
....., Archives of, called "Collegio, Secreta, Lettere," extracts from, 616, 677.
....., Archives of, called "Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni Secreta, registro," extract from, 587, 604, 605, 606.
Venice—*cont.*
....., Archives of, called "Consiglio Dieci. Processi Criminali.," extracts from, 305, 349, 389, 394, 400, 401, 414, 423, 424, 425, 615.
....., Archives of, called "Expulsis Papalistis," extracts from, 482, 522, 571, 642, 654.
....., Archives of, called "Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni Roma," extracts from, 646, 651.
....., Archives of, MS. in Marcian Library, 739 *and note.*
....., Archives of, Minutes of the Council of Ten, extract from, 299.
....., Archives of, Minutes of the Senate, extracts from, 1, 2, 5, 18, 19, 37, 43, 44, 45, 46, 79, 94, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 208, 225, 260, 279, 280, 281, 289, 314, 315, 316, 328, 336, 337, 338, 376, 377, 378, 380, 381, 420, 422, 430, 431, 478, 479, 507, 514, 519, 525, 529, 540, 548, 557, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 620, 720A, 729, Appendix II.
....., Archives of, Minutes of the Senate, "Deliberazioni Roma," extracts from, 633, 634A.
....., Archives of, Minutes of the Senate, "Roma," extracts from, 549, 574, 575, 576, 580, 593, 602, 621, 626, 672, 695, 704, 705, 725.
....., Archives of, Private Archives of the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, 358.
Venier, Marco, 91, 96.
"Veniera." *See* Ships.
Verdelli, Chevalier, in suite of François, Count of Vaudemont, his illness, 603; represents his master's views to Venetian Ambassador in England, 608, 618.
Vere, Horatio de, Knt., Lieutenant for States of Holland, 474.
Vere, Susan Lady de, 323 *note.*
Vereiken, Louis, Grand Audientiary, represents Archduke Albert at Anglo-Spanish peace conferences, 223; his signature (as "Verreyken") to treaty of peace, 268.
Verglierzin, Antonia, her case, 708*n.*
Verneuil, Marquise de. *See* Balsac d'Entragues, Catherine Henriette de.
Verona, 299, 387, 615*n*; Sir Henry Wotton's method of making favour with, 736.
Vervins, peace of, 90; breach of, by Henry IV., 267.
Vic, M. de, Governor of Calais, fired on, by English, 81, 86.
Vice-Chamberlain. *See* Stanhope, John.
Vicenza, 299; English Canon of, *see* Whorwelle; outlaw of, *see* Monte; mentioned, 736.
"Vidala." *See* Ships.

Vidali, Rimondi, Venetian, 47.
"Vidalla." *See* Ships.
Villa Mediana, Count of. *See* Taxis, Juan de.
Villalonga, Count of, 481 ; severities against, and his adherents, 685.
Villefranche, 494.
Villeroy, M. de. *See* Neufville.
Vinciguerra, ——, of Malta, 211.
Vitry, M. de. *See* Hospital, de l'.
Vitturi, Bernardin, of the Supreme Court, Venice, 616.
Vizier, Grand, (1603) hostile to English, 84, 85 ; new (Halil), appointed, 177, his death, 256 ; his successor (Mehmet), 256 ; his orders to the Sanjak of the Morea, 262 ; Mehmet's appointments, 273, absent in Hungary, 329, seeks peace with the Empire, 350, dies, 528 ; his successor (Dervisch Pasha), Capudan, 528, is slain by Sultan's order and in his presence, his successor (Murad) appointed, 640.
Vizier, Lieutenant Grand. *See* Mustaphà, Skoffi Sinan, Hassan Pasha.
Volonie. See Acorns.
Vuro, Steffano, captain of ship of Chios, 152.

W

Wales (*i.e.*, Herefordshire), Roman Catholic disturbances in, 384, 390, 397, 408 ; Pope's disapproval of, 432.
Wales, Prince of. *See* Henry Frederick.
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 739 (*p.* 515).
Wards, Court of, abuses of, 739 (*p.* 507).
Ware, co. Herts., 352 *note*, 355 *note*.
Waterford, Roman Catholics in, 66.
Watson, Anthony, Bishop of Chichester, Queen's Almoner, attends her deathbed, 32 ; the like to King James, 169 *and note*.
....., William, priest, concerned in Raleigh's plot, 101*n* ; gives up names of conspirators, 113 ; interrogatories for, 132 ; sentenced, and executed, 167 *note*, 172, 175.
Weights and measures. See Measures.
Wellington, Alice, of Allensmore, co. Heref., 384*n*.
Westerbrook, Hugh. *See* Whitbrook.
"Westerlings," fight between, and English pirates, 219, 225, 494.
Westminster Abbey, funeral of Queen Elizabeth in, 36 ; Coronation in, 105.
....., Palace of, Queen Elizabeth lies in state in, 6 ; King at, 192.
Westmorland, Earl of. *See* Nevill.
Whewel (Huel), ——, his piracy, 53.
Whitbrook, or Westerbrook, Hugh, his case, 23, 109, 417, 418, 420, 475, 521, 524, 525, 530.
"White Horse." *See* Ships.
Whitehall, Court at, 105.
Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, secures release of Roman Catholics imprisoned in London, from Sheriffs, 6 ; ministers to Queen Elizabeth dying, 32 ; his death, his character, 199.
Whorwelle, Dr., Canon of Vicenza, recommended to Cecil by Venetian Ambassador, 353 ; with Sir Henry Wotton at Venice, 459 *and note*, desires to go to England as "Archpriest," 491.
Wight, Isle of, keepership of, 81*n* ; pirate refugees in, 128 ; Vice-Admiral of, 132 ; governor of, *see* Cary, George.
Willoughby, Lord, 473.
Wilson, Thomas, Knt., his mission to Spain (1605) to obtain indemnity for English merchants, 333 (*cf.* 325), 398, refused, 560, 564.
Wilton, King at, 164.
Wimbledon, Viscount. *See* Cecil, Edward.
Winchester, 135 ; Court at, 136, 141, 142, 146, 160 ; trial of Raleigh conspirators at, 164.
....., despatches dated from, 141, 142.
....., Bishop of. *See* Bilson.
Windsor, King expected to stay at, 81 ; receives Queen at, 91 ; crowded Court at, occasions dearth, 96 ; Court leaves, 102, returns to, 238, 246, 248 ; leaves, 251 ; returns to, 268, 274, 373, 415 ; Ambassador of King of Denmark receives robes of Garter, for master, at, 427 ; King at, 578, 583.
Winter, Thomas, conspirator, 475.
Wirtemberg, Ambassador from Duke of, in England, 97 ; attends Coronation, 105 ; lodged at rational expense, 111, takes leave, 113 ; Garter conferred on Duke of, 216, his present to King James, 216 ; Duke expected in England, 537.
Wood. See Trade.
Woodstock, King at, 128, 136, 141.
Wool. See Trade.
Wotton, Sir Edward, Lord Wotton, 172, receives the Spanish special envoy, 261 ; present at banquet, reports to his brother, 696.
....., Sir Henry, brother of Lord Wotton, appointed (1603) Ambassador to Venice, 172.
....., ... (1604), about to start, 213.
....., ..., his interview with Venetian Ambassador in England, 232.
....., ..., knighted ; eulogy of, Ambassador Molin's, 243.

Wotton, Sir Henry (1604)—*cont.*
....., ..., his route, and instructions, 248.
....., ..., his arrival at Venice, his preliminary conversation with Secretary Scaramelli touching his reception, as became his Sovereign's dignity, and the exercise of his religion, 275, 282.
....., ..., description of his reception by the Doge, 275.
....., ..., presents his credentials, 277, Venetian acknowledgments to King James, 279, 280, 281.
....., ..., his old acquaintance with King in Scotland, recommended to him as discreet and good Italian scholar by Grand Duke of Tuscany, 291.
....., ..., presents memorandum to Senate recommending more favourable treatment of English merchants at Venice, in specified ways, and requesting reversal of outlawry of Antonio Dotto, 294.
....., ..., admission of Italians to religious service in house of, criticized, 304.
....., ..., to act as superior to English Ambassador at Constantinople, 304.
....., ..., memorandum presented by, 309, to 314, 318, 328.
....., ... (1605), his energetic rejection of answer of Senate to request for better treatment of English merchants, 318, 330.
....., ..., announces that Secretary Herbert is charged to adjust Anglo-Venetian commercial differences, claims distinction shall be made between honest merchants and pirates, 321.
....., ..., Venetian claim to right of search, his arguments against, 339.
....., ..., seeks opportunity of conversation with newly-appointed Ambassador from Venice to England; request refused, 356.
....., ..., presents memorandum on case of English merchants against Government of Zante, 367.
....., ..., further memorandums of his, considered, 371, 379, 409.
....., ..., states case against Nicolo Balbi, for murder of Nicholas Pert, 387, 409, 417, 419.
....., ..., his outspoken protest against Venetian dilatoriness, 409, 429.
....., ..., protest by, against "anchorage tax" levied on English ships at Venice, 429, 441.
....., ..., supported by Cecil, 439, and the King, 447.

Wotton, Sir Henry (1605)—*cont.*
....., ..., his condolences on death of Doge, 461, and congratulations to new Doge, 471; makes a pun, 471 *and note.*
....., ..., his official account of Gunpowder Plot, 475.
....., ..., thanks for news from Constantinople communicated to, 476.
....., ..., letter of, to Duke of Modena, 504.
....., ..., secret communication from, to the Doge and Senate, touching their dispute with Pope, 505, their thanks, 507, further communication, 509.
....., ..., his discourse on dispute between Pope and Venice, 512.
....., ..., his discourse on the conduct of Henry Garnet and the Jesuits, 518.
....., ..., breach between Pope and Doge and Senate communicated to, 519.
....., ..., addresses Doge on English analogy of restricted gifts to ecclesiastics, and suggests league, 521.
....., ..., audience of, 524.
....., ..., thanked by Senate, in matter of precedence, 529, 537.
....., ..., his conduct resented in Rome, 530, 547.
....., ..., further information supplied by, to Senate, 533.
....., ..., audience of, 539, reply, 540, 541; audience, 552.
....., ..., alleged libel against, 552.
....., ..., received in audience by Doge, 555.
....., ..., King James expresses satisfaction with, and regard for, 561.
....., ..., received in audience, recounts the story of Newce's plot, 565; received in audience, reports news from Spain, 568.
....., ..., notifies Doge and Senate, with leave to publish it, the promise (*see* 561) of King James to assist them, 572; Venetian thanks, 574, 575, 576; question of publication, 577, 580.
....., ..., received in audience, raises question of admission of English squadron in Adriatic, 577.
....., ..., received in audience, offers services of English officers, 582.
....., ..., his "very long and ornate speech" to the Doge and Senate on their quarrel with the Pope, 588.
....., ..., received in audience, 594, 600.

Wotton, Sir Henry (1605)—*cont.*
....., ..., requests the arrest of English officer in Papal service, 600, 601, 602.
....., ..., requests arrest of Capt. William Turner, 605.
....., ..., requests private interview with Secretary of Venetian Senate, 609, permission granted, 610; account of interview, whereat he urged arrest of Turner, 611, successfully, 612, 613, 614, 616, 617, 620, 621, 622, 630.
....., ..., his suspicions concerning Lorenzo Zanoli and the case of Nicholas Pert, 615*n*.
....., ..., his speech to the Venetian Cabinet, urging league with German Princes against Pope, 617.
....., ..., his views on Don Francesco de Castro's mission, 622, 625.
....., ..., professes knowledge of design by Spain and Archduke Albert to secure succession to Empire, 625.
....., ..., his secretary attacked and robbed of despatch in Lorraine, 630, 659.
....., ..., negotiations by Venice with Spanish Agent communicated to, 633.
....., ..., goes duck shooting; his statement that the pretty custom of shooting birds flying was unknown in England, 637.
....., ..., discourses to Venetian Cabinet on book by Possevino, &c., causing Doge to remark how clever and learned he was, 641.
....., ..., the attack on him touching the attendance of Venetians at the Calvinistic services held in the embassy, 641.
....., ..., proffer through, of Swiss aid for Venetians, 644.
....., ..., offers services of English captain, 645.
....., ..., resents report of weakening of King James' attitude in support of Venice, 648.
....., ... (1607), urges alliance on Venetian Cabinet, resents report that English refusal of export of corn indicated small reliance to be put on English aid, 658.
....., ..., imparts urgent cipher message to Venetian Cabinet touching Spanish design on Crema, 661.
....., ..., urges league between Venice and German princes, offers his services to negotiate, refers to his own service in German Courts, 664.
....., ..., notified by Venetian Cabinet of readiness of Republic to enter into alliance with England, 672, 673.

Wotton, Sir Henry (1607)—*cont.*
....., ..., lengthy discourse by, to Cabinet, upon attempt to bribe him, European politics, the advantages of a "league" and a "council," the surprise of Crema, and, in reply to proposal of alliance, upon the desirability of a pledge, on the part of the Republic, not to come to terms with Pope, while negotiating alliance, 673.
....., ..., despatch of, with basis for joint action of England and France in Italy, referred to, 684*n*.
....., ..., his proposed league, acceptance of, by Venetian Republic notified to King James, 686, 691; question who first suggested it, 692.
....., ..., despatch of, on re-admission of Jesuits to Venice, referred to, 691*n*.
....., ..., "affectionate disposition" of, to Venetian Republic, 692.
....., ..., communication to be made to, touching progress of negotiations by Venetian Government with Pope, text, 695.
....., ..., received in audience by Cabinet, his discourse, as to proposed league, &c., 696.
....., ..., receives instructions both from Lord Salisbury and from King himself, 696.
....., ..., his brother and nephew mentioned, 696.
....., ..., progress of negotiations between Pope and Venice communicated to, his acknowledgements, 704, 705, 706.
....., ..., received in audience; his antipathy to Jesuits expressed; espouses cause of certain criminals, 708, 715.
....., ..., his congratulatory speech to Venetian Cabinet on accord reached with Pope, 715.
....., ..., the terms of the accord communicated to him, his speech of congratulation, 720A, 720B.
....., ..., presents English visitors to Doge, 720B, 728.
....., ..., petitions presented by, on behalf of individuals, 728, with candid avowal of his motive, 736.
....., ..., his faint support of English Ambassador in Constantinople, 736.
....., ..., discredits Spanish acceptance of truce with Dutch, 736.

Wriothesley, Henry, Earl of Southampton, released from Tower, 22, honoured by James I., 40; turns Protestant and follows King to church, 66; created K.G. and made Keeper of Isle of Wight, 81 *and note*; restored as Earl of Southampton, 105*n*; restored in blood, 214; arrested, 238, on charge

Wriothesley, Henry, Earl of Southampton—*cont.*
of plotting to kill Scots about King's person, 242 ; attends Constable of Castille to Court, 266.

Y

York, James I. at, 34 ; Roman Catholic priest and layman hanged at, for their religion, 251 ; two Roman Catholics executed at, 432.
York and Albany, Charles, Duke of. *See* Charles.
York, Averio, English officer, to take service with Venetian Republic, 582, 588 ; gold collar presented to, 597 ; his presentation to the Doge, 600 ; mentioned, 611, 622.

Z

Zaguri, Angelo, and Giovanni Battista, 309, 314.
Zane, Zuan Giacomo, Venetian Councillor, 419, 582.
Zanoli, Anna, 615.
....., Lorenzo, 387, 417 ; his history, 615 *and note.*
Zante, Governor of, despatches from. *See* Michiel, Maffio.
..... (1603), depositions made at, 7, 8, 9, 21.
...., services rendered to, in time of famine, by English sea-captain, by supplying corn, 22, 23, 403, 417, 418.
...., export of raisins and currants from, 22, 129.
...., mentioned, 24, 25, 26, 27.
...., friction between Venetian Governor of, and Sanjak of the Morea, touching English prisoners, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 88, 89.
...., English ships require to deposit "caution money" before leaving, 57.
...., English merchants in, 57, 59, 129.
...., orders by Council of Twelve in, 60.
...., English pirates executed at, 65 ; revenge for, 156.
...., outrages by Venetians on English at, historical review of, 109.
Zante (1603)—*cont.*
...., English corn trade with, 126.
...., English piracy off, 141.
...., English escort, hired by Governor of Zante, when importing corn to, 152.
..... (1604), Venetian duties levied in, 192.
...., smuggled currants at, 194, 198, 209, 232.
...., English ship expelled from, 209.
...., Governor of, and execution of English pirates, 252, 269.
...., continued English piracy off, 298.
..... (1605), goods of Governor destroyed by English "pirates," in revenge for execution of Englishmen, 302, 336, 338, 339, 352.
...., case of English merchants against Government of, presented to Senate, 367, 371, 409.
...., ..., mentioned, 387.
..... (1607), arrival of English *bertons* at, without cargo, presumably pirates, 681.
....., despatches from, 14, 20, 24, 27, 29, 47, 50, 57, 65, 71, 88, 152, 153, 194, 198, 209, 211, 218, 219, 224, 226, 231, 269, 271, 284, 297, 298, 302, 311, 448, 634, 639, 676, 681, 682, 697.
Zaphi, Hortensio, Venetian surgeon, 45.
Zara, 299.
Zea, Venetian ship trading between, and Venice, 21 ; Thomas Sherley prisoner at, 56*n.*
Zealand, 12, 73.
Zecchini, 524, 539.
Zignoni, Rocco, exciseman, 555.
Zorzi, Girolomo, 612.
....., Lunardo, Podestà in Cittanuova, Istria, letter from, to Doge and Senate, 210.
....., Signor, Savio of Council of Ten, 612.
Zouche, Edward, la, Lord la Zouche (Baron Sulz), appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to Flanders, 312, released from service, 333.
Zuanne, Marco son of, of Venice, deposition by, 303.
Zuniga, Pedro de, Don, appointed Spanish Ambassador to England, 396, arrives, 404, (Balthazar de) 500 ; attitude of his Government to, 581 ; asserts that accommodation between Pope and Venice has been reached, 659 ; replies to complaints of English merchants, 660.
Zwolle, taken (1606) by Spanish, 556.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Calendars of State Papers, &c.	3
Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes	9
Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages	10
Publications of the Record Commissioners, &c.	20
Works Published in Photozincography	22
Historical Manuscripts Commission	24
Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records	31
Scotch Record Publications	35
Irish Record Publications	36
Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland	37

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5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

   This work gives the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I.-III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

   This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A. 1858.

   The first part relates only to the history of the Empire from the election of Henry I. the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world

8. HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catherine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191.

9. EULOGIUM (HISTORIARIUM SIVE TEMPORIS): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I.-III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., with a continuation to the year 1413.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH; Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem Spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet Laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE. 1858.

12. MONIMENTÆ GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati.

Vol. I., Liber Albus.

Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum.

Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index.

Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa, it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292. It is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1859-1861.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c. of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298; necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinty College, Cambridge, 1859.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. His work gives a full account of the views of the Lollards, and has great value for the philologist.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I.-IV. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V.-VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. Vol. VIII. *Edited by* George F. Warner, M.A., of the Department of MSS., British Museum. 1861-1891.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland, the first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ;* and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh. Vol. VIII. contains the Treatise *De Principum Instructione*, and an index to Vols. I.-IV. and VIII.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England, Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography.

24. Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gardiner, 1861-1863.

The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III., correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste. *Edited by* the Rev. Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The letters of Robert Grosseteste range in date from about 1210 to 1253. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. *(Out of print.)* Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1862-1871.

27. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI:—

1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422.

2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307.

3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406.

4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411.

5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II.

6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^mo^ FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS.

7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM.

Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient grounds: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406. and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century,

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411 mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle probably of John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V. and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V.

29. CHRONICON ABBATIÆ EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIÆ ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from 690 to 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history.

30. RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ. Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. *Edited by* JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

Richard of Cirencester's history is in four books, and gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3.

31. YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD THE FIRST AND EDWARD THE THIRD. Years 20-21, 21-22, 30-31, 32-33, and 33-35 Edw. I; and 11-12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Barrister-at-Law. Years 12-13, 13-14, 14, 14-15, 15 and 16 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1900.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449-1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1863.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I.-III. *Edited by* W.H. HART, F.S.A., Membre Correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863-1867.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1863.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I.-III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A. 1864-1866.

36. ANNALES MONASTICI.

Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066-1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263; Annales de Burton, 1004-1263.

Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291.

Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042-1432.

Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016-1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377.

Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary.

Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARDS, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.

Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI.

Vol. II.:—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199.

Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864-1879. Vol. IV., 1431-1447. Vol. V., 1447-1471. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1884-1891.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. (Translations of the preceding Vols. I., II., and III.) *Edited and translated by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1864-1891.

41. **Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II.** *Edited by* **Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III.-IX.** *Edited by* **the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865-1886.**

This chronicle begins with the Creation, and is brought down to the reign of Edward III. The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. **Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* the Rev. John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.**

These two treaties are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians.

43. **Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab anno 1150 usque ad annum 1406, Vols. I.-III.** *Edited by* **Edward Augustus Bond, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.**

44. **Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I.,-III. 1067-1253.** *Edited by* **Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. 1866-1869.**

45. **Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455-1023.** *Edited by* **Edward Edwards. 1866.**

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the statements which, in substance, he adopts.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

46. **Chronicon Scotorum. A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the earliest times to 1135; and Supplement, containing the events from 1141 to 1150.** *Edited, with Translation, by* **William Maunsell Hennessy, M.R.I.A. 1866.**

47. **The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the earliest period to the death of Edward I. Vols. I. and II.** *Edited by* **Thomas Wright, M.A. 1866-1868.**

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum"; in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The language is a specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. **The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen.** *Edited, with a Translation, by* **the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin. 1867.**

49. **Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., 1169-1192, known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough. Vols. I. and II.** *Edited by* **the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.**

50. **Munimenta Academica, or, Documents illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford (in Two Parts).** *Edited by* **the Rev. Henry Anstey, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and late Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.**

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I.-IV. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868-1871.

The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds to some extent with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49). From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A. 1871.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES, Vols. I.-IV. *Edited by* Sir TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871-1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited by* the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

57. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. 1067 to 1216. Vol. III. 1216 to 1239. Vol. IV. 1240 to 1247. Vol. V. 1248 to 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872-1884.

58. MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872-1873.

59. THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

60. MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873-1877.

61. HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

62. REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311-1316. Vols. I.-IV. *Edited by* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1873-1878.

63. MEMORIALS OF ST. DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

64. CHRONICON ANGLIÆ, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI. *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Barrister-at-Law, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

65. THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET IN ICELANDIC. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by* M. EIRIKR MAGNUSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian, of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875-1884.

66. RADULPHI DE COGGESHALL CHRONICON ANGLICANUM. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1875.

67. MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I.-VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875-1883. Vol. VII. *Edited by* JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, LL.D. 1885.

The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadrilogus, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

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