III. C. 16
Christ 90. 1890

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. V.

1534—1554.

EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY,
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1873

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PRINTED CALENDARS.

THE Editors of Calendars published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls are requested to confine any Prefatory Remarks they may consider necessary to prefix to their Volumes to an explanation of the Papers therein contained.

(Signed) ROMILLY.

13th June 1867.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume (being the fifth of the Venetian series,) contains a calendar of the papers from January 1534 to 1554. It embraces the little that remains of the correspondence between the Ambassador Capello and the Signory, or, more correctly speaking, their letters to him and to his Secretary Zuccato down to June 1535, when he returned from England. His recall took place on the 14th January 1535, and on the 2nd of February 1534, the Chiefs of the Ten, in alluding to Capello's letters of the 6th of January preceding, refer with something like dissatisfaction to a publication against the person and authority of the Pope, which was doubtless the "lityll boke that the Kynge's consell hath sett owt." This book, in all probability, was sent to Venice by Capello; but no account of his proceedings can be obtained from his own despatches after the close of Marin Sanuto's Diaries, in September 1533, where they are regularly calendared, except his Report on England, made on the 3rd of June, in 1535, to the Senate, wherein he gives a brief and rapid view of his service in England. On the departure of Carlo Capello from England, the Republic of Venice was represented, at the Court of Henry VIII., by the resident secretary Hieronimo Zuccato, who had the sole charge of the Venetian legation in London from 1535 to 1544. Zuccato's despatches, however, are not now extant in the Venetian Archives, but the letters addressed to him by the

Venetian authorities are regularly recorded there. He appears to have been recalled, because of the "lewd fashion" in which he spoke to the King and his Council.[1] In the same year in which the death of Katharine of Aragon occurred, the valuable correspondence of Reginald Pole commences. It is contained in a contemporary manuscript, which was presented, at the suggestion of the then librarian Don Jacopo Morelli to St. Mark's Library, by the Council of Ten, in the year 1795. It is not, however, known by what happy combination of circumstances the Council of Ten obtained possession of this priceless volume. It contains 349 letters, all more or less deeply interesting to the historian of the period, and to English scholars in particular. What adds to their value is the fact that those written in Italian were unknown to Querini, when he published his work entitled "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli, et aliorum ad ipsum."[2]

Many of the letters in the Marcian volume are unfortunately without any date, and their superscriptions, bearing in most instances the title of the sees for whom they were intended, often leave the reader to surmise the surname of the prelate to whom they were addressed. This labour of identification was, in itself, very heavy; but it was greatly increased by the incorrect dates given by the scribe of the 16th century. It was by no means easy to supply this defect, or to ascertain who the bishop really was to whom the letter was addressed, especially as many of the names are so transformed and dislocated as almost to defy recognition. The solution of these riddles did not always repay the toil and time bestowed upon the inquiry. In some cases, however, I was fully recompensed for my patience.

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[1] This fact does not appear in the Registers of the Republic, but is derived from the State Papers, vol. ix. p. 665.

[2] Brixiæ, 1744–1757, vol. v. 4to.

Two instances of this it will be sufficient to exhibit to the reader. The second Latin letter of the series concerning Cromwell and Tunstall, and the supremacy of Henry VIII., is dated from the Benedictine "Grange" (*Granza*) of Sta. Giustina, in the Euganean hills, which Pole describes as a "paradise"; and such it yet appeared to me when, on the first of October of this present year, I stood on the "Belveder" or "Loggia," from which the letter was evidently written. The monastic "Grange" of Rovolon is now a secular farmhouse; the chapel or oratory a coach-house; and the belfry a dovecot. In what may have been the refectory, I found a broad table extending the whole length of the apartment (the rafters being decorated in the Venetian style), and which was strewed with black and white grapes, chestnuts in the husk, and Indian corn in the cone; this produce of the fertile homestead being spread to dry for the Paduan market. In other parts of the building, I could trace the position of the cells: on the wall outside, a Benedictine escutcheon (the two palms, the mitre and the crosier) was visible from a window on the third floor; and from a door on the second floor I passed to the external "Loggia," the view thence, "*Montesque jucundissimos,*" (to use Pole's own words) having undergone no change, notwithstanding the lapse of 336 years; the variegated autumnal foliage of the grapeless vines contrasting with the dark green leaves of the stately Spanish chestnut trees, which formed the background of Montegalda with its cypress wreath, in the distance, beyond "fair Padua, nursery of Arts;" and the wooded Euganeans (in the midst of which Rovolon is situated) rendering the whole territory as enchanting a panorama as Reginald Pole represented it in August 1536, when discussing with the learned Benedictines of Sta. Giustina's monastery in Padua, the letters he had

received from Tunstall and Cromwell, and the orders given him in the name of their master, Henry VIII.

The volume in which the correspondence alluded to above is preserved also contains a letter (No. 218 of the Italian MS.) addressed Al Vescovo Vido, at least, so it appeared at first. A closer inspection, however, made me think that the name was Vida; but the substitution of one vowel for another, was of little use, as I could not find any bishopric in any quarter of the globe in accordance with either nomenclature. On consideration of the circumstantial evidence, I was, at length, convinced that Cardinal Pole wrote the letter to thank

> "Immortal Vida on whose honoured brow,
> The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow,"[1]

for two copies of his work, "De Dignitate Reipublicæ," one for Queen Mary and the other for Pole himself, to whom the book is dedicated in the form of a dialogue. He and two other cardinals, with his bosom friend Priuli, appear in it, as interlocutors. The scene is laid in a suburban villa at Trent during the session of the Council in 1545, and whilst Vida upholds Republican institutions, Pole's confidant, Marc' Antonio Flaminio, defends monarchical government.

Amongst the Cardinal's letters of an earlier date, there is a very remarkable one, translated from the

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[1] Pope, in his "Essay on Criticism," was evidently thinking of the "Christiados" of Marco Girolamo Vida, a Cremonese bishop of Alba, but he does not allude to the "De Dignitate Reipublicæ," which, to many persons will have seemed an ill-suited gift for a crowned head, nor does Pole give his opinion about its merits; but bearing in mind the two editions of Vida's poems, published at Oxford in 1722 and 1723, and the tribute rendered by the English poet of that period to their author, it is pleasant to find from this letter that than more three centuries ago, the Cardinal Prime-minister of England was the intimate friend and correspondent of the Bishop of Alba, although he perhaps preferred the "Christiados" to the "De Dignitate Reipublicæ."

English into Italian, and addressed to the Protector Somerset. It bears no date, either of time or place, but from its contents, as also from other corroboratory circumstances, I think I have not erred in supposing it to have been written at Rome on the 7th September 1549.

It purports to be a reply to a missive, with Somerset's signature, addressed to Pole, but which, from its coarse and ill-bred phraseology, he is loth to consider the production of a gentleman, and therefore assigns it to William Cecil, who, from May 1548 until the Protector's fall, was Somerset's secretary.[1] The letter was accompanied by a copy of the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer, of which the Protector asked Pole's opinion, and it is much to be regretted that the abrupt close of the reply, owing to the rising in the West and in Norfolk, in August 1549, prevented Pole from saying what he thought of it. The letter fills 26 pages, and may in fact be termed an abridgment of the reign of Henry VIII., by his kinsman, a Plantagenet.

As compiler of a calendar, I have merely to register documents, without commending or vituperating the individuals to whom they relate, but from the day Reginald Pole entered himself as a student at Padua, in 1521, until his final departure from the Lake of Garda towards England in 1553, my belief is, that he did more to maintain the repute of his country for high breeding, scholarship, integrity, and consistency, than any other Englishman I ever heard of. During that period he also sought steadily to suppress the abuses of the Church of Rome, and for this reason, by many Italian churchmen, his contemporaries, he was honoured with almost

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[1] For the fact of Cecil having been Somerset's secretary in May 1548, see Froude's History of England, vol. v. p. 102 (footnote), edition, London, 1860.

as much abuse as has been heaped upon his memory by the writers of his own country, three centuries and upwards since his decease. This virulence may be said far to exceed that of his successful rival for the popedom, Gian Pietro Caraffa, for whom, however, some apology may be offered, on the plea of volcanic temperament and personal interests; but on the other hand, it is some consolation to know that whatever may be written to the disparagement of Pole, at the present day, the Foreign Calendar (1554, May 5, p. 82), shows that an able diplomatist, his countryman and contemporary, who knew him well, said "*there was not a better English heart than Pole's.*"

I confess, therefore, to having had great pleasure in finding notices of him confirming this best of characters, given him by Sir John Masone, especially in the letter-book of Matteo Dandolo, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, during the Conclave of 1549–1550, when the virtue of the Cardinal of England, and the bitter enmity of Gian Pietro Caraffa, were amongst some of the chief obstacles to the election of Reginald Pole as successor to Paul III.

Bernardo Navagero represents Caraffa as sitting for three hours at table, the dishes required for his repast being twenty-five in number. His favourite dainties were malmsey and clotted Neapolitan "*mangia guerra*," of such consistency, that it might almost have been cut with a knife. To give zest and stomach for his prolonged indulgence in gluttony and liquor, Caraffa vomited forth abuse of the Emperor, of King Philip, and of the Spaniards.[1] In modern times these ebullitions have been styled eloquence. It is also added that Cardinal Pole was surpassed in the language of the fish market by this

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[1] See Alberi's Venetian Reports, series 2, vol. iii. pp. 380, 381. Report of Rome by Bernardo Navagero, A.D. 1558.

man, his malignant rival, of whom the foregoing sketch was made when he had become Pope Paul IV.; but from the character of Pole, given by Matteo Dandolo, (who, however, says nothing of his diet and drink, though other contemporaries represent him as very abstemious), the fitness of the comparison may be doubted.

Two months after Cardinal Pole had written his letter to the Protector, he lost his friend Paul III., and at the last "congregation" in his papacy,[1] when an abbacy was conferred on Pole, Cardinal Cupis, also a candidate for it, on hearing of his own disappointment, not merely acquiesced in the collation of the benefice, but commended it, saying that in addition to the abbacy of Canal Nuovo, the Cardinal of England deserved the benefices held by himself and others. As the contemporaries of Cupis pronounced him the "best of men," and "the mirror and ornament of the Sacred College," his opinion of Pole's merit is worth recording, by so much the more as it is confirmed by Dandolo, who in this same despatch adds that neither for the abbacy in question, nor for anything else had Pole ever made suit, although his fixed income received from Paul III. consisted solely in a monthly pension of 200 crowns; and that his many virtues had gained for him the title of "*the Angelical Cardinal,*" *in lieu of the Anglican Cardinal* (*porta più presto nome di Angelico che Anglico*). Even before the Pope's death, in the betting-books at the banker's shops (where in Rome during a papal interregnum, wagers were registered as to the next occupant of St. Peter's chair, with as much formality as any that are ever booked on English turf with reference to the result of a horse race), the "*odds*" stood as follows: 20 to 100

[1] Panvinio, p. 625, writes the name Cuppis, but Cardella, vol. iv. p. 17, Cupis.

in favour of Cardinal di Monte, 18 for Cardinal Salviati, 16 for Cardinal Ridolfi, and 15 for Cardinal Pole. A few hours after the appearance of this first list, Paul III. expired, and after performance of the obsequies, and a mass of the Holy Ghost, it was remarked that the Cardinals who followed the cross processionally in pairs, all made their obeisance on passing before the Cardinal of England, thus confirming the general report of his supposed destination for the popedom.[1]

On the 30th November 1549, within three months from the time of the transmission of Pole's letter to the Protector Somerset, a Conclave assembled in the Vatican, and at the banker's shops the "odds" were greater than before in favour of the Right Reverend of England, despite his refusal to solicit votes. To the Cardinals who wished him to bestir himself in obtaining suffrages, it was his invariable answer, that he would never utter one single word to that effect, nor deviate from his ancient precept of following the Lord God, and desiring nothing but his will. Early in the morning of the 4th December, Pole "went up" to 40; later in the day he had backers at 46–50; and at night he was at 80, and 30 ducats were paid down for payment of 100, in the event of his being proclaimed Pope on the morning of the 5th. After midnight, the Cardinals, his supporters, were on the point of "*adoring*" or doing him homage as their Chief, and at the bankers' shops, which during conclave were never closed at any hour, the Cardinal of England was at 95. Dandolo records the fact as a proof that the merchants were well informed about the state of the poll, and that the Cardinals' attendants in conclave went partners with them in the

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[1] See Alberi, as before, series 2, vol. iii. p. 345. Report of Rome by Matteo Dandolo.

wagers, which thus caused many tens of thousands of crowns to change hands. The intended homage was prevented by Cardinal de Cupis, who, although he had expressed a belief that Pole deserved endless benefices, did not include the Papal tiara amongst them. He had, in short, joined the opponents of the Cardinal of England, whose election, Dandolo informs the Senate, was beyond measure unpopular, because the cardinals were convinced it would *compel the Court of Rome to lead a new life, and withdraw to its spouse the Church, but that the virtuous minority desired it greatly*. So on the 5th December, at the bankers' shops, Cardinal Pole still remained at 40, nor was mention made of any other candidate whatever.

On the 11th December, Dandolo wrote that Marcello Cervini, a cardinal in great esteem for religion and virtue, and who afterwards became Pope Marcello II., had declared himself in favour of Pole, making a speech setting forth his many merits; but Pole, in reply, after thanking his supporters, for conscience sake, urged them no longer to delay the election on his account, but to transfer their votes to some more popular candidate, and thus avoid all detriment to the city of Rome, and the Papal territory. He then withdrew, in order that his proposal might be more freely debated, but when he returned to hear their reply, they persisted in the choice already made, appealing to his virtue and piety, which should beware of mis-interpreting the will of the Holy Spirit, and consider that in like manner as he was not at liberty to assume the popedom, so was he forbidden to divest himself of it, assuring him that the delay he so much regretted was customary, and that on most occasions a conclave lasted upwards of a month.

A few hours after this demonstration—which shows clearly that Pole was neither a mere "man of straw"

(see Hook, p. 210), nor indebted solely to the favour of others for the high character he bore in conclave—the French party, whose intrigues had hitherto prevented the election, was much strengthened by the arrival of the five cardinals, Guise, Vendôme, Chatillon, Bellai, and Tournon, who had all been ordered by their King to vote for the Florentine, Ridolfi, which caused him to rise at the bankers' shops to 20, the same "odds" being offered in favour of England. On the 21st December Cardinal Pole lost one of his supporters, Cervini, who from a pulmonary complaint was compelled to go out of conclave, and on that same day, before Cervini's departure, Pole had 23 votes, and his enemy Caraffa 20. On the 24th Caraffa was but one below him, and said he "released" his voters, not choosing to keep the Church in suspense; Pole, on the contrary, declining to renounce the votes given him (as he had not canvassed them), expressed at the same time his readiness to resign the triple crown, though he would not allow it to be said that he had given way either to hope or fear. At this moment no other candidates made progress, and the contest being solely between Pole and Caraffa, the lasting and bitter hatred of this violent man for his placid and amiable antagonist, may fairly be attributed to entries in the betting-books of Rome, at Christmas 1549.

Notwithstanding Caraffa's protestations, the French faction continued giving him their 18 or 20 votes on the 26th December, when Pole had 23, though it was now generally supposed that England would not succeed; and on the 28th, when two more French cardinals (Amboise and Boulogne), arrived, although the Emperor was still staunch to Pole, the opponents of England became yet more elate. Amongst the reasons assigned by them for rejecting a Plantagenet, were the following: that he

had spared the lives of heretics during his long Legation at Viterbo, and that he had a natural daughter in a convent at Rome. Cardinal Cibo, adding that, with all his admiration for Pole's virtues, he wished the triple crown to rest on the head of an Italian, although an Imperialist, withdrew his support from the Imperial candidate. On the 11th January, Pole and Caraffa had each 21 votes, Crispo as well as Cibo having deserted Pole, at the instigation, in great measure, of the French, who, on the 15th, were joined by another powerful partisan, the Cardinal de Bourbon. Finally, on the night of the 7th February, the struggle ended with the election of the Cardinal de Monte, a man whose vices were on a par with the violence and irascibility of Gian Pietro Caraffa; and although in due or undue course they both attained the object of their ambition, and although they are in greater repute with modern historians than Reginald Pole, the Cardinal of England's countrymen will, nevertheless, be convinced by the foregoing remarks, drawn from the contemporaneous correspondence of an impartial annalist, that the honour and fair fame of their native land was nobly upheld by Pole in Italy, throughout the longest conclave on record. It is therefore the more strange that he should not meet with even-handed justice at home.

One of Cardinal Pole's first acts, after the election of the new Pope, was to remonstrate with him against the bestowal of the red hat on his minion the so-called "Prevostino;" nor did he fail to render this disapproval manifest in the congratulatory letter addressed by him to Innocenzio del Monte (the name assumed by the "Prevostino"), a compliment which it was customary for the Cardinals to pay to any new member of the Sacred College. Julius III., to his credit, did not resent this just reproof, for in June 1550, when conferring the Legation of

Bologna on Cardinal Cornaro, he saddled it with a monthly pension of 100 crowns for Pole, to whom he was expected moreover to assign 50 ducats per month on the "Datario," until able to give him further supply from the Legation of Bologna, or some other papal office. Pole's own account of what he felt and did during the conclave may be read in a letter he wrote to the Bishop of Badajos. In September 1550, the Pope employed him to draw up the bull for re-assembling the Council at Trent, and from that time forth he seems to have resided occasionally at Rome, or at Civitella, or Bagnarea. In July 1553, we find him on the Lake of Garda congratulating Doge Trevisan on his election, and alluding to his admiration for the new Doge's father, adding that, when a young Paduan student, he used to go expressly to the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, in Venice, to see so noble a sight as the Doge's father Domenico, a man adorned with every virtue, which had obtained for him the title of *Pater Patriæ*, as heard frequently by Pole—when listening to speeches in the Venetian Senate—from the lips of Doge Andrea Gritti.

One month after this record of his youth, Cardinal Pole, now in his fifty-third year, heard of the death of Edward VI., and of the accession of Queen Mary, on which he wrote immediately to congratulate Pope Julius. He also sent the glad tidings to the Imperial Ambassador at Venice, and on the 13th August, wrote his first letter to his sovereign. It was in English, into which tongue it is now retranslated from the Italian version in its writer's miscellaneous correspondence, now preserved in St. Mark's Library. The chief object of the letter, which was conveyed by Henry Penning, was to ascertain the Queen's views with regard to acknowledging the supremacy of the Church of Rome, and to know what her wishes were, as to the mode of performing the embassy to the crown of

England, with which his Holiness had charged the Cardinal. On the 27th August, he wrote again to the Queen—apparently in English, and not in Latin, though of this there is no note in the manuscript—reminding her that the Pope's claims to be supreme head of the Apostolic see, were no less just than those whereby she herself succeeded to her father's throne; and the same day he addressed himself also to her Prime Minister, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. The style of the letter is that of a superior to a repentant sinner, reminding him of his past errors, congratulating him on his present prosperity, and trusting that he may show himself worthy of it. On the 2nd of October, Pole, having already proceeded from the Lake of Garda to Trent, on his way towards England, wrote to the Queen, for the third time, implying surprise at having received no reply to his previous letters, and acquainting her with what had passed between himself and the Emperor about English affairs, and requesting her to communicate with his Imperial Majesty in the same strain. From Trent, on the same day, Cardinal Pole also wrote to Edward Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, and from the whole tenor of the letter, there can be no doubt whatever of his wish, were the Queen determined to marry—he being then ignorant of the many weaknesses and defects in Courtenay's character, disqualifying him utterly for such a post—that he should become King Consort of England.

On arriving at Dillingen, Pole's further progress was stopped by Don Juan de Mendoza, sent expressly for this purpose by the Emperor, who was doubtless well acquainted with the Legate's dislike to the Spanish marriage. There were also other political reasons—assigned by his envoy openly—for desiring him, neither to proceed as Legate to England, nor to attempt negotiating

with his Imperial Majesty at Brussels about the peace with France, until he received further orders from Rome. Mendoza was very reserved, but he unbosomed himself so far as to say that the fitting time for papal interference in England had not yet arrived; an argument, which Pole confuted by saying that Parliament having been opened on the 5th October, and it being absolutely requisite to discuss the affair of the religion during its first session, he, as an Englishman, knowing the custom of the realm and the national character, declared that the matter was so mature, that unless debated immediately, it would rot like over ripe fruit. His arguments were not considered valid, nor was he allowed to go to Louvain until the 10th of January 1554, from which place he announced his arrival to the Bishop of Arras, and entered Brussels as Legate, on the 20th, being accompanied by the English Ambassadors Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich, and Sir John Masone. In November 1553, when Cardinal Pole sent his friend Pedro Soto, a Spanish Dominican friar, to the Emperor—whose confessor he had been, and was destined to fill the same post at a later period—he authorised him to inform his Majesty that Pole's opinion had been that the Queen, being of the age she was, should remain single, leaving the succession of the realm to take its own course. This he would have said immediately on her accession, had he been asked; and subsequently, after the stipulation of her marriage with the Prince, knowing it to be unpopular in England, where his Legatine commission relating to spiritual matters alone was already ill-looked on, he could not show himself favourable to it, lest he should additionally impede the original commission assigned him by the Pope. And now, on the 8th February 1554, after the news of Wyatt's rebellion had reached Brussels, the Emperor expressed to Soto the best possible

opinion of Pole; and with regard to the marriage, implied that, putting aside his respectf or the Queen, whom he greatly loved, the rebellion did not at all distress him on the score of his own individual interests, as he was induced to negotiate the marriage principally for the sake of religion both in England and the Low Countries, and for the general good of those realms; and that, as nothing was settled, he had sent back to the Prince in Spain, the proxy received for the conclusion of the marriage, though the general tone of the Emperor's conversation did not make it appear that he had renounced the thought of it. At any rate, the Confessor greatly praised the Queen's intention of remaining without a husband, should she see that the spouse of her choice was not to the satisfaction of the Londoners; and he told the Emperor he had reason to congratulate himself on the disturbances having taken place before the Prince's arrival in England, which his Majesty apparently admitted, adding that he did not intend to do anything by force.

Previously, on the 4th February, when Cardinal Pole had his first conference with the Emperor as Legate from Julius III., he offered the Pope's congratulations, and his own, on the marriage. The Cardinal was admitted to an audience on that occasion by the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Arras, and found Charles V. risen from his bed, seated, and with his feet on another chair, looking very well, and better than Pole expected to find him. His Majesty had a third chair placed near him, nor would he allow Pole to utter a word until he seated himself, in which position the Legate made his obeisance and imparted the blessing which the Pope had charged him to give the Emperor in his name several months previously, of which delay nothing was said either by the blesser or the blessed. The Emperor expressed his

belief that the fitting moment had not yet arrived for the formal establishment of Catholicism in England; and with regard to peace between himself and France, showed that he had more at heart the common weal than his own private wrongs, but rejected the proposals hitherto made. Hereupon Pole asked to be acquainted with his own terms. Nothing whatever was said about the marriage, and then, after presenting Richard Pate, Bishop Designate of Worcester, the audience having lasted nearly an hour, the Legate took leave of the Emperor, and in the course of the following night the Bishop of Norwich received the first news of Wyatt's rebellion. Father Soto, who was with the Emperor on the 8th February, informed him, in Pole's name, that Thirlby was of opinion that the Legate would do well to commence the negotiation for peace by proceeding to treat for it, in France, as Pole was ready to do, if the Emperor approved of it. His Majesty replied that he thought it would be better to wait the arrival of the new Nuncio, who was expected daily at Brussels, and would bring the Pope's latest instructions. The Emperor's opinion in favour of delay, which was subsequently confirmed, rather sourly, by his prime minister, the Bishop of Arras, who, like Pole himself, whose junior he was by seventeen years, had also completed his education in the University of Padua, did not deter the Legate from executing the commission of his sovereign. On the 19th February he had his second audience of the Emperor, and after congratulating him on the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, said that, with his Majesty's good grace, he was on the eve of departure for France, to which announcement, as no reply was made, he took the leave for granted.

On the 2nd March, Cardinal Pole was at St. Denis, and on Easter Monday (26th March) departed thence for Fontainebleau, where he arrived on the 29th, accompanied

by Cardinal de Chatillon, who took him immediately to King Henry II., by whom he was received most graciously, and from the King's apartments he passed to those of Queen Catherine de' Medici, exhorting her in like manner to perform such good offices in favour of peace between the two crowns, as became her known piety. On that same evening, Pole commenced business with the French prime minister, the Constable Anne de Montmorency, who went to visit him at his lodging, and the Constable's language certainly sounded more pacific than that of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, for he at least urged Pole to propose terms of adjustment.

On the 2nd April, the Legate dined with the King, and afterwards discussed leisurely, and at full length, the subject of Pole's mission. Pole told him in detail what he had negotiated with the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras about the peace, adding, that in conformity with the good disposition evinced by King Henry, he now expected him to make such reply to the Emperor's demands as would corroborate his goodwill by deeds. In reply, the King declared, amongst other things, that he entered on the present war under provocation, nor had his success given him reason at present to wish for peace, which he would nevertheless be ready to make, provided he met with reciprocity on the other side, and that fair terms were proposed him. All this the King said very civilly and mildly, adding that between himself and the Emperor there were no such heart-burnings as those which caused his Imperial Majesty and King Francis to challenge each other, and that he, on his part, was ready to form the best possible friendship with the Emperor; for a reply to whose proposal he referred the Legate to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable. The result was that on the evening of the 3rd April one of the royal secretaries—in the King's

name—delivered a response of rather an irritating tenor; nor on the morrow, when Pole took leave of the King, could he obtain any modification of it. The negotiation failed at Fontainebleau, as at Brussels; and on the second day after his arrival at the French Court, the Legate's nephew, Thomas Stafford, who had ostentatiously opposed the Spanish match, presenting himself there, the chances of Pole's increasing in favour with the Emperor on his return diminished, notwithstanding the angry manner in which he dismissed his obtrusive kinsman. In fact, on the 21st of April, when he gave Charles V. an account of the reply received from King Henry, adding that his prolonged stay in France might have been injurious, as there were many malcontents there, including his own nephew, the Emperor made answer that he would have done better to remain there, or to go straight to Rome; and with regard to the reasons assigned by the King of France for not continuing their enmity, he said that, in the course of many years, King Francis had done him fewer and less grievous injuries than those he had received from his son within a much shorter period.

During Cardinal Pole's absence in France, the new Nuncio Girolamo Muzzarelli arrived at Brussels, and although their friendly intercourse is manifested by Pole's letter, written to him from the Lake of Garda on the 6th August 1553, it may be doubted whether Muzzarelli, either whilst Pole was at Fontainebleau, or subsequently, did his best to improve the Legate's position, either with the Emperor or the Bishop of Arras. I gather this from Pole's letter to Cardinal Morone, written from Brussels on the 25th May 1554, from which I learn that, considering himself personally disagreeable to the Emperor, he urged the Pope to recall him. In the same letter, replying to something written by Morone, suggesting that by

public and private demonstrations, he should remove the Emperor's suspicions of his disapproval of the Queen's marriage to Prince Philip caused by Pole's silence, and lack of such demonstration of joy as the circumstance required, he admits that whilst at Dillingen from October 1553 until the commencement of 1554, he abstained from speaking on the subject, although it was publicly discussed by everybody, nor did he allude to it in his letters to the Queen, after the marriage was supposed to have been stipulated, both because he did not think his interference in the business would facilitate the revival of the Roman Catholic religion, which was the chief matter he had in hand, as also from unwillingness officiously to volunteer an opinion which had not been demanded of him. But when Thirlby and Masone, at Brussels, acquainted him with the Queen's motives, saying she had accepted the Prince's hand, before his departure for Fontainebleau, Pole, when speaking with the personages of the Imperial Court, never allowed any opportunity to escape him for expressing his goodwill, doing the like by the Queen through messengers and letters; all which demonstrations, made for the purpose of dispelling the Emperor's suspicions, were confirmed by the fact of the expulsion from his presence of Thomas Stafford. Whilst at Dillingen, some months previously, when Stafford in public blamed the Queen for marrying an alien, Pole reproved him, and would not allow of his going to England, a prohibition which, although disregarded, was substantiated by the Legate's refusal to give his nephew any letters of introduction.

All these particulars show that, in the first instance, Pole, as an Englishman, was averse to the marriage, though he at length resigned himself to it, as a necessity. His conduct in this matter throughout was

frank and honourable, and although in Graziani's Life of Commendone he is said to have understood that there was a party in England desirous of Pole's marriage with the Queen, and that she herself was not averse to the alliance, as she had asked Commendone whether the Pope could absolve Pole from his deacon's vows,[1] it is possible that the demand was a political feint suggested to the Queen by her Spanish advisers, or it may perhaps be attributed to female vanity. Although it might have rendered the Emperor suspicious, the inquiry does not prove that Cardinal Pole either sought the marriage or entertained any such personal expectations, or that he cared in the least to have those of other people justified.[2]

In his letter of the 25th May to Cardinal Morone, the Legate writes distinctly that the treatment received by him from the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras was such that, short of using the cudgel, it could not be worse, and the authoritative tone adopted by the Imperial Prime Minister is fully confirmed by a ciphered passage in a despatch addressed by the Venetian Ambassador to the Doge and Senate. In August 1554, the Emperor was in the field against France, accompanied by the Bishop of

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[1] Et Polum ipsum esse in Anglia, qui Reginæ maritum destinarent, intellexerat, ac ne ipsa quidem Regina initio eum aspernata dicebatur, quæ à Commendono quæsierat, an eum lege sacrorum, quâ Polus adstrictus erat, Pontifex soluturus fuisset; erat enim Diaconus, cui ordini sæpe tributa legis venia est a Pontifice Maximo; sed postea Gallorum vim metuens, quos adversariis suis studuisse compererat, nec Anglis ipsis satis jam fidens, ad Philippum inclinavit. (Antonii Mariæ Gratiani, De Vitâ Joannis Francisci Commendoni libri quatuor, Parisiis, 1669, p. 44.)

[2] "Her allusion, however, to the possibility of a marriage with Reginald "Pole is of some importance, for it *justifies* on the one hand the sus-"picions so frequently entertained by the Emperor, and on the other, the "*expectations* of the Cardinal." (Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, by Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S., vol. iii., new series, p. 221. Edition, London, 1869.)

Arras, who had doffed his episcopal habit for military attire; and when Pole sent his auditor, Ormanetto, into the camp with a message to him, the form of reply savoured more of the battle-field than of the Church or the cloister. The Legate was told that by no means was he to think of going to England without permission from the Emperor, and that even were he to ask it during ten thousand years, he must by no means expect it, unless he sent his Majesty the powers lately received from Rome authorizing him to dispose of the Church property which had either been confiscated or bestowed on English laymen. He was required, moreover, to state his intentions respecting the distribution of this property, as thereon depended the quiet or disquiet of the whole country.

The Legate was not on a bed of roses, but he obeyed the Pope's orders, until at length, in November 1554, he had the Imperial permission to revisit his native land after an absence of well nigh a quarter of a century; and of the events which immediately preceded this return I give this copious narrative, as the details of the conclave of 1549–50, with regard to his candidateship, have never hitherto been either fully or fairly represented. It is also somewhat difficult to follow his biographers in their account of the negotiations which commenced on the Lake of Garda on the 7th August 1553, and may be said to have ended at Dover on the 20th November 1554.

The foregoing extracts have been made from Cardinal Pole's *Italian* correspondence; the first of his *Latin* letters, in the miscellany above mentioned, was written in the Paduan territory, and apparently in July 1536. It is addressed to Paul III., who created him Cardinal at the close of that year, and in July called Pole to Rome, to sit in the congregation there, appointed by him to reform the Roman Court. This so-called "inter-council" consisted

of eight Cardinals, fifteen Prelates, and fifty other men of learning. This may be considered Reginald Pole's first acceptance of any public office, as in his reply it is seen that previous calls from the same quarter had been rejected, and he now inquires, "But what will the King "of England think of this journey? Will it not offend "him?" This thought harassed Pole, as it was his intention always to render to the King the offices due from a subject to his sovereign, and from a son to his father.

The letter bears no date, but I suppose it immediately preceded his composition of the treatise "De Unitate," which made the King repudiate Pole either as son or subject; and I merely mention the circumstance to explain the substance of the first Latin letter contained in the transcript of Pole's correspondence, now preserved in St. Mark's Library. Here I must add that, much to my regret, the most diligent search amongst the State Papers at the "Frari" has failed to bring to light the slightest notice of the existence at Venice from the year 1534 to 1536 of any individual styled "*Martin de Zornoza, Spanish Consul at Venice,*" said to have been in close communication with Reginald Pole at that period when Pole's conduct has been styled "*base in the extreme.*"[1]

Shortly after the despatch of this letter to Rome, the Venetian Ambassador there, wrote to the Doge and Senate that Charles V. and Francis I. were both cajoling King Henry, to whom the Emperor had offered any part of France he pleased, mentioning also the death of the Duke of Richmond; and in November 1536 Badoer also informed the Senate that Paul III. had sent off to England the bull of excommunication, proposed in consistory in December

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[1] See Hook's Life of Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, pp. 74–75, and Mr. Bergenröth's "Communication," etc., in Sir Thomas Hardy's Report upon the Venetian Archives, pp. 69–71.

1535, and which was then suspended in consequence of certain amendments proposed by the Cardinals of the French party, greatly to the Pope's indignation. The despatch of the bull in 1536 was caused by the insurrection in the northern counties, under the guidance of Makerel, Abbot of Barlings, which is generally known by the title of the "Pilgrimage of Grace;" the Pope having understood first that they were commanded by a Duke (probably a mistake for the Archbishop of York, who, together with the Lords Nevil, Darcy, Lumley, and Latimer, joined the insurrection), and three days later that the rebels had been joined by the King's Lieutenant, the Duke of Norfolk, because the King had broken faith with them. This last piece of news was circulated at Rome on the authority of a letter written from Brussels by Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries. From France the Pope heard that King Henry was negotiating the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Duke of Orleans, who was disinclined towards it, although she was to be declared legitimate by Act of Parliament. Her cousin Pole was now at Rome, and on the 8th December was sent for, together with the other members of the Council committee by the Pope, who informed them that he would, at any rate, hold it, despite the opposition of the Lutherans. This resolve was perhaps confirmed by the receipt of letters from England, dated the 20th November, stating that the rebels, 40,000 in number, were more powerful than ever, and recommending the Pope to send Pole as Legate to England, with money for distribution amongst the poor people, as the affairs of the Church would proceed most prosperously. So on the morning of the 23rd December, in consistory, Paul III. proclaimed Reginald Pole Cardinal; but as within a week it appeared that the good result of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" had been

exaggerated, the Pope sent the hat and sword which he had blessed as usual on Christmas Eve, to the King of Scotland, who had offered to march against the King of England with all his forces in favour of the Church, and make a vigorous attack, being always ready to serve the Pope in every way. Pole felt a pang at receiving no congratulations from his own country on this exaltation to the Cardinalate; but when Bragadino, the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, imparted to him those of the Doge and Senate, he consoled himself with the thought that "they "were well nigh the voice desired by him from England, as "during his long residence at Venice he received so many "favours, finding facilities for study such as he certainly "could not have found at home," and enjoying also the friendship of such eminent men, that he could not, in reason, hold these blessings in less account than those for which he was debtor to his birth-place, and thus did he write to Andrea Griti; nor can this fail to remind the reader of Masone's wish expressed long afterwards, "that "the whole realm knew him as the Bishop of Norwich "and Masone do, and had that opinion of him, as in effect "all states of Christendom have."

The commercial relations of the Republic with England were not materially affected by the change of religion, nor did the excommunication of 1536 cause the seizure at sea by orthodox pirates of malmsey-sack or other Venetian commodities destined for an heretical market. But in May 1545, when the Council was sitting, the Pope's fear lest Cardinal Pole should be carried off from Trent by Lodovico da l'Armi, who was the accredited agent of Henry VIII. in Italy, again reminded the Signory of the disturbance caused to neutral powers by the religious differences between Rome and England. Of the bravo Da l'Armi there are many notices in the State Papers; in the

11th volume of which work (Index, p. 500) it is stated that he was the nephew of Cardinal Campeggio. No authority is given for the assertion, which however is, I think, verified by Dolfi's "Cronologia di Famiglie nobili di Bologna," where, at p. 66, mention is made of the marriage of the Cardinal's sister Aurelia to Gasparo Da l'Armi. Of the crimes of her son, the murderer Lodovico, and of his execution, there are many details in the present volume, and I think I do not err in saying that a contemporary portrait of him exists in the Academy at Venice in a very fine picture, attributed to Bonifazio, but which I believe is by some other great master. Da l'Armi trusted to escape the doom he so richly deserved through the protection of the sovereign he had so long and unscrupulously served, but at the time of his arrest Henry VIII. was expiring. The King died in his bed, on the 28th January 1547, and his Ambassador was beheaded in public at Venice between the two granite columns on the "molo" fronting the sea on the 12th of May following.

The death of Henry VIII. was formally announced by the English Secretary-resident, Edmund Harvel, who, on the 2nd March 1547, entered the College hall, professing to shed tears, styling the King's memory blessed, and extolling his rare virtues and his love for the Signory. The Secretary was confirmed in his post by the Protector; the last despatch from him in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar is dated 20th March 1548, and I have now published details of his funeral at Venice on the 7th January 1550, which will account for the non-existence of his letter of recall in the public depositories.

Secretary Harvel was succeeded by Peter Vannes, a Lucchese, of whom the first mention in the Venetian Calendar dates from the month of August 1521, when he was at Bruges with Cardinal Wolsey, being one of his

secretaries; and on the same authority, it is seen that he was in Rome on a mission from Henry VIII., in January 1529. At the commencement of the Reformation he held the lucrative post of collector of Peter's pence, which was then abolished, and he then seems to have become a zealous reformer; but when the collectorship was restored he canvassed for it very warmly, and in the autumn of 1555 complained of not being supported by Cardinal Pole, who replied, that although he had not interfered in the re-appointment of the collectorship, it certainly did not seem to him the reward best suited to Vannes' apostasy.

The first mention in the Foreign Calendar of his being in Venice, is dated 9th November 1550. A letter from the Signory to the Venetian Ambassador, printed in this present volume, shows that Vannes had his first audience of the College on the 8th August 1550; so it may be inferred that part of his despatches from Venice no longer exist, and amongst them there will probably have been some account of rude treatment received by him from Sir Robert Stafford, about which the Chiefs of the Ten wrote to Daniel Barbaro, desiring him to inform the Lords of the Council that for this insult to the Lucchese apostate, Cardinal Pole's nephew had been duly reprimanded.

The ambassador who represented the Republic of Venice in England at this period, enjoyed a great reputation for learning and statesmanship, and I have therefore extracted largely from the report of his mission, made by him to the Senate, in the month of May 1551, and have given a wood-cut of the armorial bearings of the Barbaro family, showing that to this day his descendants quarter the rose of England, in virtue of a patent given him by Edward VI.

In my preface to the 3rd volume of the Venetian

Calendar (p. xxxix), I recorded the fact that in March 1869, Signor Luigi Pasini deposited at the Record Office a complete key to the cipher contained in the despatches of Giovanni Michiel, from March 1555 to January 1557, a self-imposed task, which was much facilitated by the photographs of the cipher, executed for Her Majesty's Government at the suggestion of Sir Thomas Hardy in 1865. Subsequently, Signor Pasini deciphered the despatches of Michiel's successor in England—Michiel Surian—from March 1557 to July in the same year, and quite recently he also made a key to the ciphered portions of despatches addressed to the Signory in the year 1554, by Marc' Antonio Damula, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, and by his colleague, Giovanni Capello, in France. These valuable labours have enabled me in this present volume to publish such parts of their correspondence as relate, directly or indirectly, to England, and of which I will here give a few paragraphs, commencing with the French views of things, as transmitted by Capello, who wrote in May that the marriage of Prince Philip and Queen Mary was to be consummated at Bruges, whither the Emperor was going to receive them; which Capello doubted, because as the Queen scarcely ventured to go out of London, it could not be supposed she would quit the country, as fresh insurrections were anticipated; the Emperor's move towards Bruges being rather for the purpose of supporting his interests in England, and rendering the Queen as secure as he could. It was also said that Gardiner was in favour of daily executions, and that the Princess Elizabeth had incurred some risk of being included amongst the victims, but that she was then more at liberty, as the Emperor, to secure the crown of England for the House of Austria, had determined to marry her to the Archduke Ferdinand, whilst Courtenay was to

be disposed of on the scaffold; the like doom being reserved for Cardinal Pole, in case he dared show himself in England.

From Paolo Tiepolo, Capello's colleague at the Court of the King of the Romans, we learn that, although Archduke Maximilian was titular King of Bohemia, his younger brother, Ferdinand, inhabited the royal castle at Prague, and had governed the country in his father's name ever since the year 1547, when only 18 years old. This reversion of the right of primogeniture, proceeded possibly from Maximilian's Lutheran bias, which might have inconveniently reminded the turbulent Bohemians of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague. Archduke Ferdinand, on the contrary, was extremely orthodox, and it is probable that at a later period, by reason of his adherence to the old religion, and for other causes, Charles V. proposed marrying him to Elizabeth Tudor in order to retain England as a dependency of the house of Austria and the Church of Rome; but the intelligence given by the Constable, Montmorency, to Capello in May 1554, seems premature, as it is not confirmed from Brussels until June of the following year. In 1554, the first Austrian suitor of the presumptive heiress of England was unmarried; but, already, in the year 1548, when only 19, immediately after assuming the regency of Bohemia, Archduke Ferdinand formed an illicit connexion with the beautiful Filippina Welser, who bore him a large family, and became his Morganatic wife.

The Emperor does not seem either in 1554 or 1555 to have given himself much trouble to reconcile Elizabeth Tudor to expatriation; but she would have found a sumptuous court at Prague, the King of the Romans supplying his favourite son largely with money, which

he spent joyously, delighting in every sort of pastime. His Venetian biographer says, "he was high-spirited "and lusty" (*gagliardo*), "and that he lived in great "state, being served by gentleman in waiting, pages, "trumpeters, and a bodyguard; and keeping a grand "stable with the necessary officials; his magnificence and "generosity being no less notorious than his Catholicism."

Such was the Archduke Ferdinand, of whom but little is known, save through the Venetian ambassadors, whose despatches also in 1559 and 1567 contain many curious notices about negotiations for the marriage of his younger brother Archduke Charles to Elizabeth after she had become Queen of England. But to return to her perilous condition in 1554. Damula wrote from Brussels in June of that year, that the fear of rebellion was so great in London that the Queen had garrisoned it with a military force of 4,000 men, having sent Elizabeth under custody to Windsor, where she in fact passed the night of the 21st May 1554, on her way from the Tower to confinement at Woodstock. As this information proves to be true, we may also give credit to what Damula writes under the same date (1st June 1554), about a misunderstanding between Gardiner and the Secretary of State, Sir William Petre.

In reply to Cardinal Pole's message to Queen Mary, offering to send one of his attendants with compliments on her marriage, she said he was at liberty to do so, but that the envoy must not be a churchman. And in this second letter (7th June 1554, cipher), the determination of the Bishop of Arras to reject peace with France is mentioned thus: Cardinal Pole communicated the Emperor's reply about an adjustment between the two crowns, to the Nuncio in France, and the King, in reply, having expressed approval of Queen Mary's mediation, she desired Masone to ascertain the Emperor's opinion on the subject; so he

applied to the Bishop of Arras, whose answer purported that peace was impossible, as the French never kept their promises. And when Masone asked whether the Emperor had any wish to make peace, Arras said, "Yes, provided it be a sound one." The ambassador then inquired, "How "can a peace be made if not treated, and how can it be "treated, unless consent be given, and arrangements "made?" The Bishop rejoined, That first of all, some knowledge must be obtained of the will of the French. Whereupon Masone continued, That the knowledge manifested itself very clearly through the words about the peace uttered spontaneously by King Henry to Dr. Wotton, and that he (Masone) considered the peace desirable, both for the Emperor and for England, assigning as a reason, that the Prince was a new plant, planted in the realm of England by his father, who, if he wished the plant to bear fruit, must let the soil rest quiet awhile, as otherwise, if it were harassed at this commencement, there would be a doubt of his receiving benefit from the fruit. Granvelle was still unconvinced, and declared that the greater the demonstration made by the French in favour of peace, the less did they really wish for it; and that not only must they themselves propose terms, but also the restitution of many things. Masone maintained that these terms might be treated at a conference between commissioners from the parties, and that should no agreement ensue, nothing but words would be lost, and the Emperor would thus show that he was not averse to peace. The Bishop replied, "Well, we are deter-"mined, and no longer believe the French, who com-"menced the war whilst we were at peace:" and when Masone urged him to speak about this to the Emperor, he said he would do so, and that possibly when the two Sovereigns were in the field with their armies, they

might then — more to their honour — talk of peace, propose terms, and perhaps conclude them, as had been the case theretofore.

In the meanwhile, the Queen of England, although she wished for the peace, would not say a word about it to the most Christian King until the receipt of the order from Brussels, though immediately on the arrival of her consort, she would discuss the matter with him, in virtue of an article of the marriage contract, whereby the Prince promised that England would neither directly nor indirectly take part in the war against the most Christian King, but endeavour strictly to observe the peace then existing between France and England, as also the conventions formerly stipulated between the two countries, and never give cause for infringing or altering them.

I have given the whole of this ciphered despatch because its contents are not to be found in the Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, although it contains some 17 of Masone's despatches between the 3rd May and 2nd August 1554. This fact alone would serve to show the value of Signor Pasini's decipher.

A week later, after mentioning incidentally the contemptuous treatment received by Pole from the Bishop of Arras, who had never once been to visit him after the Cardinal's return from France, Damula details the preparations which the Emperor was making for the campaign, and says that he was sending Queen Mary a present of some very beautiful tapestry, representing his conquest of Tunis in 1535, and a quantity of jewels; and that Bonna Sforza, Queen Dowager of Poland, had bought for her an organ at Antwerp, at a cost of 3,000 crowns, besides goldsmith's work, worth double that amount; of which presents this is the first we hear, but the Emperor's tapestries are mentioned in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, as

having been sent from Brussels on the 19th June. Queen Bonna's present was purchased in August, and had for its object, to obtain for herself the Regency of Naples.

Cardinal Pole continued to reside at an abbey near Brussels, the name of which, in Italian manuscripts of the time, is written "Dillingan;" but on hearing that the Emperor was about to take the field, he went into Brussels, and through the Nuncio, Muzzarelli, informed the Bishop of Arras that he should remain there until he received further orders from Rome, and that he wished to know whether the Emperor had any commands to give him. The Bishop said he would make the inquiry, nor did he raise any objection to Cardinal Pole's residence at Brussels, about which the Legate had some doubts, remembering what had been said to him on the subject when he returned from France. A few days later, Granvelle told Muzzarelli that the Emperor consented to whatever pleased the Pope, giving permission to the Cardinal to remain where he was, and saying that he, Granvelle, would visit Pole before the Emperor's departure, having omitted to do so hitherto, as it was necessary to act with reserve in this matter on account of the French. The visit was paid, the Bishop saying that the Emperor would willingly have been accompanied by Pole, but that he was compelled to join the camp suddenly; and then he added that the Emperor, with all his realms, including Peru, was occasionally pinched for money, but that King Henry, who had only one kingdom, being already obliged to sell the Church plate, there was not much to fear from his military movements.

On the night of the 21st July, a messenger from Queen Mary arrived at Brussels with the news of King Philip's arrival in England, which probably reached the Em-

peror at Charleroi; and on the 28th Damula writes, with regard to Prince Philip's title of King of Naples, that the Emperor "gave it him at Augsburg (*sic*), when the Prince "went thither from Italy." This intelligence is given on the authority of a lady of the Court, and probably alludes to Philip's meeting with his father at Brussels in 1548, in which year the Emperor held a Diet at Augsburg, but Prince Philip was not present at it; and by a subsequent letter dated 4th August, it seems more probable that the investiture was not of earlier date than the 4th June 1554, when the Emperor consigned it for conveyance to England, to the Regent Figueroa, who also took charge of the tapestry for Queen Mary, as may be seen in the Foreign Calendar, dated Brussels, June 20th, 1554, p. 99. At the beginning of August, Cardinal Pole's Auditor, Ormanetto, returned from Rome, bringing him full powers from the Pope either to remain at Brussels or proceed to England; but as Pole knew that Queen Mary and her ministers would be entirely guided in this matter by the Emperor, he sent Ormanetto to the camp, with orders to represent how much it was for his Majesty's interest in England, as it would render the people much more obedient to the Crown than they were whilst professing a creed at variance with that of their Sovereign. But the Emperor still forbad the Legate's departure. Later in the month we hear of presents of jewels sent by Queen Mary to the Emperor and his sisters, the Queens Dowagers of Hungary and France, and of a very beautiful emerald for the Duchess of Lorraine.

The subsequent events, which at length obtained permission from the Emperor for the Legate to perform his official duties in England, may be read in his own correspondence; and the Venetian news of England in the

year 1554 closes with a letter from the Doge and Senate to the Ambassador Michiel, dated 28th December, desiring him to congratulate the King and Queen, the Legate, and the Chancellor, on the prosperous course of religious affairs in England, to the honour and exaltation of the Christian Church, of which they profess themselves the most obedient children.

In former volumes of my Calendar of the Venetian Papers, I have made frequent allusions to the unavoidable necessity of giving in Appendices abstracts of such documents as should be discovered after my volume was printed, either in corroboration or emendation of former entries, and of this the Appendix to the present volume contains a striking instance.

The readers of these calendars must have remarked the great mass of information relative to England which has been derived from the Diaries of Marin Sanuto, whose veracity may be tested and confirmed by comparison between his extracts from the original despatches of Sebastian Giustinian and Gasparo Contarini, as well as the private letter books of those statesmen, now preserved in St. Mark's Library. Since the publication of my last volume, I have been enabled to analyze, in like manner, Sanuto's calendars of the despatches transmitted from France (relating to Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn at the time of their trip to Calais in October 1532), by Giovanni Antonio Venier, whose original letter-book has been recently discovered in the Venetian Archives, but in no one instance does the present comparison produce the same result.

For instance, in the fourth volume of the Venetian Calendar, p. 361 (No. 832) I expressed my doubt whether the prohibition which prevented Venier from attending

the conference between King Henry and King Francis, proceeded from the Papal Nuncio and the Imperial Ambassador, by printing Sanuto's text in a foot-note; and now that Venier's letter-book has come to light, it appears that so far from countenancing the affront in any way, those two diplomatists resented it intensely. In this same letter (p. 363, line 23, English translation), at the close of the paragraph assigning the reason for the non-celebration at Calais of Anne Boleyn's marriage, Sanuto, in his original Diaries (vol. 57, p. 105, verso), has entirely omitted the following words contained in the letter-book :—

" Et sono essi Inglesi rimasti molto contenti ch' el non sia sequito."

which additional proof of the unpopularity of the marriage is worth recording.

I have also re-translated the last words of the letter, that they may be compared with the first translation and with the original paragraph already printed at p. 364, vol. IV., Venetian Calendar; and by this analysis it will be seen that, although Sanuto may have misunderstood one clause and omitted another, the most important part of his transcript, concerning the intention of King Francis to join Henry VIII., in renouncing the Church of Rome, corresponds nearly word for word with the holograph minute of the despatch; and were it possible to compare each transcript in the 58 folio volumes with the originals, my belief is that they would all corroborate the diarist's good faith and exactness.

I have also translated some other letters of Venier and his colleagues in France, because they complete the details of the Court of Francis I. given by Sir Francis Bryan, from whom, in the year 1531, only four letters have been printed in the eighth volume of " State Papers;" nor do

they make any allusion to his recall, attributed by Venier to the haughty manner in which he negotiated with the French Government. One of Bryan's most amusing letters alludes to the entry into Paris of Queen Eleanor of Austria on the 16th March, but his details of the pageant limit themselves to gallant gossip about Mademoiselle d'Heilly, *alias* Anne de Pisseleu (afterwards Duchess d'Etampes), the King's mistress, concerning whom, and the manner in which Francis I. treated his Austrian bride on the day of the first entertainment given her by the City of Paris, Bryan wrote to Henry VIII. in cipher, "He [King Francis] "havyng knowlege where Hely, and dyverse other ladys "and gentylwomen stode, toke wyth Hym the Admyrall "and the Cardynall of Lorayne, and they, fyndyng thes "gentylwomen in the said howse, the French Kyng toke "Hely and sett hyr before Hym in a opyn wyndow, and "ther stode devysing with hyr 2 long howrys in the syght "and face of all the peple, whych was not a lytyll marvelyd "at of the beholders. Now I have shewyd you his "manner and fassyon, juge your Hyghness what shall "plese you."

As Sir Francis Bryan had a seat at the banquet, given in the Parliament House in honour of Queen Eleanor's entry, I have given the Venetian Ambassador's account of it, as also of her coronation at St. Denis, together with particulars of the coming from Constantinople to Paris of Doge Gritti's grandson to claim a sum of money due to him from Francis I., the payment of which was unduly delayed because Bryan supposed it to be a subsidy for Sultan Solyman.

The first entries in the present Appendix serve to illustrate the commission given by Doge Andrea Contarini to Leonardo Dandolo, and which was printed in the last

Appendix, showing that the Republic wished to engage Sir John Hawkwood and the English company.

That document was discovered in a volume labelled "*Sindicati*," and in July 1872 Signor Luigi Pasini informed me that amongst the various State papers restored to the Venetian Archives by the Austrian Government, was a series of Acts passed by the Senate in the year 1376. On inspection I found full details of all the circumstances connected with the "*Sindicato*," and showing that a fortnight before its date, another Venetian nobleman, Nicolò Morosini, had in like manner been sent to treat with the renowned English Condottiere, that he and his company of St. George might defend the territories of Ceneda and Treviso against the hostilities of Leopold Duke of Austria.

The instructions addressed to Nicolò Morosini are dated from the 24th to the 27th May 1376; and as in the following month of June Sir John Hawkwood contracted to serve the Republic of Florence for two months with 800 spears and 500 mounted bowmen,[1] his negotiations with the Venetians from the 8th June to the 10th November 1376 imply that his dealings were double; and this may form some apology for the sudden manner in which Nicolò Morosini terminated them.

By comparing the memorandum in the "Commemoriali"[2] with these present acts of the Senate, it may be inferred that towards the latter end of May 1376 Sir John Hawkwood renounced the service of Pope Gregory XI., making a truce with the community of Bologna, and to guarantee its observance agreed to send his own son Thomas (of whom this is the first notice I

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[1] See Ricotti, Compagnie di Ventura in Italia, vol. 2, p. 338. (Ed. Torino, 1844).

[2] 1376, May 16 (Venetian Calendar, vol. i. p. 19).

find, his name not being recorded in Richard Gough's biography of Hawkwood), as also the sons of Giovanni Tornabuoni and John Briz (*sic*), which last surname was probably either Bridge or Price. It had at first been proposed that the hostages were to be given in charge to Doge Andrea Contarini, but as the consignment would have been illegal the clause was altered thus, "*Dominus Dux Venetiarum et suum consilium;*" and as the laws of Venice forbad the constrained detention there of any but criminals, it was then suggested that the youths (*isti pueri*) Thomas Hawkwood, Philip Tornabuoni, and Lawrence Briz, should be given in charge to honest men (*bonæ personæ*), of whom there were many there, both natives and aliens, or else be sent to Treviso. Whilst these proposals were being made, Sir John Hawkwood and the company of St. George had also three delegates in Venice, but they made such extravagant demands that the Senate refused compliance, and they were accompanied back to Hawkwood's head-quarters at Faenza by Leonardo Dandolo, who there found his colleague Morosini, with whom he was desired to act, "*quia est de factis istis plene informatus.*"

The sum offered by the Venetians to Hawkwood for four months military service, to be performed by from 800 to 1,000 spears, and from 200 to 700 archers, was from 100,000 ducats to 220,000 ducats, in addition to which 10,000 ducats were to be disbursed for himself and his staff (*Capitaneo et suis magnis*);[1] and the College also inserted an article in Dandolo's commission complimentary to the soldiers of England thus, "*Et in omni "casu quo ambaxr. noster obtineat intentionem procuret*

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[1] The ducat or sequin was worth 4*s.* 6*d.* English money. (See Statutes of the Realm, 7th of Henry VII. A.D. 1491.)

" *quod habemus quam plures Anglicos poterit, et quam*
" *pautiores Teutonicos et Ytalianos poterit, pro meliori*
" *agendorum nostrorum.*"

Leonardo Dandolo's first letter from Faenza, dated 17th June, showed that he and his colleague Morosini had not much hope of making the desired agreement, and in reply the Senate ordered them, if they found it impossible, to recruit elsewhere. Thus was it done, endeavours being made to induce Hawkwood to take the command of troops not enrolled in his own company. On the 8th July Dandolo was recalled, his colleague remaining at Hawkwood's head-quarters, and his negotiations being apparently so successful, that on the 21st October 1576 Doge Andrea Contarini wrote to the Republic's ally, Francesco da Carrara, the Lord of Padua, telling him that during the last few days Hawkwood twice or thrice " *nos fecit requiri et rogari de essendo ad servitium* " *nostrum,*" and that it would be well for the Paduan contingent (with which Carrara was bound to supply the League) to be furnished by the English Company, " *Quia* " *plus valerent lance mille de istis, quam mille* Vc. *de* " *aliis;*" but on the 27th October the Doge and Senate agreed to a truce with the Dukes of Austria, and on the 10th of November desired Morosini to make this announcement to Sir John Hawkwood, and to take leave.

As minute particulars of the dealings of Italian Potentates with Sir John Hawkwood are of rare occurence, I have printed the above-mentioned acts of the Senate in full, and can only add, that if in June and July, when already bound to the Florentines, the English Company was not free to treat with the Venetians, yet may it be inferred from the abrupt close of the negotiations that both parties understood each other, and made or unmade contracts according to their need.

For assistance in my search for the materials of this volume, I am as usual indebted to many friends here on the spot, as also to Mr. R. E. G. Kirk for revision of the proof sheets in England, and for his methodical arrangement of the Index.

RAWDON BROWN.

Casa della Vida, Venice,
9th October 1872.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1534.

1534.
Jan. 9.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

1. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Enclose summary of last letters from Constantinople, which are to be communicated to the King, requesting him not to say that he had the advices from the Signory.

On the 31st of October last the Republic's Proveditor of the Fleet, when convoying the galleys bound to Alexandria, fell in by night off the Island of Candia with thirteen galleys commanded by the Moor, and they fought, not knowing each other.

This encounter having occurred by mistake, the Signory has sent apologies to the Turk by their secretary, Daniel Ludovici.*

To acquaint the King with this circumstance.†

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 4.

2. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA, concerning PROTHONOTARY CASAL.

That the Reverend English Ambassador be answered.

Have pondered well what your Lordship caused to be read from England in the King's name, with regard to binding ourselves to His Majesty by a secret understanding.

Being desirous that the peace which has been made between the Christian Powers and in Italy may be maintained, it behoves us with regard to our foreign policy to act with great caution and regard, so as not to give umbrage to any of our confederates, by causing them to suspect us of negotiating innovations which they might easily resent.

Therefore pray your Lordship to acquaint the King with what is aforesaid, praying him to accept our apology, and to judge the same with his goodness and consummate prudence.

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* Ludovici was accompanied on this mission by his cousin Benetto Ramberti, who took the opportunity to compile an account of the Court of Sultan Solyman, etc. etc., which was printed by Aldus, in the year 1545, and is one of his rarest publications.

† An account of the sea fight between the Turkish commander, "the Moor of Alexandria," and the Venetian Proveditor Girolamo da Canale, may be read in Andrea Morosini's Venetian History (Italian translation), vol. i. pp. 371, 376.

1534.

Resolved that a copy of the aforesaid reply, together with the summary consigned to us by the aforesaid ambassador, be sent to our ambassador in England, solely for his instruction.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 4.

3. The CHIEFS of the TEN to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

The Reverend Prothonotary Casal, English Ambassador, has read to us a letter written to him by his brother the magnifico Sir Gregory, dated London, 13th of December. Answered him by enclosed copy.

(In virtue of a motion carried yesterday in the Council of Ten.) [In cipher throughout as noted on the margin of the draft.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 4.

4. SUMMARY of the letter alluded to in the foregoing missive from the CHIEFS of the TEN to CARLO CAPELLO.

That the King of England, considering that the Pope and the most Christian King will have formed some private agreement, possibly with some design both on the State of Urbino, and on the Duchy of Milan, to which they may also purpose obtaining the Emperor's consent; and as there has always been friendship between the Signory and King Henry VIII., the King then would have a private understanding with the Signory for the common benefit; and is of opinion that by reason of his close friendship with the most Christian King, he can restrain him from altering anything, but more effectually if assisted by the counsel and authority of the most Illustrious Signory.

His Majesty is always sure of the Princes of Germany, who wish for the Council; and thinks it impolitic not to agree with them in this matter, as it seems necessary for the common weal, and would interrupt all the intrigues of the opposite party.

His Majesty knows that besides the Germans, many other Christian Princes will take part with him; and should this not suffice, he offers to share the expense, and do whatever is requisite for the common benefit, both for offence and defence; so he wishes to have the counsel and opinion of the Signory in this matter, and should anything be decided, their Ambassador in England is to negotiate.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Mantuan Archives.

5. MATTHEO CAVALLARO to the DUKE OF MANTUA.

His son Giovan Mattheo will pay the writer's respects to the Duke, and present him with a mare. Expected to obtain permission from the King to return home and live and die with the Duke. God knows how much he did to get leave, but it was impossible, and perhaps his too great importunity was injurious, as at the beginning his Majesty seemed pliant, and well nigh promised it him, but when it came to the point, did not choose him to depart; so he remains and sends his son alone, God knows with how much

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regret. His son will tell the Duke what the King has done about his, Mattheo's affairs. Requests the Duke to favour his son, and with regard to the present of the mare, not to scorn such a trifle, but to accept this act of duty.

From London, 29th of January 1534.

Most humble servant,
(Signed) Mattheo Cavallaro.

[*Original. Italian.*]

Feb. 2.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X.

6. The CHIEFS of the TEN to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By your foregoing and last letters of the 6th ult. you have sent us some conclusions, printed and published on that island, against the person and authority of the Pope, which being of the quality they are, we will, that should any writing be hereafter published against the Pope you do address it to said Chiefs of the Ten, as becoming.

(Signed) Andreas Marcello, C.C.X.
Leonardus Justinianus, C.C.X.
Gaspar. Contarenus, C.C.X.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 13.

7. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Send him news-letters lately received from Constantinople, dated 14th November to 13th December, which he will communicate to the King as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

8. The SAME to the SAME.

Have received his letters of the 18th January and 6th February, acquainting them in detail with English events. In reply to what he writes about being without news, he will have received subsequently their missive of the 6th February, with the summary of letters from Constantinople; and now send other summaries dated 28th December and 4th January, which he is to communicate to the King.

[*Italian.*]

March 18.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

9. The SAME to the SAME.

As a sequel to the summaries from Constantinople of the 28th December and 4th January, now send him those dated 6th and 26th January for the King's inspection.

[*Italian.*]

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* In vol. vii. "State Papers," p. 534, by a letter dated Brussels, 27th January 1534, it is seen that these "conclusions" were printed in "the lityll boke that the Kynge's conssell hath sett owt," etc., and a footnote shows that the document "was published by Strype in the 1st volume of his Eccl. Mem., book 1, ch. xx., and that it was circulated in Flanders and other Courts, in pursuance of the 11th article of the 'minutes of Council,' printed in the 1st volume of 'State Papers,' p. 414."

1534.
March 24.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

10. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Availing themselves of the messenger despatched to England by the merchants, send duplicate of the summary from Constantinople dated 6–23rd January, which he will communicate to the King, should the original have miscarried, telling his Majesty besides that as on the 2nd of next July the contract with their Captain-General, the Duke of Urbino, expires, they have re-engaged him for five years more, namely, three years certain, with two years' grace at the option of the Signory.*

[*Italian.*]

March 29.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

11. The SAME to the SAME.

Transmit news-letters dated Constantinople 3rd and 7th of February for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 16.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

12. The SAME to the SAME.

Send him news-letters lately received from Constantinople.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 10, &c.

13. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Pope lately (*li giorni superiori*) pronounced sentence in consistory against the King of England, binding him, under pain of excommunication, to pay the debt of matrimony to the Queen Katharine, whom he has repudiated; and by letters from France it is understood that on receiving advice of this sentence he held it in no account, and said he would not obey.

We also hear from France that the French King has commanded his men at arms and light cavalry to hold themselves in readiness, as in this present month of May he purposes inspecting them, and it continues to be reported that he will have an interview with the King of England, as they informed him, the "Bailo," in former letters, but there is no notice of the time and place.

By letters from Rome of the 28th April the Signory is informed that his most Christian Majesty has obtained three places in Germany on the borders of France consigned to him by the son of the Duke of Wurtemberg in exchange for 100,000 crowns which the King had lent him, and through several channels we hear that there is a certain stir of arms in Germany on account of the Duchy of Wurtemberg and because of the Lutheran creed, which is adopted by some of the German towns.

[*Italian.*]

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* Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, fell sick at Venice on the 20th of September 1538, had himself taken by sea to Pesaro, and died there on the 21st of October following. (*See* Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, by James Dennistoun, vol. iii. pp. 66, 67.)

† The name of the "Bailo" is not given in the Register, but according to the historian Andrea Morosini (vol. i. pp. 376, 413) the post was then filled by Nicolò Giustinian.

1534.
May 7.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 4.

14. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA concerning the despatches of CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

That the letters of our Ambassador in England, dated from the 8th to the 14th of last month, be read to the Senate, omitting the account of the conversation held by the King with the ambassador concerning the offers and terms proposed by him to the Signory, and also the paragraph purporting that the Signory would be neutral, to avoid the enmity of Germany on account of affairs by land, and that of the Turk with regard to those at sea.

To be silent also where it is stated that the Duke of Lorraine intercepted letters from the Dukes of Bavaria, which he sent to the most Christian King, by whom they were forwarded to England, as has now been read to this Council.

That there be also communicated to the Imperial Ambassador the summaries of the corrected letters which are to be read to the Senate.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

May 16.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

15. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Yesterday received letters from Constantinople dated 15th March to 12th April. Enclose a summary, to be communicated as usual to the King.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

16. The SAME to the SAME.

Send news-letters from Constantinople received last night, dated from the 29th April to the 12th May. To communicate them, and inform his Majesty that the Signory has determined to elect tomorrow a Captain-General on sea, whom they will send out immediately, and that they are intent on reinforcing their fleet, which seems necessary.

[*Italian.*]

June 19.
Senato Mar, v. xxiii. p. 21, tergo.

17. The SAME to the SAME.

By his letters have heard of the delays of the King with regard to the privilege for the free and safe passage of the Flanders galleys. Should it not have been already obtained, to urge the King and the ministry, in their name, to come to a decision, demonstrating that the voyage would be much benefited by the speedy announcement of his Majesty's will, because trade is increased by the liberality of Sovereigns, and the facilities which they concede encourage the merchants, whereas, on the other hand, by commencing with restrictions and binding them to bring certain commodities, they take alarm and renounce the voyages, and it is not subsequently in the power of Princes to apply a remedy.

Ayes, 184. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1534.
June 27.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

18. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Having received letters from Constantinople dated 24th May, send their summary as usual to be communicated to the King.

[*Italian.*]

July 4.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 25.

19. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The interview between the Kings of France and England has been postponed until the middle of August.

[*Italian.*]

July 16.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 34.

20. The SAME to the SAME.

Our ambassador in France writes concerning the interview of that King with the King of England, that it has been postponed until the 24th of August next, and on that account the review of the French King's household troops, which had been appointed for about the 20th of August, has been put off until the 20th of September next.

[*Italian.*]

August 8.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 41.

21. The SAME to the SAME.

Our last advices from France purport that the interview with the King of England will be protracted for some months, it being said that it will be delayed until the spring of next year.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. x. p. 65.

22. MOTION made in the COUNCIL of TEN and JUNTA.

Heretofore this Council gave possession of the Abbacy of the Trinity of Verona to the Rev. Prothonotary Casal, ambassador resident with us from the King of England, concerning which Abbacy his Lordship having been in dispute with the Rev. de Gambara, Bishop of Tortona, the "Rota" issued three concordant sentences in favour of said Gambara, who has since a long while urged us to put him in possession of said Abbacy in execution of said sentences, assigning him damages for the usufructs to be paid by said Rev. Casal.

Finally at the request of the Signory he is content to remit to the aforesaid Rev. Casal all the usufructs and costs incurred by him (Gambara) in this lawsuit, as proved by an instrument drawn up by the Secretary Antonio Corona, on the 14th instant, at the request of D. Paulo Vandin, LL.D., assignee and agent of said Rev. de Gambara, sent hither to this effect, and it is fitting to put an end to this matter.

Put to the ballot, that the possession of the aforesaid Abbacy given heretofore by the Council to the above-mentioned Rev. Casal, be revoked, and our governors of Verona to put in possession of the aforesaid Abbacy the afore-named Rev. de Gambara or his legitimate assignee, observing the clauses contained in the aforesaid instrument about remission to the Rev. Casal by the Rev. de Gambara of the usufructs, and of the costs incurred by him in said lawsuit.

Ayes, 24. No, 1. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

1534.
Sep. 24.
Chiefs of the Ten, Letters, File no. 27.

23. The CHIEFS of the TEN to the GOVERNORS of VERONA and their successors.

Yesterday with our Council of Ten and Junta, revoked the possession of the Abbacy of the Trinity, in the city of Verona, given heretofore by said Council to the Rev. Casal, ambassador resident with us from the most serene King of England, and have given the possession of said Abbacy to the Rev. de Gambara, Bishop of Tortona; wherefore place said Rev. de Gambara or his assignee in possession of said Abbacy.

(In virtue of a motion carried in the Council of Ten and Junta on the 23rd of September 1534.)

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 53, tergo.

24. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

By letters of the 8th from Amboise are informed that the Count of Nassau entered that city on the 3rd, being met by Mons. de St. Pol, the Duke of Albany, Prince of Nevers, and Monseigneur Louis de Nevers, with 50 of the 200 gentlemen in the most Christian King's service, and he was lodged in the palace with very great honour. He paid his respects to the King and Queen, and negotiated with the latter during three consecutive hours. He was a long while with the Lord Steward, and conferred subsequently with the Legate, and the Lord Steward and the Admiral, who negotiated on behalf of the King, the Emperor's Commissioners being the said Nassau, the Imperial Ambassador, and an LL.D. who accompanied Nassau.

The Signory's ambassador had been unable to ascertain what was negotiated, but writes that the Imperialists have despatched an express to Spain, and it was said that on that night the most Christian King was to send thither his gentleman of the chamber, Mons. Della Guisa,* whom he sent a short while ago to England; and as told him, the Venetian Ambassador, by the English Ambassador, to whom it was communicated by the most Christian King, they are sending the Admiral [Philippe Chabot, Seigneur de Brion]to acquaint the King of England with the proposals of Monsr. de Nassau, who will depart in ten or twelve days.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 54, tergo.

25. The DOGE and SENATE to CARLO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in England.†

Have received his letters of the 13th and 14th instant, announcing the expected arrival of his most Christian Majesty's Admiral on a mission to the King, as heard by them also from their ambassador in France.

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* In "State Papers," vol. vii., Part V. continued, pp. 559–563, the name is written "le Guys," "de Guyes," de la Guyshe, De la Guiche, De la Gusshe, but I cannot discover the precise date of his embassy to England.

† This is the last letter in the "Deliberazioni Senato" addressed to Carlo Capello, who seems to have quitted England in the spring of 1535.

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Monsr. de Nassau arrived at the French Court on the 3rd instant, and negotiated on behalf of the Emperor. The Signory wishes for all possible information concerning what is being treated. To transmit full notice of all he can learn on the subject.

Enclose summaries of letters from the "Bailo" at Constantinople dated 14th and 26th ultimo, which are to be communicated to the King.

Commend what he has done about the affairs of the [Venetian] merchants.

Ayes, 160. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. THE ANABAPTISTS AT MUNSTER.

Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

26. The ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE, JOHN FREDERICK the ELECTOR OF SAXONY, and the DUKE OF CLEVES and JULIERS to the KING of the ROMANS.*

Eight days after the failure of the assault on Munster, the Prophet of Munster, by name John of Leyden, a tailor, convoked all the people, telling them he was commissioned by God to be King of Israel and of justice, and to govern throughout (*in tutto*) like King David. Another prophet immediately appeared, a goldsmith, by name John of Warendorf, saying that God had charged him to be the prophet in the stead of the aforesaid King, who has commission from God, to be king of justice, which has to prevail over the whole world, and that he is to march (*à partir*) with a large army to destroy kings, princes, and all superiors, spiritual and temporal, without any mercy, and in this manner the humble and compassionate (*misericordiosi*) are to govern the whole world.

The King (John of Leyden) immediately commenced ruling, and appointed his Court, with all such officers as becoming a great prince, such as maggiordomo, marshal, counsellor, servants for his table, &c., and from amongst seven women he has elected a queen, a gentlewoman of Holland, very handsome, the widow of another prophet who was killed under Munster.† The Queen has a separate Court. The King has thirty-one horses with gold trappings, and some golden saddles, and costly habits of brocade and of other sorts, made with the ornaments of the churches, which have also served to array his gentlemen, and finally the Queen and her maids of honour.

When the King cavalcades through the town he wears a gown of cloth of silver, slashed and lined with crimson, fastened with gold thread (*colligata con filo d'oro*), and on his right hand is a well-clad page carrying the Bible, there being another on the other side with a naked sword. One of these pages, who was captured in the town by force, is the son of the Bishop of Munster.

The King wears a triple crown of refined gold, very richly set, and a gold chain with a costly jewelled ornament in the form of an orb, with two swords, one of gold and the other of silver, which

* The despatch containing this account of the Anabaptists is dated Vienna, 22nd December 1534.

† John Matthew, a baker of Harlem.

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traverse the orb, on whose summit is a gold cross surmounted by the words "*King of justice for the whole world*" (*Re della justitia per tutto il mondo*).

The Queen also wears a similar ornament. The King [when he gives audience?] ascends a lofty, well-decorated platform on the market-place, together with his lieutenant, by name Kiupperdollinckh, (*sic*) whom we have known for many years; the lieutenant always places himself two steps below the King, at whose feet stand his councillors. Whosoever has any demand to make for justice or favour is obliged to kneel three times; at the fourth obeisance he prostrates himself, and then begins to plead.

The people of Munster assembled in the square fronting the cathedral, and celebrated the Lord's Supper (*et hanno fatto una cena Dominiciale*). There were 4,200 persons at the table, and they were served with three sorts of meat. The King and Queen, together with their servants, waited at table, and afterwards, having taken in their hands certain hard baked white loaves made of flour, they broke and distributed them to the guests (*commensali*), saying, "*Take and eat, and announce the death of the Lord.*" The guests then divided the white loaves amongst each other, saying, "*Brother (or sister), take and eat; as Christ has given himself for us, so do I also give myself for you, and as the flour of the loaf is baked together (pisto insieme) of sundry grains, the wine also being mixed together from sundry grape-berries, in like manner are we all assembled together.*" After this they say a prayer, and commence singing *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* Thereupon the King and Queen, and last of all their servants, seated themselves at table, and did the like. On rising from table the King commenced asking the people whether all were determined to do the will of the Father? All replied affirmatively. Thereupon the Prophet (?) commenced saying "The King has a mandate to send some of you forth from this town to proclaim to others the miraculous things done by God to this King." Then the other prophet, John of Warendorf, continued, "The commission (*commissione*) from God purports that the individuals named by the King are to go to the four cities of the Empires." He then forthwith read from a draft (*cedula*) the names of the persons appointed, commanding them to go and preach, and they immediately departed thence, six for Hassembrock (*Ochsemburg*), six for Coesfeldt (*Khoffeldt*), five for Warendorf, and eight for Soest; and amongst these preachers was the said Prophet [John of Warendorf]. To each of them the King gave a golden florin of his own coinage, which is equal to nine florins.

On the eve of St. Gallo [15th October], they arrived in that (*sic*) city [Warendorf?], and commenced shouting through the streets in the most terrific tone, "Repent, do penance; Repent, do penance. The time during which the Father will be merciful is brief, as the axe is laid to the tree."

The inhabitants of the said city not believing in them, they departed immediately. The municipal governors of the city [Warendorf?] having summoned these preachers to appear before them they threw their mantles (*mantelli*, query *tabards*) on the ground, and even the

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mantles cast one of their florins, saying they had come, sent by the Father, to announce to the people the peace of God, which peace, if they choose to have it, they must give all their goods to the community (*che debbian dar tutto lor bene nel commune*); if, on the contrary, they will not accept the peace, they must then protest by the said piece of gold (*pace d' oro*) before God that they have refused the peace of God, and treated them [the preachers] with contempt.

They moreover say that now is the time about which all the prophets have written, when God demands nothing in this world but justice, and for this God has sent their King, not only for Germany (*per quel paese di la*), but also to do justice for the whole world, whereupon Christ will restore his kingdom to the Father.

The preachers having been seized and sent to prison, gave account —some by fair means and others by being racked—of their doctrine and life, and of the fortifications of Munster, *ut infra*, &c. They say that on examining the scriptures and all the prophets, it will be found that those are just who hunger and thirst after justice as they do, they being ready to die without [accepting ?] mercy. They say that since the death of the apostles the Gospel of God has not been preached to the people, nor has justice been done. That there are four prophets—two just, David and John of Leyden, their King in Munster; two unjust (*injusti*), the Pope and Luther, and that Luther is worse than the Pope. If they are asked by what documents (*scritture*) they would show their justice, having expelled so many honest men from Munster, contrary to the promise given, and seizing their property, their wives, and children, they reply, "Ye understand indeed to judge the face of heaven, &c., but now the time is come when the meek shall possess the earth, in like manner as the goods of the Egyptians were given by God to the people of Israel."

It is said that in Munster there is still gold and silver to the amount of 300,000 florins stowed away in barrels, besides other valuable effects. The men in Munster have each 6 or 8 wives or women at their will and option; but the man is compelled to cohabit with one until she becomes with child, and thus from first to last, maidens are compelled to marry on the completion of their twelfth year. The husbands are strongly bound (*molto forzati*) to treat their wives well, so unless they live pleasantly with them they are beheaded immediately. The old women select a man who is compelled to take care of them and provide for their wants.

They destroy all the churches and monasteries, and say they are the market-places of King Baalam.

The people of Munster are expecting great assistance from Groningen, Frizeland, Holland, &c., and immediately on its arrival, the King will depart from Munster to take possession of his kingdom. They declare that without a prophet it is impossible to understand Holy Writ. They would fain put all lords and superiors to death, because none of them administer justice. They will not appeal either to the Emperor or anybody else, but solely to God. When unable to reply to the purpose, or defend their opinion by any argument, they reply that they had been informed by their prophet from the word of God, and by his commission.

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The Prophet John, now King, occasionally beheads culprits himself when he has a mind to do so.

It is said that they have still provisions and liquor in Munster to last them for two years, and they have merely a scarcity of salt and butter; but they have pigs.

The garrison of Munster consist of some 2,200 able-bodied men, and for each man there are always six women.

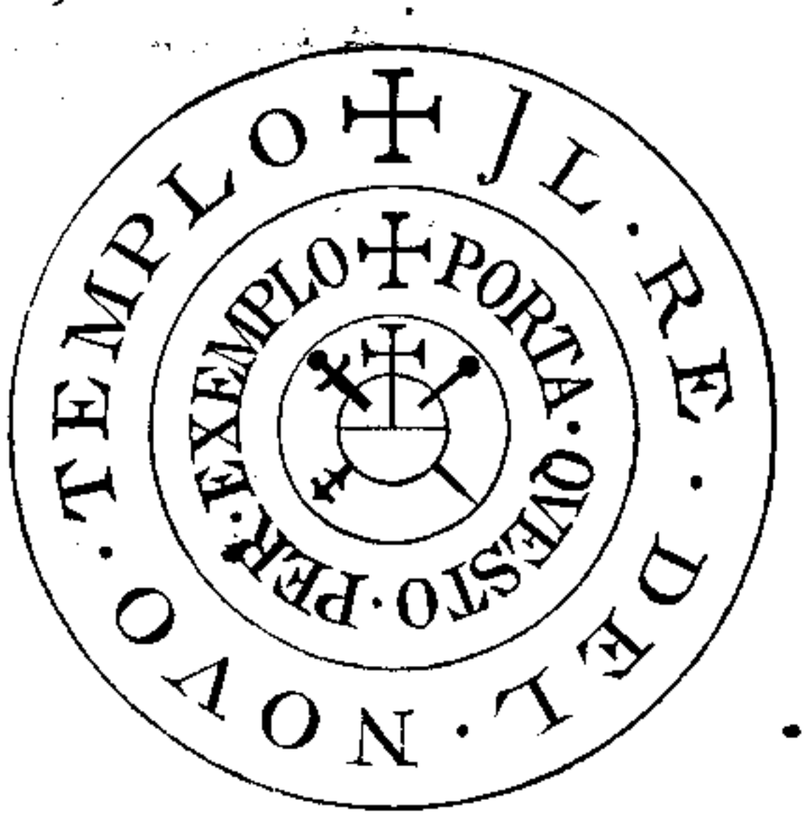
Five hundred men mount guard every night; the King with his attendants also mounts guard.

There are still 70 tons of powder in Munster.*

The form of this King's safe-conduct is as follows:—

"By the King and his secretary.

" We, John, by the Grace of God, and by virtue of King Anubo (*sic*) of the new temple of God, conservator of justice, make manifest and declare by this our letter that we have given and give by these presents, N. faculty and safe-conduct to come and go to our city of Munster, and return at his pleasure, until he arrive in a place of security, and we promise in our name and for all those who are under our rule, principally for all our brothers and inhabitants at Munster, to abide by this our safe-conduct in virtue of the Christian faith, in testimony of the truth. Signed under our royal privy seal. Dated, etc."



[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's College.

27. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Yesterday the King's Lord Marshal, D. Leonardo Felz, told me that the day before (the 19th) his Majesty had been out hunting, and would have given me audience on the morrow (the 20th) but that the Queen had prayed him to take her out in a sledge with

* The letter is dated Assen—"*in oppido Assendia*," in which place, in the month of November 1534, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Elector of Saxony, and the Duke of Cleves and Juliers held a conference for the purpose of devising a remedy against the Anabaptists and wrote as above to Ferdinand King of the Romans. The letter was published in England translated from the German of Frederick von Raumer in 1835, but without any date, or mention of the Princes who wrote it or of the Sovereign to whom it was addressed, and several paragraphs are omitted in the printed version.

1534.

the whole Court, and that they would pass before my lodging. I said that his Majesty did well to gratify the Queen, and that it would give me great pleasure to see their Majesties. He then added that the next day (the 21st) he would come to me at noon to take me to the King, and thereupon he departed.

Shortly afterwards the sledges commenced passing, and I went into the street to wait for his Majesty, whom I saluted, and although he had never seen me before, and the horses were going at a good pace as usual, he returned my salute as graciously as possible. His Majesty was with the Queen, and according to custom drove the horse himself, and each of the other noblemen was accompanied by one of the maids of honour in the service of the Queen, the sledges being some twenty in number, so that it was a beautiful sight, and his Majesty, not satisfied with passing once, repassed three times before my lodging, which was a great favour on the first day of my seeing him. On the morrow I had my first audience, at the close of which I thanked the King for the great favour conferred on me yesterday by his passing thrice before my lodging; and then laughing he took me by the hand, and graciously conversing the whole way as if I had been long with him, led me to the chapel and showed me my place; after which he went to the Queen, with whom he always hears Mass, and on holidays he also attends the sermon, at the commencement of which, as it was preached in German, his Majesty sent me word to remain or depart at my pleasure. I replied that without understanding it I should nevertheless be glad to hear the word of God, and wished to remain in order subsequently to accompany his Majesty; and I also let the Queen know that I was commissioned by your Serenity to pay my respects to her. Her Majesty replied that she would gladly give me audience after the sermon, when she sent for me into the room where their Majesties dine, she and the King being alone. After the usual compliments I offered congratulations on the recent birth of her sixth daughter (they having only two sons), telling her that the late Emperor Maximilian used to say that kings should never have more than two sons, and that all the other children should be daughters, as with daughters Princes could always at their option make peace with Princes, and by means of daughters select their own sons. The King then interpreted, as the Queen understands only German and Hungarian, and having translated word for word the Queen was much pleased with Maximilian's adage, and it made her laugh.

Vienna, 21st December 1534.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

28. The DOGE and COLLEGE to CARLO CAPELLO, Ambassador in England.

Send him enclosed summary of letters from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1535.

1535.
Jan. 1.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

29. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

The affairs of Germany are now very quiet, though the understanding between some of these Princes and King Ferdinand might be better than it is, yet it is believed that they will all be pacified, but the affairs of "the Faith" are in great confusion, and in every place and city the majority are Lutherans, and would that there was nothing worse. In this city, which is the first in Austria, although the King does his utmost to make the inhabitants live Catholically, and although it is under a Catholic bishop, a man of worth, who has written more against this sect than anybody else, namely, John Faber, who is also his Majesty's confessor, and a very Catholic person, yet his Lordship assured me that the greater part of the people, and even of those who are not of the people, are Lutherans, and to use his own words, "But for his Majesty and myself all would be Lutherans, and worse" (*Se non fusse la Mtà. del Re et Io, tuti sariano Lutherani et pezo*). Concerning the free towns and such as are under the dominion of other lords it is impossible to exaggerate their condition, and unless the Council be held, or the Almighty make some provision, the whole of Germany will become Lutheran, if not something worse.

Before his departure the Papal Nuncio,* when I asked him what good he had effected in these matters hereabouts, told me amongst other things that he granted dispensations to friars daily, to renounce holy orders, their petitions purporting that they cannot show themselves without being hooted by the multitude, with shouts of "Wolf—wolf!" Nor can it be realised how the monastic orders are detested in all the places through which I passed; and were they not protected by the King, the like might be said of the priests, who are not held in too much esteem; so your Sublimity may comprehend the pass to which this nation—heretofore the most Catholic of any—has come.

Vienna, 1st January 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

30. The SAME to the SAME.

All the Bishops and Lords here are greatly surprised that the Pope and the Court of Rome should hold the affairs of the Faith in such small account and make no provision whatever, and they say openly that as his Holiness and the Cardinals do nothing, they themselves shall be compelled to apply a remedy, and that should the whole of Germany unite about this matter of the Faith, it is quite certain that Italy, her neighbour, will do the like; and they wish your Serenity to give the Pope notice of this through your

* Pietro Paulo Vergerio, who at a later period turned Lutheran. In a former letter, Contarini mentioned his intended departure from Vienna after Xmas.

1535.

ambassadors. These personages indeed had no idea that one single friar would suffice thus to excite this entire nation, but it may now be considered certain that the rest of the world will follow its example.

Vienna, 12th of January 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 70.

31. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the VENETIAN EMBASSY in ENGLAND.

Not to delay the despatch of the nobleman, Giacomo da Canal, appointed ambassador to the most serene King of England, his departure being strongly urged by the nobleman, Ser Carlo Capello, who has conducted that legation during four years, to the great detriment of his private affairs here.

Put to the ballot that 560 golden ducats be given to the aforesaid Ser Giacomo as subsidy for four months at the rate of 140 golden ducats per month.

Also for horses as a gift as usual, 150 ducats at the rate of six livres and four "soldi" per ducat, and for coverings and trunks 30 ducats. And to the secretary, 50 ducats as a gift, according to the motion of the Council of Ten, and for two couriers, at the rate of 20 ducats each, 40 ducats.

Also that the aforesaid ambassador elect may take with him silver to the amount of 400 ducats at the Signory's risk, to be valued as usual by the officials for the "*raggion vecchia*"

But that, as the family and private affairs of our said nobleman [Capello] do not admit of so much delay, after taking gracious leave of said most serene King, apologizing, however, for his departure on the plea of very urgent private business, he do return home, leaving in England his secretary * in charge there until the arrival of the aforesaid Ser Jacomo da Canal, receiving during that interval for his expenses—from the day of Capello's departure until that of his arrival here—50 golden ducats per month, without obligation to give any account of them to the Signory; he to keep two servants and four horses; the salary being the same as given to the secretary, Spinelli, when there at the time of the death of our late nobleman, Lorenzo Orio, LL.D. and knight, who was ambassador to that King.

Ayes, 22.

First amendment.

That the ambassador, Capello, after taking gracious leave of that most serene King—but apologizing in the first place for his departure on the plea of his very urgent private affairs—do return home, leaving however in England his secretary, to whom be there given 50 golden ducats per month, without obligation to give account to our Signory; he to keep four servants and four horses, as did the most faithful Spinelli when he remained at that Court on the departure of the nobleman, Ser Antonio Surian, LL.D.

Ayes, 74. + 95.

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* By entries of a later date in the Senate's Registers, it appears that the Secretary here alluded to was Hironimo Zuccato.

1535.

Second amendment.

That very important matters being treated, especially the future interview between the King of England and the most Christian King, the ambassador be despatched hence as aforesaid, he being bound to depart within the next two months.

Ayes -	74	- 78
Noes -	6	- 0
Neutrals	3	- 5

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta). v. lvi. p. 70, tergo.

32. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Whilst anxiously expecting to hear from him that the Pope,* for the cogent reasons which ought to move him for the maintenance of the peace and quiet of Italy, had consented to the petition of the Duke of Urbino, their Captain-General, that his cause about Camerino may be decided by the ordinary civil tribunal, have this morning received his letters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th, with the Pope's reply, that in honour he cannot allow the matter to be treated otherwise than as an affair of State.

To acquaint the Pope with the firm intention of the Emperor and the Signory to prevent whatever may disturb the peace and quiet of Italy. Therefore beseech his Holiness to open well his eyes so that at this commencement of his Pontificate, war may not be kindled to the detriment of all Italy, and to his own regret, as becoming the Papal dignity. Should he persist in such perilous beginnings,† nothing else can be expected; considering the present disturbances not only in Germany and England but also in France, where, but for the firmness of the most Christian King and the strong measures adopted by him against the Lutheran sect, that entire kingdom would by this time have been infected by that detestable contagion, which, were war in Italy to commence, would have such force and stability, that to apply a remedy would then be either impossible or very difficult.

Ayes, 89.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi, p. 78, tergo.

33. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters received this day from their ambassador in France, dated the 5th instant, are informed that the Admiral has returned to the most Christian King from England, and brought back word that the interview between their Majesties will take place in April or May next, at the furthest.

Of this he is to give notice at Constantinople.

Ayes, 182. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

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* Paul III. (Alessandro Farnese), elected 13th October 1534.

† In consequence of the dispute with the Duke of Urbino about Camerino, the Pope sent troops to blockade that city, which he had intended to confer on his natural son, but the Duke of Urbino having marched at the head of ten thousand men to defend the place, the papal forces retired. (*See* Dennistoun, vol. iii. p. 64.)

1535.
Feb. 5.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 77, tergo.

34. The DOGE and SENATE to IBRAHIM PASHA.*

Return thanks for his letter from Tauris; congratulate him on his conquest of that city and of the province of Herat. Give him news of the Emperor's preparations in Spain, Genoa, and Naples. Their letters from France announce the return of the Admiral from England with news that the conference between the two Kings will be held next May at the latest.

Ayes, 150. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 10.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

35. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

I have been told by several persons that the Lutherans are in high spirits from hearing that the Pope purposes waging war in Italy†, as they hope that with this opportunity many Italians of their sect who have hitherto been downcast and lacked courage to declare themselves, will now come forward, having the support and protection of the Powers thus attacked by his Holiness; and (to use their own words) they say that the Lutherans in Italy alone will suffice for an army to deliver them from the hands of the priests; and that not only in the cities of Italy are they in very great number, but also that so many of the sect amongst the monastic orders will declare themselves and take part, that they will intimidate their brethren. Here they have received from Rome the characters drawn by Pasquin on Twelfth night, and never weary of reading them to their very great delight, and are sending them all over Germany.* I assure your Serenity that, from what my attendants tell me, during the Carnival there was a greater crowd in the fish market than now in Lent, the reason being that everybody chose to eat both fish and flesh; and at present few eat fish, and although the butchers' shops are closed by order of the King, in his palace, nevertheless, most of the household eat meat, and I am told that many persons who during the Carnival ate fish on the Fridays and Saturdays now eat fish every day. The Bishop of Vienna [John Faber]‡, preaches every morning in the Cathedral Church of St. Stephen, and is a very learned man and a most worthy prelate, but few persons attend his sermons. I inquired the cause, and am told it is because he does not expound the Gospel in their fashion, and that if the King would allow the Lutherans to preach, the whole town would go there; and in all the other churches there is either no sermon at all, or it is attended by still fewer persons. On his Majesty's departure hence for Moravia [in the second week of February] he summoned all the chief personages

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* Ibrahim, the prime minister of Sultan Solyman, was a Venetian subject born at Parga. *See* "Report" of Piero Zen. (Relazioni Venete, serie 3, vol. iii. p. 95.)

† Against the Duke of Urbino on account of Camerino. (*See* footnote, date 18 January 1535.)

‡ Mention has been made in vol. iv. pp. 39, 40, Venetian Calendar, of an Embassy to England performed by John Faber (afterwards Bishop of Vienna) in March 1527. The speech made on that occasion by Faber to Henry VIII. was answered by Sir Thomas More, whose eminent qualities were reflected in the person of John Faber, who was considered one of the most virtuous and learned men in Germany.

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of his Court, and announced that he did not choose any of them or of his servants, to eat meat, or to live otherwise than catholically, *and that he would not hesitate to dismiss such as disobeyed this* order, however intimate they might be with him.

It is reported that the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Landgrave [of Hesse] have offered his Majesty, if he will expel the priests (I mention priests solely, as at present little is said about friars) throughout Germany, to recover for him at their own cost the whole of Hungary, and that he may also do what he pleases with the Church revenues in his own territories; but the King will not give ear to this in the least, and indeed evinces very great displeasure to those who speak to him on the subject. The Duke of Wurtemberg begs his pardon for all past offences, and requests him to obtain forgiveness from the Emperor. The King has pardoned him, and promised to obtain his pardon from the Emperor, and he [King Ferdinand] will give him the investiture of his Duchy, on condition of its reverting to the House of Austria should he leave no heirs, on which terms the Emperor gave the investiture of the Duchy to King Ferdinand. The son of the Duke of Wurtemberg is in France, his father being so brutish (*tanto è bestial*) that he cannot live with him. The Duke caused all the priests in his dominions to be bastinadoed, and then expelled them with all such persons as choose to live according to the Catholic religion; and your Serenity will remember that the chief cause of the late war was, because his wife* not choosing to live after his fashion, he bestrode her with spurs on his heels, and beat her as if she had been a horse, she being the sister of the Dukes of Bavaria, at whose request the Emperor deprived him of the Duchy, and gave it to the present King of the Romans; which the Dukes of Bavaria took much amiss, as although they wished their brother-in-law all possible harm, they did not intend the Duchy to be held by anybody but his son their nephew; and this was one of the causes of the enmity between them and King Ferdinand; but it now seems that they also are reconciled to him, and they are expected at Vienna shortly, to arrange everything.

Vienna, 22nd February 1835.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

36. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

Don Martin de Guzman, King Ferdinand's most confidential chamberlain (*camerier*), told me that never did two brothers love each other better than the King and the Emperor; that when the Emperor had him elected King of the Romans [January 5, 1531] the Germans could not believe that his Imperial Majesty would give his brother that which in a few years might have been bestowed on his own son; and that on the birth of King Ferdinand's first son the Emperor swore several times that had the event occurred before his own marriage he would have remained

* Sabina, daughter of Albert IV., Duke of Bavaria; she was married on the 2nd March 1511, and died the 30th of August 1564, aged 73. (*See* Chiusole's Genealogies, p. 384.)

1535.

single, and that he delayed it for several years in order to be dispensed from taking the step through the birth of an heir male to his brother. One day when the two were together at Ratisbon, whilst Solyman was marching on Vienna [September 1532], they went out hunting, and the two alone, with one sole attendant, drove a bear to bay in so narrow a pass that one of them alone single-handed must either kill the bear or be killed by him, whereupon King Ferdinand knelt to the Emperor beseeching him for leave to attack the bear, because any danger he might incur would be a lesser evil and less detrimental to Christendom than what might befal the Emperor; reminding him that Solyman was on the march to Vienna, and that were his Imperial Majesty to receive any hurt it would be the cause of some great calamity to Christendom. The Emperor answered him that for his own honour and for the love he bore his brother he could not consent, and he then went in first and killed the bear, who otherwise would indubitably have killed him. Don Martin then spoke to me of the great affection which the King and Queen bore each other, and said he thought a similar marriage had never been made, that since it took place not only had the King never known, but not even thought, of any other woman, as notorious to everybody, the Queen on her part being unable to exist without him, and now until he returns each day seems a year to her. He added that his Majesty's liberality is such that to enrich his servants he has impoverished himself, and a calculation has been made that of ten persons who possessed nothing when they entered his service, eight have each at present an annual revenue of 100,000 florins, two alone having but 50,000 florins each.

Vienna, 27th February 1535.

[*Italian.*]

March 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

37. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

Enclose news-letters from Constantinople dated 27th and 31st December, 18th, 22nd, 29th, and 31st January, and 1st February. Is to communicate them to his Majesty face to face, requesting him to keep them to himself, and not to mention that they come from the Signory, as should notice of such a report reach Constantinople the authorities there would complain of the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. lvi. p. 86, tergo.

38. MOTION concerning a present for the English Ambassador.

The Rev. Prothonotary Casal, who has been during several years ambassador with the Signory from the King of England, having been ordered by his Majesty to return—

Put to the ballot, that by authority of this Council a present be made to said Rev. Prothonotary of silver, or gold, or money, as shall seem best to our College, to the amount of five hundred ducats, at the rate of six livres and four "soldi" per ducat.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 35. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

1535.
March 17.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. lvi. p. 86, tergo.

39. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

It is said that the conference between the Kings of France and England will take place in April next. There was talk of marriage between the infant daughter (who is one year old) of the King of England by the new Queen to Mons. d'Angoulême, the third son of the King of France.*

[*Italian.*]

March 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. lvi. p. 88, tergo.

40. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning a present to the Secretary of the English Embassy.†

Put to the ballot that there be given as a present to the Secretary of the aforesaid Rev. Ambassador cloths of silk, or money, at the option of our College, to the amount of fifty ducats, at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, to be derived from the supplies made and to be made hereafter.

Ayes, 147. Noes, 13. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 23.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini, in St. Mark's Library.

41. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick, and the son of the Elector, Marquis Joachim of Brandenburg, arrived in this town. The King went to meet them outside the town and appeared very glad to see them. The Landgrave had never been in his presence since the affair of the Duke of Wurtemberg, but matters are now so well pacified that if necessary he will be employed in these parts in the Emperor's service, or in that of the King.

Since his arrival in King Ferdinand's territories, to show his respect for him, neither he or his followers eat anything but fish, although if not the chief personage of the Lutheran sect he is their second leader. All his attendants wear on their surcoats (*sagli*) the motto, "*Verbum Domini manet.*"

Vienna, 23rd March 1535.

[*Italian.*]

April 2.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini, in St. Mark's Library.

42. The SAME to the SAME.

On Easter Day the King went to Mass in the church of St. Augustin, near the castle, accompanied by the Landgrave, who when the priest began to say Mass, went into the garden and remained walking about until it ended, saying he would not lose time in what was unnecessary. As soon as this Landgrave gets out

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* Sultan Solyman was carrying on the war in Persia, so that the "Bailo" could not have communicated the Venetian advices to him immediately.

† In Ellis' letters illustrative of English History (series 2, vol. ii. pp. 70–75) there are two, dated Venice, A.D., 1535, from Edmond Harvel, and I think it probable that he was the Secretary here alluded to, by so much the more as documents in the Venetian Archives show that he was accredited to the Republic at a later period by Henry VIII.; but on the other hand, it will be seen by an entry dated 13th November 1535, that Prothonotary Casal had an Italian Secretary by name Marco Antonio Bentivoglio, whom he sent to Hungary about the time when this present was made.

1535.

of bed, whilst dressing, a layman reads the Gospel to him, expounding it in their fashion; and after having had a good dinner he does the like, thinking thus to comply with the precepts of the Christian religion (*satisfar alla religion Christiana*). There are neither friars or priests in his territories, and their property yields him an annual revenue of about 80,000 florins.

The Duke of Wurtemberg has done the like, and worse.

The Duke of Saxony was the first, and God grant that the others may not likewise follow this fashion.

The greater part of the free towns have done the like, and were it not for the Emperor and this King of the Romans, who do their utmost to preserve what little religion there is in their territories, "*actum esset.*"

The Dukes of Bavaria are also Catholics.

It is true King Ferdinand sold well-nigh the fourth part of all the revenues of the monasteries and bishoprics in his territories, but it was with the Pope's consent and when the Turks were marching hitherwards. When taxes are imposed or demanded by his Majesty the clergy contribute as much as, or rather more than the laity.

The King told me that the Landgrave departed very well satisfied with him, his Majesty having promised that the Emperor will pardon him, and in case of need make use of him in these parts, he being in fact a very brave soldier. Should the Emperor not employ him, and no adjustment be made with the King of Hungary [Zapolsky], King Ferdinand will send him into those parts.

I visited the Duke of Brunswick, and the son of the Marquis of Brandenburg, in your Serenity's name; they were very glad to see me, and returned many thanks, offering the State any service in their power.

I also visited the Landgrave, who gave me most exuberant greeting, saying that your Serenity and the entire Republic were replete with extreme wisdom, and that he wished to come some day to Venice, to visit your Excellency and the State, for whose service he offered both his substance and his life; and having told him that his fame in Italy equalled that of any person whomsoever in Germany, he asked me if the fame was good or bad. I said he had the fame of a valorous commander of great courage and fortunate, and that for the rest I referred him to the Papal Nuncio now in this town. He laughed, and was very much pleased with my visit.

I have heard that he also offered to bring 20,000 Germans into Italy against the Pope should any Prince require his services. He departed yesterday on his way home together with the Duke of Brunswick and the Marquis of Brandenburg's son.

The Pope's Nuncio [Vergerio] arrived on Easter eve, and has brought, I believe, two bags full of briefs, of the tenour of enclosed copy.* He is now directing and distributing them to such persons as he thinks fit, and will likewise go through his Majesty's territories and to places where Catholics are dominant, but not elsewhere.

* These briefs purported that the Pope purposed holding the Council General.

1535.

All persons here say that the Pope has done well to send these briefs, lest (as nothing more had been said on the subject) a fixed time be prescribed for convoking the Council, but that as for the Pope and Cardinals, they have no more thought for the Council than they have for the affairs of the next world, as they well know that in the first place they would be deprived of all temporal jurisdiction, and cardinals, bishops, and priests be forbidden to hold more than one benefice apiece, and be compelled to constant residence and to employ ecclesiastical revenues as they are bound to do by law.

In these parts the Apostolic See is held in small account, but as the King of the Romans and the Emperor, who are really good and devout Catholics, show it great respect, a few persons have some regard for it, but not much.

I send your Serenity with this, the effigy of the Landgrave whose character is still more decided than the expression of his portrait, and he is about 28 years old.*

Vienna, 2nd April 1535.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

43. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

The Papal Nunico [Vergerio] tells me he shall depart next week, and will go first to the Cardinal of Salzburg, and then to the Dukes of Bavaria, and the Count Palatine, who are all good Catholics, and will acquaint them with the Pope's readiness to hold the Council.

The King has heard that the Pope's envoy to King John [Zapolsky] has passed, contrary to his Majesty's order, and that he is also the bearer of a certain commission from the King of England, delivered to him by the Prothonotary Casal, which very greatly displeases his Majesty, who says that if King John does not comply with his wishes, it will be owing to Rorario's mission.

Vienna, 10th of April.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta,) File no. 14.

44. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

Wrote to him on the 1st with the summaries of the advices from Constantinople up to the 21st February. Having subsequently received other letters of the 12th March, send their summary in like manner for him to communicate as usual.

The last letters received from him, dated the 24th ultimo, were copious and pleased the Signory; desire him therefore to continue keeping them diligently advised of all he hears worthy of their knowledge, as it will be to their satisfaction and to his own praise.

[*Italian.*]

* According to Chiusole's Genealogies, he was 31, having been born in 1504.

1535.
April 29.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

45. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Gasparo Pastor has been sent for hither, letters from France and England, received by him at Venice, having been found in his possession, and which were on their way to King John enclosed in the letters of a certain Abbot, and if he have been privy to the fact, it will cause him much trouble and molestation.

On St. George's Day, King Ferdinand used annually to robe himself in the habits of the Garter, having received the Order many years ago from the King of England, but neither last year nor this year did he assume them on account of the English King's divorce; and the Emperor, who is also of the Order, has done the like.

Vienna, 29th April 1535.

[*Italian.*]

May 7.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta,) File no. 14.

46. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

To continue acquainting his most Serene Majesty with what they hear from Constantinople. Besides the summaries of letters, dated 12th March, sent by them lately to him (Zuccato), they now transmit those of the 29th and 30th of that month, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

47. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

It is said that the ambassador from the King of England [Prothonotary Casal] together with King John's ambassador, who were both on their way to him, have been arrested.*

Vienna, 12th May 1535.

[*Italian.*]

May 14.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

48. The SAME to the SAME.

The ambassador from England [Prothonotary Casal] accompanied by the Florentine Corsini, the envoy of King John, to whom they were both going, are arrested. The ambassador's secretary,† who had been first to King John, and was on his way back to meet the ambassador, has stopped at Buda. The Papal Nuncio Rorario‡ is with King John. *Antonio Vurantio, Provost, who was lately in Venice, has passed, but fromwhat I hear he was disguised as a shepherd, and arrived at Buda on the 1st instant.

Vienna, 14th May 1535.

[*Italian.*]

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* Concerning the arrest of Prothonotary Casal and Andrea Corsini, *see* State Papers, vol. vii. part 5 continued, p. 599, and following.

† In date 13 November 1535, it will be seen that the name of this Secretary was Marco Antonio Bentivoglio.

‡ The mission of Rorario is alluded to in State Papers, vol. vii., part 5 continued,

1535.
May 22.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

49. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

Send him summaries of letters from Constantinople, dated 14th 15th, and 18th April.

His last letters of the 24th ultimo, which were full of news, have the approval of the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

June 1.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini, in St. Mark's Library.

50. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

Although on Corpus Christi day the King accompanied the most Holy Sacrament well nigh all over the town, cap in hand and with a torch, the procession lasting nearly two hours, his Majesty, nevertheless, thinking that by this time the Emperor will be on galley board,* went yesterday likewise to accompany the Sacrament from St. Stephen's to St. Michael's, where the Queen was, and there he heard a Mass, and with very great devotion accompanied the Sacrament back to St. Stephen's, so that the Almighty may thus accompany the Emperor on his voyage.

These Lutherans commence rejoicing at the Emperor's coming into Italy, hoping at any rate to have the Council. They understand that his Holiness instead of reforming the customs (*costumi*) of the priesthood, has allowed them to abridge the breviary, and they hope he will do the like by the fasts, so that thus by degrees they will come to an understanding together. They believe that the Cardinals will assent to the marriage of priests; the remaining difficulties being the revenues of benefices and some others. Here nothing is read but "*Pasquin's Passion,*" and the medal of the Cardinal of Ravenna, "*Crucifixus pro nobis.*" †

Vienna, 1st of June.

[*Italian.*]

June 3.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini, in St. Mark's Library.

51. The SAME to the SAME.

This morning after my conversation with his Majesty, when he commenced talking to the Cardinal of Trent, I joined some of these noblemen who were discussing the challenge sent to Pasquin, these Pasquinades pleasing them extremely, and we then went to Mass.

Vienna, 3rd of June.

[*Italian.*]

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* The Emperor embarked at Barcelona for the expedition against Tunis on the 1st of June.

† Benedetto degli Accolti, Archbishop of Ravenna, was made Cardinal by Clement VII. A medal of him exists, with the motto "Benedictus Card. Ravenna," and on the reverse is a Neptune seated and turned towards a pharos (in allusion to the famous harbour of Ravenna in the time of the Romans) with the motto "*optimis artibus,*" the Cardinal having rendered Ravenna a harbour for men of science and letters. Possibly there were Lutherans amongst them, and he being in disgrace on this account, they perhaps changed the inscription.

"Pasquin's passion" may have been a satire ridiculing the sorrow professed by the Pope for the troubles of the Roman Catholic church, for which he declared that a Council-general was the sole remedy.

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June 3.
Senato Mar, v. xxiii. p. 86, tergo.

52. DECREE of the SENATE concerning the LONDON FACTORY.

The King of England, having understood that on the last voyage of the Flanders galleys, the greater part of our merchants defrauded the Customs, when exporting their wools, sent to Hampton one of his sergeants, who, after re-weighing certain wools, ascertained that the merchants had received much better weight than usual; and his Majesty having claimed damages, the Republic's consul, with his Council of Twelve, passed a resolution greatly to the detriment of our factory, thus, that by reason of these good weights, there might be expended to the amount of 1,000*l.* sterling (equal to 5,000 ducats), on account of the factory, besides what had been previously voted for this purpose, resolutions contrary to our laws and orders, and injurious to merchants hereafter undertaking that voyage, as they would bear the burden without advantage, the persons benefited remaining exempt from it.

Put to the ballot,—

That, save any acts to the contrary, the resolution passed by the Council of Twelve in London, on the 18th of November last, be cancelled and annulled with regard to the clause purporting that of the money to be disbursed on account of the aforesaid advantages, one third be paid by our London factory, and two thirds by the merchants, they being inscribed as the factory's creditors for the loan; and instead of the two thirds, the merchants who obtained the good weights be bound to disburse the whole at the rate of the advantages [received by them], without being in any other way made creditors of the factory; nor henceforth may credit be given to any one on this account, save for the first two "soldi," disbursed for each poke of wool, on the departure of the galleys from Hampton, according to the resolution passed in the aforesaid Council on the 28th of April last.

Also, that at no time the factory be taxed for these advantages, either in virtue of the resolution already passed, or of any that may hereafter be passed by said Council of Twelve, with the exception of the two "soldi" specified above; the entire cost to be defrayed by those who receive the favours, it not being just for the factory to pay the customs for any merchant.

Ayes, 118. Noes, 5. Neutral 12.

[*Italian.*]

June 3.
Senato Terra, v. xxviii. p. 139.

53. MOTION made by DOGE GRITI and 16 MEMBERS of the COLLEGE, concerning a Gold Chain given by HENRY VIII. to CARLO CAPELLO.

How praiseworthy and beneficial to our State the operations of our beloved nobleman, Carlo Capello, were, during his embassy to the most Serene King of England, may be well known to all the members of this Council who remember the despatches written by him from time to time, and also by his sage "report" now delivered; and they will deem him deserving of our favour, most especially having been four years on the embassy, in the course of which, for the service and honour of the State he spent much money; in addition to which, owing to his long absence from this

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city, and to misfortunes which befell him, his private affairs incurred no little detriment, he being the father of six children, with a very small property; so that by reason of the excellent service received from him on this and on his other embassies, it behoves the justice and munificence of the State to show him becoming gratitude.

Put to the ballot,—

That the chain given by the most Serene King of England to the said Ser Carlo Capello, and now presented by him to our most Serene Prince, be by authority of this Council given to said Carlo Capello, he having suffered so much hardship and loss, as an example for others readily to do their utmost in the service of the State, as has been assiduously done by the aforesaid Ser Carlo Capello.

Ayes, 149. Noes, 29. Neutrals, 2. (Kinsfolk withdrew). The Council was told that the act requires a majority of four fifths.

[*Italian.*]

June 3.
MS. No. 1231, Class VII. Miscellany, Q. 5, St. Mark's Library.

54. REPORT of ENGLAND made to the SENATE by the Ambassador, CARLO CAPELLO.

Most Serene Prince,

I may say that I have been in your service for six consecutive years, as scarcely had I returned from the embassy to Florence,* which was most wearisome and perilous by reason of the war, the famine and the plague, when by favour of your Serenity I entered your service in the College, as sage for the main land, in which post I remained during 19 months, and before my period of office had expired, your Serenity sent me to the present legation in England,† from which by God's grace, I have now returned; and during that interval, I have not been able to see to my own affairs.

The mission to England, where I remained during nearly four years, was no less perilous and laborious for me than the one to Florence. On my way thither I met with difficulties and mischances, and coming home I became dangerously ill and at the point of death for many days, the physicians having given me over, so that one day's life in this city would have seemed to me a mercy, and the disease is still upon me, so that I shall be unable to make my report to the satisfaction of your Serenity, and it will be brief, nor am I sure of ending it, being scarcely able to speak.

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* The letters written by Capello to the Venetian Signory, during this Embassy, were published at Florence in the year 1839, by Eugenio Alberi, in the first volume (series 2) of his Venetian Reports; and at page 297 there is a note about a horse belonging to Carlo Capello, of which horse there is also a record in Fynes Moryson's "Italy," date Florence, 1594 (p. 149), thus,

"Upon the north side of the river Arno, and upon the banke thereof, is a monument of "a horse buried in the highway, with this inscription, in Latin—

"*The bones of the horse of Charles Capelli, Venetian Ambassador when the Citie was "besieged in the yeere* 1533," (*sic,*) "*and these verses were added,—*

"*Praise, worthy horse of warre! thy thankfull Lord,*
"*Thee for thy merits doth this Tombe afford.*"

At the close of the Latin inscription, is the date, *Obsessa urbe*, 1530, *III. idus Martij.*

† It is seen by the Venetian Calendar, vol. 4, that the election of Carlo Capello to the Embassy in England, took place on the 7th January 1531, and that he arrived there on the 11th of August following.

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I will not repeat the contents of my despatches, but merely mention a few things which seem to me worthy of your Serenity's notice.

England has very bad laws and statutes, not being governed by the Imperial Code,* but by laws in her own fashion, to which she was subjected by one William the Bastard, who conquered the country, and had dominion over it; and amongst their other bad laws, I will acquaint your Serenity with two, which are contrary to all right. The one is, that the cargo of any ship going to pieces off the Island, becomes the prey of those who can seize it; so that many of the natives seek to destroy and wreck vessels instead of saving them. The other is, that the whole Kingdom is parcelled into fiefs; as at the time of the Conquest, the said William confiscated everything, and then gave the land in fee; and when a feudatory dies without heirs, his land falls to the Crown, and if he leaves children, half of their property—until they are twenty years old, or upwards—goes to the King, who distributes it at his pleasure; which causes a thousand abuses and improprieties.

This King's predecessor had a revenue of some 400,000 ducats, and whilst I was in England, the present King, what with new taxes, and these wardships, and by other means, may have increased this sum to 700,000 ducats, of which Secretary Cromwell was and is in great part the author; and now lately by these annats, and by the church benefices which he has absorbed, that sum will have been doubled; so at this present his annual revenue amounts well nigh to a million and a half.

This Cromwell was a person of low origin and condition; he is now Secretary of State, the King's prime minister, and has supreme authority.

Capello then spoke at large about the life, power, and character of said Cromwell.†

The King is most unpopular, and a rebellion might easily break out some day, and cause great confusion. He has rare endowments both of mind and body, such as personal beauty, genius, learning, etc., and it is marvellous how he has fallen into so many errors and false tenets.

The old Queen Katharine, who was much beloved, is at . . . . . in a bad way, well nigh without any revenue or attendants; and she remains with but few persons in her court.

It is believed that were the King to die, although there are two or three pretenders to the Crown, the Princess Mary, Queen Katharine's daughter, would be made Queen and succeed to the kingdom.

Capello then apologized for being unable to proceed, and not narrating methodically, and he could scarcely speak; and these excuses he made at several parts and passages.

He next alluded to the great costs incurred by him on the journey out and home and during his stay, on account of famines, etc. He

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* "Per lege Imperial," by the code of the Emperor Justinian.

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said that he had always kept from ten to eleven horses, as he was bound, but of late, expecting hourly permission to return, his stable was in better order than usual.

He had not failed to give banquets, and to live grandly and nobly, for the honour of the State; and he swore that from the day of his departure until he got back to Venice, he had expended seven hundred ducats during illness, etc., and for so many physicians; so that (I think he said) he had only one [ducat?] remaining.

He said the King is already tired to satiety of this new Queen (*che il Re era stufo et satio hormai de questa nova regina.*)

He said nothing about the King's disposition towards the Republic, nor did he mention either the late Cardinal [Wolsey], or the present one [Fisher].*

In case of any invasion, the King can raise two powerful armies, one to take the field wherever needed, and the other as a reserve in case of defeat.

He praised his secretary [Girolamo Zuccato], and recommended him.

He mentioned the gold chain given to him, worth 400 ducats, and had it exhibited. He alluded to the death of his relatives, and to his losses during this embassy on account of his family; requesting the chain might be given him to aid the marriage of his daughter or to redeem a certain tenement seized by his brother-in-law, Messer Beneto Damosto for payment of dower due to him, which if paid, he would most certainly restore the tenement to Capello.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

55. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

Letters having arrived, announcing the creation of Cardinals,† including the Right Rev. [Gasparo] Contarini, the King and the whole Court were no less pleased than to hear of the promotion of the Archbishop of Capua [Nicholas Schomberg], his Lordship [Gasparo Contarini] being known to his Majesty and many here; and whereas some months ago the Lutherans had cause to criticise the Pope's nomination of his nephews, so are they now astounded and know not what to say; and were his Holiness to continue acting thus, and not think of seizing Camerino, etc., and kindling a flame in Italy, this would be the best way to silence them, for after saying and repeating so much, they talk of nothing but the immorality of the heads of the Church. Trusts the Right Rev. Contarini will serve them as an example, nor is it necessary to speak of his learning and condition, as they are known to everybody. Does not know whether he should congratulate the Republic or not, for on the one hand, the Pope, for his own service, has deprived it of a matchless man (*singularissimo homo*), but on

* John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was created Cardinal by Pope Paul III. on the 20th of May 1535, and beheaded by order of Henry VIII. on the following 25th of June, three weeks after Capello's allusion to him.

† On the 20th of May 1535.

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the other hand, he is of such a quality and sort that wheresoever placed he will act for the benefit and profit of the State. Prays God to grant that they may one day see him in that post to which many persons already expect him to be raised.

Vienna, 6th of June 1535.

Italian.]

June 10. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

56. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

The last letters received from him, were dated 8th May. Are well satisfied with his diligence. Enclose summaries of news received from Constantinople dated 27th and 28th April, and 1st and 2nd May, which are to be communicated as usual.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 100.

57. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

On the 14th of May, the Admiral of the most Christian King departed on his way to Calais for the conference to be held between him and the agents of the King of England.

Ayes, 144. Noes, 28. Neutrals, 14.

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

58. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

Send the advices from Constantinople dated 12th, 17th, 18th, 28th, and 31st May, to be communicated by him to the King face to face, that they may not be published.

Will have heard that they have elected him Secretary in ordinary of the Ducal Chancery, which they did willingly.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

59. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

Besides the creation of the seven Cardinals, two events, which greatly please the King and the whole Court, have been announced here, well nigh contemporaneously. The one is the cessation of the Pope's attack on Camerino, the other the plenary indulgence conceded to all who after confession and repentance shall pray for the Emperor's success [in his attack on Tunis]. Nothing can be better calculated than acts of this sort, to disconcert the Lutherans, as they desire nothing better than to see the Pope at war with some Italian Potentate, being convinced that it would produce the same fruit as has sprung up in a great part of Germany; and when they first heard of these disturbances they made prints and pictures of the Pope, sword and buckler in hand, fronting Martin Luther, who was armed in like manner, and beneath was a German inscription, thus:

"We will settle it by battle."

The Papal Nuncio the Rev. D. Pietro Paulo Vergerio is still here, and from what he tells me, will remain here during the stay

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of the Hungarian Ambassadors, by order of the Pope, and according to the wish of the King, as his Majesty did not choose D. Hieronimo Rorario, the Papal Nuncio in Hungary, to be present at these negotiations. On the departure of the Hungarians, Vergerio will proceed on his way to announce the Council to those other Princes and Lords whom he has not yet seen.

Vienna, 3rd of July 1535.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 108.

60. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Are informed by letters from England dated the 16th ulto., that the conference held at Calais between the agents of the Kings of France and England has been dissolved without any decision with regard to the debated matter, which, we understand, chiefly concerned marriages between the sons and daughters of their Majesties.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 20. Neutrals, 11.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

61. The ARCHBISHOP of LUND, Imperial Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to FRANCESCO CONTARINI.

The Landgrave of Hesse writes that on the 25th ultimo at midnight, the army took Munster by storm. They killed many of the Anabaptists, and have their King and some of the leaders in prison.

Vienna, 8th July, 1535. Jo. Luden. [John Wesal?]

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

62. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday morning his Majesty acquainted me with the arrival of the Emperor in Sardinia on the 12th [ulto.], and with his departure for Tunis on the 14th.

Yesterday also, his Majesty received very agreeable intelligence, and much desired by all these Princes, of the taking by storm of Munster, many of the Anabaptists being killed, and their King and many of the leaders being captured. This affair of the Anabaptists was a source of great anxiety to all the Princes of Germany who had therefore summoned a Diet at Worms, of which, I suppose there will now be no farther need, although there is a great quantity of this sect in several parts of Germany.

Vienna, 9th of July 1535.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

63. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

The Pope's Nuncio departs tomorrow towards the Rhine, going first to the Bishops Electors of the Empire who are Catholics, and also to the other Princes on the Rhine, after which, he will cross over to Saxony, leaving these bad mouthfuls for the last, being thus counselled by the most Serene King [of the Romans]. His Majesty and all these Lords are very anxious to hear that

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the Emperor has despatched the Tunis expedition, nor is anything else talked of, it seeming to them that subsequently the other affair [of the Council ?] will be treated.

Vienna, 14th of July 1535.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 110.

64. Doge Andrea Griti to Sultan Solyman.

By letters from France and England, understands that the conference between the chief ministers of those two Kings, held for the purpose of stipulating marriage between the children of one and the other, has been dissolved without any decision.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 116, tergo.

65. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Ambassador in France.

Approve the judicious offices performed by him, especially because on hearing that the French Ambassador, Mons. De La Morette, had said in England that the Signory was persuading the Emperor to attack Greece, and make war on the Turk, he assured King Francis that they would never act thus, as they maintain and keep the peace stipulated by them with Sultan Solyman.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

66. Francesco Contarini, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the Signory.

Yesterday morning, when I went to the King, he said to me immediately, "Ambassador, we have good news; there are letters from the Emperor telling me of his good passage to Africa, that he has taken the 'water tower,' had some skirmishing, taken some pieces of artillery, and that the deposed King came and offered him 15,000 cavalry; but in the skirmishes, the Neapolitan Colonel, Count of Sarno, was killed; and they hoped shortly to send me some other good news."

I understand that in these letters the Emperor complains greatly of the most Christian King, saying that the cannon balls fired at the Imperial forces are stamped with the lily, but that as he is now fighting for all Christendom, he trusts th eAlmighty will have more power than any one else.

The Landgrave of Hesse was the cause of the capture of Munster, for the soldiers encamped under the town, not having received their pay, were about to disband, and the Landgrave gave them one instalment from his own money, whereupon they stormed and took the city; so that he is much praised by everybody.

Vienna, 23rd July 1535.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

67. The Doge and College to Hironimo Zuccato, Venetian Secretary in England.

Have received several sets of his letters, which were very acceptable to them, and commend his diligence in acquainting them copiously with whatever occurs. His last were dated the 5th instant

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Enclose summaries of news from Constantinople, dated the 17th and 19th ultimo.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. 56, p. 122.

68. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Have seen by his letters of the 2nd instant, that amongst the measures carried in consistory for proceeding against the most Serene King of England, by reason of his having put to death the Cardinal of Rochester, a bull is being drawn up against the aforesaid King—reproving, reproaching, and excommunicating him, &c., (*ch el aggrava regrava excommunica, etc.,*); and that to this bull there is also added a clause interdicting him and his kingdom from trading with any Christian nation, which clause seeming important to Venetian merchants trafficking in England, he (Surian) had recourse to Cardinal Pisani, and requests further orders from the Signory. Charge him, should he see that his Holiness purposes persevering in these acts against said King, continuing and proceeding so far as to issue the bull, at any rate with the clause concerning the interdict, to confer with the Pope, and pray him in the Signory's name, respecting the interdict of commerce, to grant the Venetian merchants sufficient time to remove their merchandise from that kingdom, according to his Holiness's intention, that all Christians may abstain from trading there; assuring the Pope that solely on account of the extensive business transacted by the Venetians in England, have they been moved to make this demand of his Holiness for time, and not from any other cause.

This he is to do, as aforesaid, in case the above-mentioned acts against the King of England be carried into effect; but otherwise not to say another word on the subject.

Ayes, 150. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

69. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Wurtemberg has arrived by water to avoid passing through the territory of the Dukes of Bavaria, as they are on bad terms on account of his wife. His attendants came by land, being in number some 120 horsemen, and they will prepare for the ceremony of the investiture.

Vienna, 7th August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

70. The SAME to the SAME.

Congratulated the King on the capture of Goletta.

The last letters from the Emperor state that a galley's boat (*una regata*) was captured with an envoy from the King of France on his way to Barbarossa with letters, which the Emperor read and sent them back by the envoy to the King, nor can he digest these evil offices.

1535.

On the day before, the King of the Romans, habited as an Archduke of Austria, gave investiture to the Duke of Wurtemberg. When the Turkish ambassador was here lately, the gentleman appointed by the King to keep him company, inquired what plan could be devised to unite his faith with ours, and he replied, "It would be a very easy matter—you must send away all your priests and friars, and we will do the like by ours, whereupon all would believe in one and the same God; but your priesthood bewilder your brains, and we are in the like predicament." This was told me by the Bishop of Laybach, to whom I said, laughing, that I did not think it became him to circulate this project in Germany, as he knew how easily it might be realized. The Turk's words reached the ears of the Duke, who was delighted with them, because it seemed to him that he himself was a wise man, for he had already carried them admirably into effect by rendering what used to be a poor county a very rich duchy, he having, it is supposed, derived upwards of 80,000 florins revenue from the property of priests and friars; so whether the Council be held or not, he has no idea of giving back one farthing.

Vienna, 11th August 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 136.

71. COMMISSION from DOGE ANDREA GRITI to the Nobleman LORENZO BRAGADINO.

Bragadino having been elected ambassador at Rome in the stead of Antonio Surian, LL.D. and knight, on arriving there is to visit each of the Cardinals, presenting letters of credence from the Signory.

To perform the like office with the ambassadors from the Emperor, from the most Christian King, from the Kings of the Romans and of England, and also with the ambassadors of the other Princes at the Roman Court.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 9. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

72. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

Enclose the summary of their last letters from Constantinople dated 27th, 28th, and 29th August, which are to be communicated to the King.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

73. The SAME to the SAME.

Acquaint him with the contents of letters received from their "Bailo" at Constantinople. To communicate them to the King.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

74. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Although I went with the King to meet and pay my respects to the Elector, the Duke of Saxony, on the day of his arrival, I thought it my duty to go and see him at his house, paying due compliments,

1535.

and reminding him of the close friendship between the Republic and all his predecessors, especially since the visit to Venice in 1493 of his late father's brother the Elector Frederick.

His Excellency caused me to be graciously answered by Dom. Francesco Vinacense, a very learned man, but the disciple and pupil of Melancthon.

This Duke of Saxony is 32 years old, and has to wife the daughter of the Duke of Cleves and Juliers, who bore him two sons. Besides all his other titles of Elector, Lord Marshal, &c., he is now head of the whole Lutheran sect. Every morning as soon as he is dressed he hears the sermon in his public eating room ;* he does not hear Mass, save when he communicates, and the Mass is ordained after the manner of his own doctors of divinity, who are Martin [Luther], Melancthon, and his companions, who however are not here, but there are here five others, Agricola (and he is the one who preaches at present), Spalatin (*sic*), the aforesaid Francesco (Vinacense), and two others. Martin has remained at home with his wife, who was a nun, and according to their account is a very handsome and virtuous young woman,† and has borne him two sons ; and when talking with this identical Spalatin, with whom it behoved me to contract a slight intimacy, to try if through his means I could ascertain anything about the cession of Belgrade and Castlenovo, I told him that one of these two sons of Martin would by rights be Antichrist, being born of a friar and a nun, and having such a father as Martin.

The motto of the Duke of Saxony, and of the Dukes of Luxemburg and Mecklenburg, and of other lords who have accompanied him, is still—

" Verbum Domini manet in æternum,"

and round his coins (one of which I enclose that your Serenity may see his effigy) are the words—

" Spes mea in Deo est."

Vienna, 2nd November 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

75. Lorenzo Bragadino, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Signory.

The right reverend Cardinals appointed for the affair of the King of England (*sopra la cosa del Rè d' Ingeltera*) assembled on the 4th and drew up the minute of a bull against the said King, depriving him of his kingdom and interdicting trade. It is true that they will grant a suitable term (which as yet, however, has not been specified) to the merchants to wind up their affairs on that island, which it will be endeavoured to prolong as much as possible.

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* In the original, "in la sua *stua*." "*Stua*" signifies a stove.

† In the Report of Rome (Paul III., 1535) by Antonio Surian (Series 2, vol. iii. p. 317,) it is stated that she was the sister of the famous diplomatist Nicholas Schomberg, Cardinal of Capua. According to the biographical dictionaries the name of Luther's wife was Catharine de Bora, and her marriage took place on the 11th June 1525.

1535.

The despatch of this business is much urged by the Imperial Ambassador, so that the Signory's merchants who have dealings in England must see to their affairs quickly.

Rome, 7th November 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

76. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

This morning in Consistory some churches in France were conferred, the Bull against the King of England being also discussed, but as it had not been seen by all the Cardinals, the matter will be despatched at the next consistory.

Rome, 8th November 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

77. The SAME to the SAME.

The Bull against the most Serene King of England has not yet been seen by all the Cardinals, and this very day it was presented to Cardinal Pisani.

Rome, 16th November 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Senato Mar, v. xxiii. p. 109.

78. IMPORTATION of ENGLISH WOOL.

Put to the ballot,—

All persons Venetian citizens, as also aliens, to be empowered to export wools to our city, from England, Flanders, and Brabant, during one year from this present time, whether by land or sea, by any ship or vessels, Venetian or foreign, including those already on the way [home?], as likewise such as have departed [on the way out?]; they are to pay one third to our arsenal, as the year during which the freights were pledged to the Flanders Galleys of the last voyage has expired.*

Ayes, 158. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 8.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File No. 4 B.

79. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Cardinals of the French faction have so opposed the Bull against England that it has not yet been read in Consistory; the Emperor's sister, the Queen Maria, governess of the Low Countries, also discounsels its publication by reason of the great profit derived by the Flemings from the trade with England.

Rome, 27th November 1535.

[*Italian.*]

* It has been mentioned elsewhere in these Calendars, that to secure the carrying trade for the Flanders galleys, English merchandize, brought to Venice during their voyages, paid to the masters of the galleys one third of the freight to which they would have been entitled for conveyance of the goods; and it is now seen that when the Flanders galleys renounced their voyages, the tax was claimed by the arsenal.

1535.
December.
MS. Report in the Venetian Archives.

80. REPORT of FRANCE made to the SENATE by the Ambassador MARIN GIUSTINIAN.

For several reasons, the most Christian King maintains a close friendship with the King of England. In the first place, because any war he might undertake would be impeded by the English unless they were his friends, they being greatly feared by the French, (and ten Englishmen are in fact a match for twenty Frenchmen) (*ed in effetto dieci Inglesi vagliano per vinti Francesi*);* and because, heretofore, they conquered France so that nothing remained to the King but Orleans, and hence comes the title of King of France, which is assumed by the King of England, because after taking Paris he had himself crowned there; and the English having restored Normandy, the French crown gives them annually as census or tribute 50,000 crowns *perpetuis temporibus*. Secondly, the great treasure said to be possessed by King Henry, renders him a good confederate in any war. Therefore King Francis seeks his alliance, the common enemy uniting them, it being notorious that his most Christian Majesty has no greater enemy than the Emperor, whom the King of England in like manner has not only offended, but expects daily to be invaded by him, which causes these two Kings to unite willingly, the position of their territories rendering it easy for them to molest and seize Flanders through their friendship with the Duke of Guelders. In addition to this, the two Crowns have formed a friendship together, because both one and the other have a scarcity of friends, the most Christian King having deserted his allies in 1530 at the Congress of Cambrai, whither he went for the recovery of his sons; and the King of England lost his friends, by repudiating Queen Katharine, the Emperor's aunt, and by alienating the Church property. The fear of the Emperor, which is common to both Kings, and consideration for his Kingdom which renders King Henry suspicious of the Emperor (*et l'interesse che ha il Re d'Inghilterra del Regno suo per l'Imperator* (*sic*),) join the two Crowns together for resistance against a common enemy; but distrust arises between them, the King of England being apprehensive lest the Emperor allying himself with France may give his most Christian Majesty the Duchy of Milan, and thus break the confederation whenever he pleases. This same distrust may be entertained by other Powers, who might wish to adhere to France rather than to the Emperor. Therefore the King of England and his Ministers seek to make marriage between Angoulême and the daughter of the new Queen, and thus to give King Francis so deep an interest in England that King Henry may no longer fear lest the Emperor bribe him with the Duchy of Milan. The Bishop of Winchester [Gardyner], Bryan, and Wallop are ambassadors in France to treat, and in fact the English would wish for war with the Emperor provided the French move quickly (*venissero da buone gambe*), thus anticipating the war with which they are threatened

* Marin Giustinian was well able to form a just estimate of the comparative merits of the two nations. As a young man he resided in England for four years (1515–1519), during the embassy of his father Sebastian Giustinian; and in after-life, as seen by the present report, he was himself ambassador in France from 1532 to 1535–6.

1535.

at home, by an attack on the Imperial dominions; and it is said the English would come into Italy and Flanders, and defray one third of the expense.

The most Christian King seems averse to this war, either because he wishes to obtain better terms, or await greater opportunities; but as the Pope purposes proceeding against England, and the Emperor intends to execute the sentence, the King is compelled to adhere to France.*

Venice, December? 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

81. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Long audience of three hours with his Holiness, who told him that as the head of Christendom, which is so harassed by Sultan Solyman, by the rivalry and discord between the Emperor and the King of France, by the schismatic King of England, and also on account of the Duchy of Milan,† he requested your Serenity to to give him your opinion and advice, as he placed great trust in the judgment of the Senate, by reason of its prudence, and of the love it had always demonstrated towards him.

Rome, 5th December 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

82. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

The Apostolic Nuncio, Vergerio, arrived yesterday. He has made a five months' tour throughout Germany. He went to all the towns on the Rhine, to Flanders as far as the ocean, then to Bohemia and Saxony, and finally to all the parts of Germany. He held a conference with Martin, and was much more honoured and caressed by the Lutherans than by the Catholics. According to his account he has important things to communicate; he says he shall depart speedily, being summoned by the Pope to Rome, to report the whole of his negotiations. He believes that the Council will be held speedily. He has discovered that Martin was begotten of the Devil.

Vienna, 8th December 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

83. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Letters were received from the French Court. The King was better; he had given audience to the English ambassador, and was to go to mass. Although no open demonstration of war is made, his Majesty says he will enter Italy in great force, and take the chief command, provided your Serenity be on his side, according to the hope given him by the Pope.

Mons. de Lange has departed for Germany.

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* This report was published in Paris, A.D. 1838, by M. N. Tommaseo, and in 1839 by Eugenio Alberi, and I have thus been enabled to correct some mistakes in the copy preserved amongst the State Papers of Venice.

1535

Yesterday Consistory sat until after the 22nd hour. The Bull against the King of England was read. Many objections having been made to it, its despatch was delayed, and they ordered it to be amended, not a little to the indignation of his Holiness.

Concerning the adjustment between the Emperor and the most Christian King, the former he does not choose the Milanese to be given, either to the Duke of Angoulême, or to the other son of the most Christian King. The proposal made by the Imperial ambassador in France to give the most Christian King the Milanese, provided he would abandon the King of England, was not made by the order of the Emperor, who was prepared to give King Francis the Kingdom of England for one of his sons, on condition of his taking for wife the Princess [Mary], daughter of the first Queen; and in addition the Emperor would give him a pension on the Milanese. This seems to me hard to believe, but it is my duty nevertheless, to acquaint your Serenity with all that I hear, most especially on good authority, leaving you to form your own opinion on the matter. The French agents suspect the Emperor of giving them words, and gaining time to arrange his affairs, so that whereas at first they seemed to hope for some adjustment, they are now disappointed; nor do they cease daily urging the Pope to devise some form of agreement whereby to recover the Milanese.

Rome, 11th December 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

84. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Pope has confirmed to me the speedy arrival of the Emperor, which he expects will take place in the middle of next month,* and he also confirmed the offer of the Kingdom of England as made by the Emperor to the King of France. Expressed surprise to his Holiness that the Emperor should offer so large and powerful a kingdom, together with a pension on the Duchy of Milan; and that the King of France should not accept so great a bargain (*si largo partito*). The Pope rejoined, that in the first place the King of France suspects that the Emperor would not keep the promise which he makes solely for the purpose of detaching him from the King of England. In the next place it seems impossible to King Francis that a Frenchman should rule England, and therefore he does not seem to intend giving ear to this proposal. The King of England has sent his most Christian Majesty (to use the Pope's own words) "*carte blanche*, offering him a large sum of money and a number of troops, both infantry and cavalry, should he choose to wage war on the Emperor, but as yet the King of France has merely answered him in general terms, and waits to see what we may be able to do with the Emperor, as we intend to treat this matter with his Imperial Majesty, nor will we that it be negotiated by others."†

* The Emperor arrived at Rome on the 5th of April 1536. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

† "Mi confirmò che la venuta di Cesare qui saria molto presta, existimai chel habbi da esser alla mità del mese futuro, et confirma il partito che porge lo Imperator al Re di

1535.

The Pope then asked me if I had any news from your Serenity about the Milanese; I said I had not. He told me his Nuncio departed on the 11th on his way to your Serenity; and it then being time for his Holiness to robe for chapel, I took leave.

Rome, 13th December 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Senato Mar, v. xxiii. p. 115, tergo.

85. IMPORTATION of ENGLISH CLOTHS.

Put to the ballot,—

All merchants, both natives and aliens, to be empowered for one year from this date to export white cloths from England for this city, either by land or water, by any ship or vessel, Venetian or foreign, with the obligation to pay one third of the freights to our arsenal.

Ayes, 163. Noes, 16. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

86. The DOGE and COLLEGE to HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send him the summary of their last advices from Constantinople, which are to be communicated to the King.

Have received his letters of the 10th instant.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

87. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

On occasion of the Christmas holidays, his Majesty caused Prothonotary Casal to have rather more liberty than has been conceded him hitherto, and allowed him to speak to one of his servants, who has come from Italy to give him money, &c., but he is still in the castle of Citá Nova, where he was before.*

Vienna, 31st December 1535.

[*Italian.*]

Franza, esser il Regno de Ingelterra, et quello se contiene nelle alligate mie; et dicendo io a Sua Sant^{tà} che mi maravegliava della Cesarea M^{tà} che offerisce uno si grande, et potente regno, et pension sopra il Ducato di Milano, et del Re di Franza che non accettasse uno si largo partito, Disse il Re di Franza prima dubita che lo Imperator non li mantenga la parola, ma chè il tutto se faci a fine chel se discosti dal Re de Ang^{a}. Dapoi li par che questo sij impossibile che uno francese domini la Ang^{a} et però non mostra de voler attender al ditto partito, al qual Re di Franza il Re de Ang^{a} manda, per scriver le formal parole de sua Santità cartha bianca, et offerisce gran summa de danari et numero di gente, si da piedi come da cavallo, volendo far la guerra contro lo Imperator, ma esso Re di Franza fin hora non li ha data risposta alcuna salvo general, et aspetta quanto si potrà operar per noi con lo Imperator perchè nui volemo trattar questa materia con sua Cesarea M^{ta} non volemo che altri la tratti," etc.

* In vol. 7 State Papers (Part 5 continued, p. 641,) there is a letter from Francesco Casal to Cromwell, dated Rome, 10th of January 1536, containing a paragraph concerning the imprisonment of Prothonotary Casal, thus, "A mio fratello non hanno mai voluto che persona alcuna parli."

A.D. 1536.

1536.
Jan. 1.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

88. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Frenchmen here have given the Pope hopes that the King of England will return to the Catholic faith, in virtue of the good offices, past and present, of the most Christian King, who cajoles the English ambassadors, as heard through letters received from the Court of France (dated the 17th ultimo) by the Imperial ambassadors at Rome; and they are strongly urging his [most Christian?] Majesty to determine on the new confederacy (*intelligentia*), which *they wish him to conclude, and the King gives them fair words,* waiting to see what he can do here.

Rome, 1st January.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvi. p. 158.

89. COMMISSION from the DOGE and SENATE to MARCO MINIO, FEDERICO RHENIER, THOMÀ MOCENIGO, and NICOLÒ TIEPOLO, Ambassadors Extraordinary to the POPE.

To visit the Pope's son, the most illustrious Lord Pietro Alvise, and the Right Reverend Cardinals; to present letters of credence, and declare the Signory's good will towards them; and to perform the like office with the ambassadors from the Emperor, from the most Christian King, from the most Serene Kings of the Romans, of England, and of Portugal, now at the Court.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 9. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

90. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday morning I went to the King, whom I found clad in deep mourning, and it was told me his Majesty had this garb because on the preceding day he heard of the death of his aunt, the Queen of England; so in your Serenity's name I condoled on this demise, telling him it might be supposed that a saint had expired, her Majesty having always comported herself—especially in her adversity—with so much patience and wisdom, as known to the whole world. He answered me, "Ambassador! I say to you in truth—not because she was my aunt—rest assured (*sappiate*) that this lady was endowed with many more excellent qualities than are attributed to her, and we believe she died like a saint."

We then went to Mass, and his Majesty chose me to hear it from the chapel above, where there was no one but his Majesty, the Queen, and his sons and daughters, they likewise being all dressed in black. This death has caused the King much sorrow. In the afternoon I went to him again, and having communicated the news-letters from Constantinople, inquired through what channel he had heard of said Queen's death. He told me he had letters from his ambassador in England [Eustace Chapuys?], who a few days before went to visit her Majesty, whom he found much better (*molto megliorata*), and three days later wishing to visit her again, they told him it was unnecessary, as she was dead. I asked his

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Majesty what was heard about the Queen's daughter. He answered me, "We believe she is with the King, and fear that from grief for her mother's death, and from other causes, she also will die." He then complained a little of the King, in measured terms, how that for a harlot (to use his own words), he had repudiated so sage, virtuous, and sainted a wife, with whom he had lived upwards of twenty years; nor could his Majesty refrain from shedding tears.*

Inspruck, 3rd of February 1536.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 14.

91. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him the summary of letters lately received from Constantinople for communication as usual. His letters of the 8th and 9th January require no further reply.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

92. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Letters received from France dated the 5th instant. Besides the great preparations which are being made by the King, he has stipulated an agreement with the King of England, who promises to contribute in good part to the cost of the war; and he [the King of France?] charges Mons. de Vigli (*sic*) [De Veilly?], his ambassador with the Emperor, to tell his Imperial Majesty that he is willing to delay until the first of next month and not make any warlike stir; but De Vigli is to inform him that on the expiration of that term his most Christian Majesty chooses to be at liberty to act; and in case he [De Vigli] perceives any disposition on the part of the Emperor to make an agreement in fact and not in words, the King will send the Admiral to him. But it is thought that the Emperor delays this negotiation and the treaty concerning the Florentine emigrants, by words, in order to gain time to prepare himself for war; and that for this reason likewise he postpones his coming to Rome.

Rome, 12th of February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

93. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans, to the SIGNORY.

During the last two days, King Ferdinand has had the obsequies of the late most Serene Queen of England performed in very great state, as becoming her Majesty's grade. I was with the King during the whole of the ceremonies; and letters having arrived

* "Dimandai per che via l' havea intesa la morte della ditta Regina; mi disse tenir lettere del suo ambasciator in Inghelterra il quale era stato pochi giorni inanti a visitar la predetta Regina, la qual lui havea trovato esser molto megliorata, et de lì a tre zorni, volendo iterum tornar a visitarla, li fu ditto ch'l non accadeva perchè l'era morta. Dimandai a sua Maestà quello la intendeva della ser^ma^ sua fiola; mi rispose, "Credemo la sia con il Rè, et dubitamo etiam che per il dolor della madre et altri rispetti, che anche Lei mori." Si dolse poi un pocho honestamente del (*sic*) quel Ser^mo^ Re, che per una meretrice (per dir come disse sua Maestà) l' havesse repudiato una cusì savia honesta et santa moglier con la qual l' havea vivuto più de 20 anni; et non si potè contenir che non li vedesse le lachreme alli ochij."

1536.

lately from the Emperor, I asked him what news they contained, and he told me of the donation of a million and a half of gold from the kingdom of Naples, of the postponement of the Emperor's departure from that city, and that he had ordered a levy of 10,000 German infantry.

Inspruck, 16th of February, 1536.

[*Italian.*]

March 1.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

94. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Have received his letters of the 29th January, which need no reply; merely praise his assiduity. Enclose the summary of letters from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 22.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

95. The SAME to the SAME.

Received yesterday his letters of the 26th ulto., which need no reply; commend his diligence in giving them notice of English events. Enclose the summary of letters lately received from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 12.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no 15.

96. The SAME to the SAME.

Have lately received his letters of the 18th, which need no other reply, save greatly to praise his diligence. Enclose the summary of letters from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 21.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvii. p. 16.

97. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The letters from Rome, dated the 13th instant, inform us that the Pope has determined to assemble the Council in Mantua, at the beginning of next year, to make provision against the Lutheran heresies. These advices you will communicate to the magnificos the Bashaws.

Ayes, 179. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

May 1.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

98. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at Rome on the evening of the 29th ulto., and yesterday morning went to the Pope, with whom he remained until night. He assured his Holiness of the most Christian King's wish for peace; but he still abides by the first proposals made by the Emperor at Gaeta and Rimini to Mons. De Veilly, that the Duchy of Milan be conferred on the Duke of Orleans; nor was it until his arrival at Piacenza that the Cardinal of Lorraine heard that the Emperor had changed his mind, and will no longer give the Milanese to the Duke of Orleans, but solely to the Duke of Angoulême. The Cardinal also remonstrated mildly against the agreement made by the Pope with the Emperor, and

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his Holiness complained greatly that the French on their part make this difficulty about the substitution of one son for the other; and he then justified all his proceedings with the Emperor; but disagreeing on the first point they did not discuss any other particulars. His Holiness has renounced his proposed journey to Bologna; his kinsfolk were all averse to it, and they are supported by the astrologers, in whom the Pope has always placed some trust, which he still maintains.

I went this morning to visit the Cardinal of Lorraine, who told me he should return to the Emperor in two days and then go to France; and that the Pope will remain here, until the negotiation for peace assume a fair aspect. The French partisans here say that the Emperor told the Cardinal of Lorraine he would have given the Milanese to the Duke of Orleans, but his Italian confederates do not permit him to do so.

The Count of Cifuentes has received letters from the Emperor, dated S. Cassano the 25th ulto., narrating the negotiations of the Cardinal of Lorraine, thus.—On Wednesday the 26th (*sic*) he went to the Emperor at Siena and said his King was well inclined towards peace, provided then Milanese be given to the Duke of Orleans, according to the intention announced to the Emperor by Mons. de Veilly; the King giving good security for the observance of his promises, but requiring payment to him for life, of the revenues of the Milanese. The Emperor replied he did not know what valid security could be given, if the Duchy remain in the hands of the Duke of Orleans; and assigned the same reasons to the Pope.

Next day the Cardinal returned with the ambassador, Vigli [De Veilly?], making the same proposal, and laying before the Emperor the perils of the war, and complaining that he was negotiating with the King of England, and had made a league with your Serenity. The Emperor justified himself amply on all these points, showing that his sole wish was to make peace with King Francis, and to be his good kinsman and friend, so as to enable him (the Emperor) to undertake the expedition against Algiers this year, after which they might unite against the Turk. The Cardinal of Lorraine, not having farther instructions, said he would come hither to the Pope, and after speaking with his Holiness, return to the Emperor and then to France, to use his good offices for the aforesaid peace.

Rome, 1st May 1536.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

99. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On the 21st, by way of Lyons, the merchants received letters announcing that the King of England had caused the Queen Anne, with her father and brother, to be arrested on suspicion of adultery. This intelligence was not credited, but has since been confirmed, and a prelate who at the time of the divorce suit was the proctor of the true Queen of England, the Emperor's aunt, lately deceased, assured me that he yesterday received letters from Queen Maria,

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the Emperor's sister, Governess of the Low Countries, dated the 6th instant, acquainting him with this.

The bull concerning the Council will be published on Whitsunday, nor until then can a copy of its contents be obtained.

Rome, 26th May.

[*Italian.*]

May 26.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

100. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

No reply to make to his last letters of the 2nd and 3rd instant; commend his diligence in giving them notice of what occurs; to continue doing so.

Enclose letters from Constantinople dated the 14th ult. To communicate the same to the King and other personages as usual.

[*Italian.*]

May 31.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

101. The SAME to the SAME.

Send the summary of letters from Constantinople dated 29th April for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

June 10.
Senato Mar, v. xxiii. p. 137.

102. DECREE of the SENATE concerning the VENETIAN SECRETARY in ENGLAND.

It has been omitted to give our most faithful secretary Hieronimo Zuccato in England anything for the purchase of horses, as is usually given to all our ambassadors and secretaries.

Put to the ballot,—That of the monies set apart for ambassadors 50 ducats be given to our said most faithful secretary for the purchase of saddle-horses.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvii. p. 27.

103. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

To communicate to the magnificos the Bashaws, that the King of England having discovered that the most serene Queen had committed adultery, he by legal process (*per via della iustitia*) caused her to be beheaded, as also her brother and four of his Majesty's most confidential servants (*più intimi servitori*), having previously deprived the Queen of her title.

Ayes, 163.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

104. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Have received his letters of the 20th ult. Commend his diligence. The Senate has voted him 50 ducats for the purchase of horses. Enclose summaries of the letters lately received by them from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

1536.
June 18.
Despatches, Venetian Archives. File no. 4 B.

105. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Letters from France, dated the 8th instant, announce that the negotiation of the marriage of the English King's daughter, by the late Queen Katharine, is far advanced (*è molto stretta*); and that the most Christian King has already 8,000 Switzers, and will engage 14,000 more, besides a good number of Lansquenets, part of whom have passed through the Swiss towns; thus his most Christian Majesty shows himself well prepared and resolute.

Rome, 18th June.

[*Italian.*]

June 23.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

106. The SAME to the SAME.

The Pope asked me what was said at Venice about the powerful armies of the Emperor and the King of France; and what seemed to me important is, that he said the King of England has promised the King of France the most efficient succour for the defence of the kingdom, but for the rest chooses to be neutral.

Rome, 23rd June.

[*Italian.*]

July 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

107. DOGE ANDREA GRITI to KING HENRY VIII.

As fittingly to express by letter the joy he experienced on receiving the news of the King's marriage, would perhaps render him too tedious, he has charged the circumspect Hieronimo Zuchato, his very faithful secretary resident in England, to present himself to his Majesty, and respectfully to congratulate him in his (the Doge's) name on the event; requesting that the King will deign to give the secretary unquestionable credence. He therefore prays the Almighty to prosper this marriage, so that the King may have such progeny as to satisfy his very reasonable wish, proving also to the advantage, delight, and ornament of the very flourishing realm of England.

[*Latin.*]

July 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

108. DOGE ANDREA GRITI to the most Serene QUEEN OF ENGLAND [JANE SEYMOUR].

By reason of his perpetual observance towards the most Serene King of England, rejoiced extremely to hear that he had married her Majesty, and most especially understanding that she is amply adorned with such religious and mental endowments as to render her eminently worthy of that supreme dignity and [good] fortune. He therefore congratulates her Majesty, and prays the Almighty that from so auspicious and fortunate a marriage such lineage may ensue as to gratify her Majesty, and the general wish of the illustrious kingdom of England. Lest perchance he should be too prolix in duly setting forth his joy, as becoming, has charged his most faithful and circumspect secretary, Hieronymo Zuchato, resident there, to state it more fully by word of mouth in his (the Doge's)

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name, and requests her Majesty to vouchsafe him indubitable credence.

[*Latin.*]

July 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

109. The DOGE AND COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Have received his letters of the 10th ulto., with very full accounts of the marriage of the most Serene King and Madam (*Madamma*) Jane, whom his Majesty has accepted as his legitimate wife, and Queen of England, with all possible rejoicings, the coronation being appointed for St. John's day. Although the Signory is convinced that he (Zuccato) in their name, will have performed such office of congratulation with the King and Queen as due, according to the intention announced by him; they nevertheless, to testify their satisfaction and observance towards their Majesties, chose immediately to write the accompanying congratulatory letters as by the enclosed copy. He is to present them first to the King and then to the Queen, expatiating by word of mouth on the Republic's extreme satisfaction and joy, and very great desire that from a marriage of such celebrity his Majesty may have offspring to his satisfaction.

In reply to the other parts of his letter, have only to commend, as hitherto.

Enclose the summary of their last letters from Constantinople, which he will communicate to the King.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.
Despatches Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

110. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Although these Frenchmen represent their affairs as very flourishing, I nevertheless hear through a sure channel, that hitherto the King of England remains neutral, nor has he yet determined to join the King for the defence of the kingdom, although the Pope assured me of the contrary. Hitherto, the greater part of the Swiss Cantons have been neutral, and the Switzers now in the King's pay were not levied in the usual manner, but went to serve his most Christian Majesty without leave from their masters.

Rome, 8th July.

[*Italian.*]

July 14.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

111. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Having received letters from Constantinople, dated the 11th ulto., about the putting to sea of Barbarossa, send their summary for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

July 21.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. lvii. p. 35.

112. The DOGE AND SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from England we understand that most Serene King, after beheading Queen Anne, as you will have learned by the last [advices], has taken to wife and proclaimed as Queen a gentlewoman by name Madame Jane, daughter of a Knight [Sir John Seymour], a

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private English gentleman. These advices we charge you to communicate as usual to the magnificos the Bashaws.

Ayes, 148. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Despatches Venetian Archives, File No. 4 B.

113. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Pope has letters from France, dated the 9th instant, informing him that the King was very powerful, and that should the Emperor invade France he [King Francis] would immediately have the most Serene King of England in his favour.

Rome, 22nd July.

[*Italian.*]

July 30? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in vol. i. pp. 467–470. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," Ed. Brescia, 1752.

114. REGINALD POLE to POPE PAUL III.*

Has received his Holiness's brief, dated 27th July, announcing that he has nominated the Council as a remedy for the ills of Christendom. For this returns thanks to God, congratulates the Pope, and anticipates the best result from such a measure. Promises to assist the Pope, with the other persons called to aid him with their counsel, in whatever may relate to the future assembly. Is however surprised at having been summoned, having never aspired to similar offices, of which he believes himself unworthy, for when summoned heretofore he alleged causes and pretexts (*tergiversationes*) for not obeying, nor cared subsequently to preserve the Pope's good disposition by letters or messengers. This good disposition being neither withdrawn nor diminished affords great proof of the Pope's graciousness and affability; but on the present occasion the Pope has written to him so stringently that it is not possible to find excuse of any sort, unless (which God forbid) he chose to break every tie of subjection to the vicar of Christ. He will, therefore, obey the call willingly, bearing in mind by whom it is made and for what purpose. But what will the King of England think of this journey? will it not offend him? This thought harasses him, for to this King, heretofore the delight of the Church and well deserving of the religion, more so than any other Prince, he rendered and will always render all the offices due from a subject to his sovereign, and from a son to his father. God grant that the King may be converted, though, to say the truth, of this he sees no indication; yet he does not despair, thinking of his excellent disposition, of his religious education, and of the many prayers made for him, especially as a Council of the whole of Christendom is now being formed; nor will God allow it to take place without the obedience *tam preciosæ ovis*, and of so noble a realm as England. This is the object of his hopes and prayers.

Paduan Territory, 30th July 1536?

[*Latin*, 60 *lines.*]

* Reginald Pole was created Cardinal by Paul III. on 22nd December 1536, five months after the date of this letter. His eldest brother Henry Pole, Lord Montague, was executed on the 9th January 1539; and his mother, Countess of Salisbury, shared the same fate (at the age of 70) on the 27th May 1541.

1536.
August 4.
Despatches. Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

115. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The King of England has sent the Duke of Norfolk to declare war on the Emperor, in case he invade France, and has already commenced monthly contributions. The King of France has as many Switzers as he wants, and it is also said that in Picardy, Mons. de Vendome had routed the Imperial troops, commanded by Mons. de Roeux, in such wise that Mons. de Nassau, who was on the way to succour him, had halted.

Rome, 4th August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. i. pp. 477–479. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Date 10th Aug. 1536, but see Beccatello, Life of Pole, p. 863, where the date is 1535.

116. REGINALD POLE to GIOVANNI MATTEO GIBERTI, Bishop of Verona.

Had not he (Giberti) at this season been visiting his diocese, would have gone to him at Verona, wishing to regain the time lost by his departure thence owing to the unexpected coming of that messenger from England; for he is much hampered by these affairs, and many others threaten him (*tum vero ea me circumstant negotia, et plura impendent*), so that he longs for nothing more than to discuss them with him (Giberti), whom he ranks among his chief friends.

Some ten days ago, another courier was sent to him express (*per equos dispositos*), with letters, whereby Cromwell, by whose will the King now reigns, (*cujus arbitrio Rex nunc regnat*) [query, who now rules the King] writes to him in the King's name, sending also a letter from Tunstall, Bishop of Durham,* a person well known (he believes) to Giberti, and who is now considered the greatest of English scholars (*nunc in Anglia primas in literis tribuunt*), assigning this letter as the cause for despatching the courier with such speed; Tunstall's object being, by the arguments and reasons stated in his letter, to convert Pole from the opinion maintained in his books, concluding with impassionate entreaties, beseeching him for the honour of his family, for the love of his country, lest England, lately rescued from the yoke of servitude (such being the title given by him to the obedience which she rendered to the Roman Pontiff), be again replaced by him in slavery, and under the same yoke. Tunstall alleges many things to this effect, expecting him (Pole) to be greatly moved by them, but all their projects (*cogitationes*) were anticipated by God, who the more they study to turn him aside from the known truth, the more they confirm him in it. Therefore, answered Tunstall's letter immediately the courier came express, and by express sent the reply, and whilst writing it, he received letters from Rome, whereby the Pope ordered him to go thither. It seems that the Pope wishes to try whether he (Pole) will maintain by deed, what he so strongly asserted in words, concerning his authority, and the tie of their obedience. Wrote this immediately to the Catholics (*ad nostros*) in England, sending them a copy of the Papal letter, and also of his reply, whereby he promised, in a cause so great and important (*in*

* Letter dated 13th of July 1536. (Cotton MSS., Cleop. E. VI. p. 385.)

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tam gravi et amplâ causâ), not to fail in his duty, and at any rate to go as the Pope commanded him. From his Holiness's letter, learns that during this winter the Pope will hold in Rome a meeting of Theologians (*doctorum hominum*), summoned by him to discuss those matters which will be hereafter treated in the yet more august Council which will be attended by Legates of all the provinces. Knows himself unworthy to appear in such an assembly, but being called for such a cause he must obey. He wrote against this sentence [the Act of Supremacy?], which he knows will displease the King.* But what could he do? "*Si hominibus placerem*," etc. Hears that he (Giberti) also, has been called to Rome, which pleases him greatly, and yet more would it please him, if, after being called thither, matters should not only be decreed, but moreover executed, according to the advice of him (Giberti) and those who resemble him; but these things depend on the will of God. Should he (Giberti) have determined to go, wishes to know the time of his departure, and if a little delayed, he might perhaps accompany him. The Abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore [Gregorio Cortese], is also summoned, and invited him (Pole) to accompany him, but he purposes departing sooner than he (Pole) can be ready, as he will set out at the end of August, having arranged to pass some days with the Archbishop of Salerno, whereas he (Pole) does not purpose quitting Rovelona and its neighbourhood until the end of September. Requests him (Giberti) to acquaint him with his intentions. "Farewell. From our Paradise: for such, in truth, may I call this place where I now reside, both on account of the pleasant country and most delightful hills, and yet more by reason of the companions whose society I enjoy here; for Marco Monaco brought me hither a good twenty days ago, and most willingly do I listen to his discourse on the divine word, as on no subject does he speak more willingly; so what with his own words and those of his companions who are imbued with the same spirit, I hear nothing but the praise of God; and in this delicious spot, I fancy myself with my Maker in Paradise. Again, farewell."

Rovelona, in the Euganæan Hills, 10th August 1536.

[*Latin*, 64 *lines*.]

August 11.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. lviii. p. 145.

117. MAPHIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

That considering the importance of the law-suit between the nobleman Ser Maphio Bernardo and those individuals Di Scudi, it be carried that after the despatch of the Vincentini cause, which is now being tried in the Criminal Court of the Forty, the said cause of Bernardo and Scudi be immediately brought before the said court and despatched.

Ayes, 12. No, 1. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian*.]

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* "In hanc sententiam ad eos nonnulla scripsi que scio illi minime placitura. Sed quid agam?" Pole is probably alluding to some passage in his book entitled, "De ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione libri quatuor ad Henricum Octavum Britanniæ Regem." (See Epist. Vol. I. p. 478.)

1536.
August 14.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

118. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to to the SIGNORY.

King Francis is in very close negotiation with the King of England, who is well inclined to form an alliance with him, but solely for the defence of the kingdom of France.

News have been received here of the death of the English King's natural son.

Rome, 14th August.

[*Italian.*]

August 16.
Despatches, Venetian Archives. File no. 4 B.

119. The SAME to the SAME.

With regard to the King of England, he has sent a herald to the Emperor, but does not act sincerely, giving words to one party and the other, thinking that the war between these Princes adds to his repute, and that both will be compelled to pay him great respect; nor does the Emperor fail to make him very large offers of giving him any part of France he pleases; and according to appearances the King of England would wish the Emperor and King of France to appoint him sole mediator for the peace between them.

Rome, 16th August.

[*Italian.*]

August 23.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvii. p. 52.

120. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Concerning the King of England, it is said that he has written to the Emperor offering himself as mediator for the disputes between his Imperial Majesty and the most Christian King, and awaits a reply.

Ayes, 192. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

August 26.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

121. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to to the SIGNORY.

By a letter from the Right Rev. Triultio, in France, dated the 12th, it is heard that since the death of the Dauphin, the King inclines towards peace, and continues to affirm that England will be in his favour with regard to defence.

Rome, 26th August.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

122. The SAME to the SAME.

Has heard through a good channel that amongst the articles of peace proposed by the King to the Emperor, is one stipulating the inclusion of the King of England, about which the Pope complained greatly to the French ambassador, who apologized, saying that this will be the commencement for leading him to the good road and causing him to become a true Christian.

Rome, 11th September.

[*Italian.*]

1536.
Oct. 27.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

123. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Verona [Gian Matteo Giberti] requests the Republic to exempt him from payment of the tenths, according to the tenor of the brief conceded by the present Pope, by so much the more, as the little he possesses is all employed for the benefit of persons truly poor, the amount however being now small, as he has lost 5,000 ducats annual revenue, from his resignation of the bishopric in France, and through the loss of other benefices in England.

Rome, 27th October.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

124. The SAME to the SAME.

The Rev. French Ambassador is informed by letters from his court, dated the 23rd ult., that the most Christian King proceeds more slowly than at first with regard to giving his daughter to the King of Scotland, because the King of England, in order to thwart this marriage, now makes fresh proposals and various offers to his most Christian Majesty, who is going [from Moulins] to Blois, and then to Paris and into Picardy.

Rome, 7th November.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

125. The SAME to the SAME.

The Pope having heard lately of the disturbances and insurrection in England against the King, sent off in haste the bull depriving him of his kingdom, absolving his subjects from their oath, and excommunicating all those who serve his Majesty or adhere to him; of which bull I gave notice to your Serenity on the 7th and 16th November, and on the 11th December 1535. Concerning these English affairs, letters have been received from Lyons, to the effect that the rebels are more powerful (*più possenti*) than ever, and in the field they had a Duke (*sic*) as their commander, who was likewise powerful (*potente*), [but ?] hesitated to give battle because he did not know whom to trust.

Rome, 27th November.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30.
Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

126. The SAME to the SAME.

Letters from Madame Maria,* dated Antwerp the 12th, about the affairs of England, purport that when the first insurrection broke out, the King sought to quiet it by means of the Duke of Norfolk, and pardoned the rebels, promising to inflict no punishment, notwithstanding which, his Majesty caused some 50 of the ring-leaders to be executed, so that the rebels rose a second time, and not merely those in the North, but also a great number of others in another quarter of the Island, so that altogether they were much more numerous than they had been at first, the Duke of Norfolk having joined them (*sic*),† seeing that the King had broken

* Maria of Austria, Queen widow of Hungary, Governess of the Low Countries.

† "Con li quali si è accostato il Duca prefato vedendo ch' el Re li havea rotta la

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faith to them, and they had seized several places; and the stir was of such importance that the King withdrew to London.

The Pope has great hopes that matters will proceed prosperously for the rebels.

Rome, 30th November.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

127. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Letters from the Court of France, dated the 18th ult., announce the conclusion of the marriage of the King of Scotland to the daughter of the most Christian King, with the consent (*di volonta*) of the King of England; and that the rebels were closely negotiating their agreement with the King, and the insurrection is supposed to be at an end.

A negotiation is on foot for the marriage of the Princess of England—born of the old Queen—(the King her father promising to have her declared legitimate by the Parliament) to the late Duke of Angoulême, now Duke of Orleans, son of the most Christian King, who I am assured is not much inclined towards it.

Rome, 6th December.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File no. 4 B.

128. The SAME to the SAME.

On the morning of the 8th, the Pope sent for the prelates appointed by him for the affairs of the Council, and announced his intention to them, namely, that he would hold it at any rate, although the Lutherans persist in their determination to oppose it; and he desired them to think about the reform of the court. The prelates in question are the Archbishop of Salerno; Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras; Verona [Matteo Giberti]; the Lord Reginald Pole (*il Sig. Renaldo Polo*); and the Abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice [Gregorio Cortese]. Chieti* is still weak, though apparently recovered from his illness, but nevertheless he cannot yet transact business.

Rome, 10th December.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File No. 4 B.

129. The SAME to the SAME.

Letters from the Court of France, dated the 1st, and from Lyons on the 5th, announce that the marriage contract of the King of Scotland with Madame Madelaine, the daughter of the most Christian King, was stipulated with the consent of the King of England, who gave it when the rebels on the island were armed and in force, but the insurrection being now quelled, according to the French advices, he sent to revoke his consent, but this second order did not arrive in time.

* Gianpietro Caraffa, Archbishop of Chieti (Vite de' Cardinali, vol. iv. p. 163).

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His most Christian Majesty is intent on amassing money, and strengthens the army in Picardy as much as he can, with the intention of waging the war in those parts, in the hope (it is supposed) that by making an attack in that quarter the King of England will assist him by bearing part of the expense.

Rome, 16th December.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File No. 4 B.

130. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Pope is informed by letters from England, dated the 20th November, that the rebels are more powerful than ever, and, in number 40,000, and that they have told the Duke of Norfolk, who interposed to quiet matters, that they insist on the revocation of all the statutes of the realm which have bee passed during the last seven years, and that the King return to the Catholic faith, but that as yet there was no hope of this. The rebel forces increase daily, the King being in danger, and the writer of the letter recommends the Pope to send Reginald Pole, now created Cardinal, as Legate to England, with money for distribution amongst the poor people, as the affairs of the Church will proceed most prosperously.

Rome, 22nd December.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File No. 4 B.

131. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 22nd acquainted your Serenity with the creation by the Pope of nine Cardinals, to six of whom,* on the morning of the 23rd, he gave the hat in public consistory.

By the last advices from Lyons, dated the 12th, it is heard that the rebellion in England has not quite subsided, though it is not so active as appeared by the letters which the Pope had read in consistory when the creation of Cardinals was discussed.

His Holiness has determined to send the sword to the King of Scotland, who offers to march against the King of England with all his forces in favour of the Church, and make a vigorous attack, being always ready to do the Pope every other service. The sword and hat were blessed by his Holiness as usual on Christmas eve.

Rome, 29th December.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1537.

1537. Jan. 3. Despatches, Venetian Archives, File No. 4 B.

132. LORENZO BRAGADINO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

In a long conversation held by me with the Pope he expressed his wish that your Serenity should use your good offices with the

* Amongst these six was Reginald Pole; the three not present, were Roderic Borgia, son of the Duke of Gandia, the nuncio in France, and the Archbishop of Chieti.

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Emperor and the King of France that they may aid his Holiness in the Turkish expedition, on which he is intent, and has summoned the congregation of Cardinals appointed for this purpose to send nuncios and to decide on the mode of raising money. The Pope said that he would give both money, the popedom, and his own life, adding, "Thus stricken in years as you see us we will go in person; never was Christendom in greater peril, or easier the remedy, were it not for the mischievous operations of two men, namely, the Emperor and the most Christian King, who both hold a matter of very little importance in greater account than the Almighty and the whole world, obstinately persisting in a war against each other which must bring the entire Christian faith to ruin. We are in despair; if we speak to the Emperor about the Turk, he replies that we must declare ourselves against France and excommunicate King Francis, who has an understanding with the Turk. This is not the way to resist Sultan Solyman, separating Christendom from France, who has so much power and authority, and military forces and money, which are needed for this undertaking, unless it be that the Emperor would fain effect our total overthrow, for he it was who has been the cause of our losing England, as had he not promised to attack King Henry, Clement would not have published the sentence. And to tell you the truth, the Emperor caused us the loss of Germany likewise, and all this increase of the Lutherans; for at the time of his election at Worms, when the sect was in the beginning, he ought to have extinguished it, and not allowed all men to live after their own fashion; and subsequently he did the like at Augsburg. We do not indeed believe that he thus chose to keep his foot upon the throat either of Italy or of the Church, saying, '*It will be thus at my option, whenever I please, to let the Lutherans enter Italy for their ruin and that of the Church, to which they are most hostile, and they, with the hope of plundering the Church property and that of the clergy, will exempt me from any expense.*'"

The Pope then spoke to me about the affairs of England, which he said were going quite against the King, and that he had seen trustworthy advices from a great personage that there was no hope whatever of an agreement, and that well nigh the whole Island had rebelled, the insurgents requiring that at any rate Cromwell and four others should be placed in their hands; and with the insurgents there were the Archbishop of York and many noblemen and gentry (*nobili et signori*). His Holiness had no further recollection of their names, and merely mentioned a Mylord (*uno miglior*), showing that he had very sure hope of a speedy and favourable result, on which I congratulated his Holiness, telling him, that when not expected, Providence and the goodness of God had found means to make that Island return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, so that we must not despair of his giving light, whereby to find the road to concord between these Princes, on which the maintenance of his Holy See depended.

The Signor Pietro Alvise [Farnese] has of late been very ill of colic; this morning he took oil of bitter almonds and is much

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better, the spasms which troubled him much (but without fever) having greatly diminished.

Encloses a news-letter from Brussels concerning English affairs.

Rome, 3rd January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvii. p. 93.

133. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR and BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The most Christian King was going to Paris and re-enforcing his army in Picardy, where it was said he would continue the war.

His Majesty has married his daughter Madame Madelaine to the King of Scotland, who came to France for this purpose, and was at the Court, the marriage having been concluded and solemnized, with the consent, it is said, of the King of England.

To communicate these advices as usual to the magnificoes the Bashaws.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lvii. p. 94.

134. Commission to MARC' ANTONIO CONTARINI, knight, Ambassador on his way to the POPE.

Is to visit in the Signory's name the ambassadors from the Emperor, from the most Christian King, from the Kings of the Romans and of England, and from such other Princes at the Court as may seem fit to him.

Ayes, 140. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Mantuan Archives.

135. MATTHEO DELL' AGNELLA, surnamed "EL BARBA," to the DUKE of MANTUA.

Heard by his son, Giovan Mattheo, the bearer of the present letter, that the Duke wished for an English bred hobby†. Was very anxious to serve his Excellency, but could not succeed, though he made a circuit of many miles round London, nor could he find anything worthy of the Duke. For this he is very sorry, but prefers letting his son go back without the hobby rather than send his Excellency what would not suit him; and truly, as the Duke may hear more in full from Agnella's son and his companion, it is very difficult at present, owing to the late wars and insurrections, to find anything worth having here. Humbly prays the Duke to excuse him if unable to serve his Excellency, whose very devoted servant he is. Should he find anything which may seem suitable, will do his utmost to gratify the Duke's wish by the first good opportunity. Prays God to grant the Duke perpetual prosperity, humbly requesting his Excellency to include him and his son amongst his menial servants, and to hold them as recommended.

London, 30th January 1537.

Signed: Mattheo dell' Agnella ditto El Barba.

[*Original, Italian.*]

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* According to the letterbook from which I transcribed the despatches of Lorenzo Bragadino, he entered Rome on the 22nd October 1535, and his successor arrived there on the 27th January 1537.

† "Uno obyno da razza di questo paese."

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January?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 2. pp. 2–4. "Epistolarum," &c.

136. CARDINAL POLE to ANDREA GRITI, DOGE OF VENICE.

Amongst the many congratulations received by him on his exaltation to the Cardinalate, the omission of any from his own country pained him, but when those of the Doge and Senate were presented to him by their Ambassador, Lorenzo Bragadino, the announcement seemed to him well nigh the voice desired by him from England, which is not surprising, as during his long residence at Venice he received so many favours, that he cannot in reason consider them less than those for which he is debtor to his birthplace. At Venice he had facilities for study such as he certainly could not have found at home, and he moreover enjoyed the friendship of most eminent men. On this account he had already written a letter with the news for transmission to the Doge, instead of which he receives from Venice congratulations, calling to mind the new duties imposed on him, which are certainly great and serious (*magna et gravia*). It is his intention to fulfil them, provided God grant him the necessary strength. The Doge and Senate may consider him on every occasion their most devoted citizen.

Rome, January 1537?

[*Latin*, 51 *lines*.]

January?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 2. pp. 2–4. "Epistolarum," &c.

137. The SAME to CARDINAL GUIDO ANTONIO SFORZA, Legate of Bologna.

Thanks him for his congratulations on the Cardinalate, which prove Sforza's good will. The kindness of Sforza's cousin, the most illustrious Farnese, will also certainly have contributed to the Legate's good opinion of him. Wishes him success in his legation, and promises him his prayers for its attainment.

Rome, January 1537?

[*Latin*, 43 *lines*.]

January?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 2. pp. 8, 9. "Epistolarum," &c.

138. The SAME to COSIMO GERIO, BISHOP OF FANO.

Answers his congratulations. Pays his own compliments to Gerio on the great abilities displayed by him in the letter.

Rome, January 1537?

[*Latin*, 39 *lines*.]

March 5.
Senato Mar, v. xxiv. p. 5.

139. MOTIONS made in the SENATE concerning DUTIES on ENGLISH MANUFACTURES.

The period of two years having expired during which kerseys and coloured cloths were to pay but 4 per cent: duty on kerseys valued at 3½ ducats [the piece?], an act which evidently continues very greatly to benefit our duties, it will therefore be put to the ballot,—

That by authority of this Council the aforesaid decree be prolonged for three years, with all the forms and conditions as in the act passed on the 16th July (*sic*) [7th July] 1524.

On the 18th December last year it was also enacted that, during one year from that time, all persons might bring to Venice by any

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ship or vessel, white cloths exported from England, for conveyance to the Levant and elsewhere, which having proved very advantageous for our duties, it is therefore necessary to prolong the permit for another year.

Put to the ballot,—

That the Act passed on the 18th December 1536 be prolonged for another year with all the clauses, etc. therein contained.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 7. (Copy sent to the Board of Revenue.)

[*Italian.*]

March ?
No date of time. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed with a postscript in v. 2. pp. 23—28. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

140. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

In obedience to him and to the Bishop of Verona [Matteo Giberti] he has changed his diet for the improvement of his health. He is now better, and may call himself robust. Was deterred at first by the fear of setting a bad example on the assumption of his new dignity; the religion renders it necessary that he should take care of his health. Is desirous of what he asked the Pope, that he will assist him with his prayers. Contarini to remind the Pope of his promise. Feels himself invigorated by his prayers. If the prayer of Moses was so efficacious, what may he not expect from that of his Holiness? Should the Pope at times be weary, Contarini, as a new Aaron, is to support him by prayer. Can write nothing about the affair given him in charge until he enters France. Hopes God will dispel the darkness now visible.

Piacenza, March 1537?

[*Latin*, 105 *lines.*]

March 24.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in v. ii. pp. 28–30. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

141. The SAME to the SAME.

Unless the Pope supplies him with money speedily, it will be universally believed he has acted imprudently, not to say most foolishly (*stultissime*). He receives a monthly salary of 500 gold crowns (*quingentorum aureorum*); all the legates his predecessors warned him from their own experience that this sum was too small for the maintenance of so large a retinue as he had determined to take with him, and that funds must be procured from elsewhere. Having no private fortune he will have recourse solely to him by whom he was sent, but restrained by natural bashfulness he did not speak about this to the Pope, relying for the rest on his generosity, which Cardinal Contarini had heretofore commemorated. The monthly salary is certainly insufficient; he has found it so by experience, and to this Priuli can bear good witness.

Lyons, 24th March 1537.

[*Latin*, 50 *lines.*]

March ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place.

142. The SAME to CARDINAL FARNESE.

Letter of thanks for private services rendered.

Piacenza, March.*

[*Italian.*]

* It is probable that this letter was written from Piacenza when Cardinal Pole was on his way as Legate to the Low Countries and France.

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April 20 ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. ii. pp. 33–41. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

143. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL RODOLFO PIO, Cardinal of Carpi.

The many and serious troubles which now harass him are increased by his being compelled to abandon France without seeing the Cardinal of Carpi.* His regret is mitigated by the Bishop of Verona [Matteo Giberti] who went in Pole's name to Pio, and by the Cardinal's young envoy Francesco, who acquainted him with Pio's will and advice. Apologises for declining the proposed interview in the place appointed, where they might at least have condoled with each other on the evil nature of the times, as he will now do by letter. What other course can he pursue, what but the times are to blame? How was it possible to believe that a king, by nature generous and by religion Christian, should be compelled by the times to refuse to receive a legate from the Pope. Knows that the King does so unwillingly; this is seen by the honours which he caused him to receive on the way, and by the previous declarations made by the French ambassadors to the Pope, who told his Holiness that his (Pole's) coming would be most agreeable to their King, though there were many who prognosticated the result. If when even near the palace he could not gain admission, what can he call this if not the iniquity of the times? Has nothing to blame, save the iniquity of the King of England, whom King Francis thought it necessary to gratify in this matter, and who demanded of the most Christian King that he should lay hands on an ambassador and legate of Christ's vicar commissioned to him for the cause of Christ, and deliver him [the legate] prisoner into the hands of a hostile power. This demand was subversive of the law of nations and of God, destructive of all intercourse between man and man, and a *betrayal at one and the same time of God* and his neighbour, and an insult to France. Cicero pronounced Cato fortunate, because no one had ever dared to ask a baseness of him. On this occasion England did certainly not render the like homage to France. Is surprised that the King of France could have listened to such a proposal without anger. But this persecution on the part of the enemy does him (Pole) honour, he being persecuted as the Apostles were of yore, and Christ before them. He was to have negotiated the peace between the powers, the Council, and the affairs of England. His legation, therefore, related entirely to the interests of Christ.

With regard to England, the object was to reconduct her to the religion of which she was formerly a model. This end can certainly not be condemned by any one, and he will now show whether the means adopted by him for attaining it were at variance with precedents afforded by his country (*alienam a majorum instituto*). The disease having descended from the head into the body of the entire island, the remedies (in the language of physicians) were two, surgery and diet. Many persons, including those who had taken up arms in England, were in favour of surgery. He (Pole) preferred the milder course, and chose diet. Was this an error?

* In the year 1535 the Cardinal of Carpi was sent as nuncio to France, by Pope Paul III. to announce the Council. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 174.)

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When preparing for his mission to the King of France, who now denies him audience, he believed that the friendship between France and England, and that of King Francis with the Pope, would greatly facilitate his project. The recent disturbances in England gave the King of France a fair opportunity, and although the insurrection is quelled for the moment, yet the country will never be secure until the affairs of the religion (whereby it was caused) are adjusted; so that it seemed for the advantage of England to adjust the same by means of the most Christian King. Lest the King of England's antipathy to their order should render him averse to him (Pole), he was accompanied by the Bishop of Verona [Matteo Giberti], a prelate who had used his good offices for the King in the reign of Pope Clement, and been most friendly towards the English nation, and he (Pole) had frequently heard the King commend the services he had rendered him, Giberti being also in favour with King Francis for like conduct with regard to France. Therefore deemed the Bishop of Verona a fitting person to counsel what became the dignity of the two Kings.

Cardinal Pio now sees how far he (Pole) has shown himself a traitor to the King of England, whose councillors having persuaded him in his letter to the most Christian King to style him (Pole) a traitor and guilty of "lese-Majesty," he appeals to the judgment of the most Christian King, and hopes for an opportunity to prove, not only to the most Christian King, but to all Christian Kings, and before the universal Church, what his treason is (*qualis sim proditor*). Those men, however, who persuaded the King thus to write, if they did not thus show themselves sufficiently traitorous to his Majesty, had depraved him so completely that he, who was by nature most religious, scrupulously observant of the institutions of his ancestors, gentle (*modestum*) and gracious, spontaneously generous and clement, thirsted (*concupisceret*) for honours never hitherto imagined by Kings, subverted the dogmas of the Church, despoiled churches, destroyed monasteries, persecuted the ministers of the Church, and at length most cruelly put to death men amongst the best of any ever born in England, none excelling them in learning and every virtue, and the King himself placing the utmost trust in them. Nor does he say this solely of Rochester* and others in whom these merits were eminently conspicuous, but of all executed for the same cause.

If these counsels do not sufficiently convict their authors of treason to the King, these letters [to the King of France], such as one robber would scarcely write to his accomplice, most clearly show what traitors they are; and indeed, were a legate accredited to a robber, still less to a King, and that King being most Christian, does not think that he could find any other robber so unmindful of the law of nature (which in this matter even robbers acknowledge) as to think himself at liberty to ask his fellow robber to surrender the legate to him. Those men, therefore, who persuaded the King of England to require another King, the most Christian, to deliver

* John Fisher, Cardinal Bishop of Rochester, beheaded on the 25th June 1535.

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the legate into his hands, are therefore traitors. If lese-Majesty be treason, what can be more iniquitous to Majesty (if it be not its extinction and annihilation rather than lese-Majesty) than for any one to cause Majesty to ask of a King that which is repugnant to all honesty, decorum, and humanity? (*Si lædere Majestatem Regis est proditorem esse, ecquæ res esse potest, qua magis Majestas Regis lædatur* (*si hac tamen lædere Majestatem est, ac non potius tollere et delere*) *cum quis Regi auctor est, ut ei petat, quæ omni honestati, pudori, et humanitati repugnant.*) Nor did the royal councillors prove themselves traitors solely by their disregard for his (Pole's) present office, which is respected by all nations, even such as abhor the Christian religion; but they also failed to consider how he had always borne himself from childhood, and that he had never ceased exerting himself for the welfare of the King and the realm. So it is evident that the real traitors are those who represented him to the King so differently to what he always was and still is. Fears the King will discover his error when it is too late.

This letter is too diffuse, but he wished it to make him amends for the interview of which he has been disappointed.

Should it please God that he should act for the welfare of his country, the efforts of these folk (*horum conatus*) will prove vain.

Cambrai, 20th April 1537?

[*Latin*, 219 *lines.*]

April 27.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. ii. pp. 41–45. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Pole."

144. CARDINAL POLE to ERARDO DELLA MARCK, Cardinal Bishop of Liege.

Sent a noblemen, his familiar, to the Cardinal of Liège at Brussels yesterday, accompanied by a person in the service of the Bishop of Cambrai, but the Governor of Valenciennes would not allow him to pass, without a special order from the Queen [Maria of Hungary, Governess of the Low Countries]. Was surprised that by the Queen's order, passage should be denied to a person conveying a letter to her chief councillor; but the Governor must have acted officially, as he is a most courteous person. Cannot but consider this proceeding strange. The Pope intrusted him with this legation chiefly at the instigation of two Imperial ambassadors, the one [Chapuis?] by letters from England, the other [Cifuentes?] at Rome; nor was anything done with regard to the road and the whole journey without their counsel and advice, and indeed they were well nigh the impellents throughout. (*Nihil quod ad viam, et ad totum iter pertineret, non modo sine eorum consilio et hortatu, sed pene nor illis impulsoribus factum esse.*) The Pope deferred to them in all things, and Count Cifuentes, the Imperial ambassador, and Ortis, LL.D., who conducted the suit of the late Queen Katharine at Rome, where he is now the Emperor's proctor, well nigh compelled him to take the road through France, to which he very strongly objected (*me maxime reclamante*). They then congratulated him and the Pope on his having prevailed on the Bishop of Verona [Matteo Giberti] to accompany him; and touching the journey, it was settled that if he went through France, and unless an opportunity offered for crossing over to England,

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for transacting the public business with which he was charged. But as his commission related not only to the adjustment of English affairs, but to peace between the Emperor and the King of France, and to the Council General, which matters he was to discuss with all the powers through whose territories he might pass, it was also settled that on his way through France—unless the affairs of England allowed him to go conveniently to King Francis—he was to send the Bishop of Verona to him to negotiate what related to the Peace and the Council, he (Pole) in the meanwhile remaining in the same place (so long as the English business left him at liberty), awaiting the Bishop, who was to return to him immediately on ascertaining the King's will about those two matters.

The Pope assented to all this, in accordance with the opinion and will of the Imperial ambassadors, nor as yet has he (Pole) departed from these instructions; but after entering France, when hopes were given him of a conference, the King, on his (Pole's) arrival in Paris, anticipating his demands, sent him a message to say that, urged by the English ambassadors, he could not receive him. For the rest he treated him with the greatest honour, and granted his request for audience for the Bishop of Verona, to negotiate the Peace and the Council. The Bishop went to the King's camp, but perceiving at the first interview that he was averse to a truce as proposed by the Pope, Giberti returned. Then purposed passing into Flanders to complete his mission, as counselled by the Imperial ambassadors, with the Pope's consent.

The drop of courtesy bestowed in France was expected to be followed by a flood of hospitality in the Emperor's dominions, as a province belonging to his Imperial Majesty was proposed by his ambassadors to him (Pole) as the limit of his legation; instead of which, is prevented from sending one of his attendants with a letter to so great a personage as the Cardinal Bishop of Liège. The thing is so marvellous that he would wish to know the cause, as having gone thither by the advice of the Emperor, he expected him to fail in nothing that could facilitate the undertaking. Will discuss all these matters with the Cardinal when they meet, which he hopes will be soon. Wishes to know where the interview can take place, and would prefer the Province of Liège. The Pope recommended him (Pole) as his son, to the Cardinal of Liège, and desired him (Pole) to obey him by reason of his tried constancy and faith in God and the Holy Roman Church, and of his generosity in all things. Is sufficiently guarded by the good-will of the Bishop of Cambrai, though he cannot but feel alarm both by reason of the soldiers who come even to the gates of the city, and stop the passes; as also because free transit is allowed to everybody, including the English, whose King's hostility makes them not only spies but conspirators (*insidiatores*) against him, as he has experienced lately. In short, the Cardinal of Liège, knowing who he is, by whom sent, the object of his mission, and who instigated and as it were insisted on it (*et quibus instigantibus, atque adeo compellentibus veniam*), will give him suitable advice.

Cambrai, 27th April 1537.

[*Latin*, 127 *lines*.]

1537.
May ?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. ii. pp. 41–45. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Pole."

145. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL ERARDO DELLA MARCK, Cardinal Bishop of Liège.

Being unable to have an interview with the Cardinal of Liège, and as the Pope orders him to follow the Cardinal's advice, sends the Bishop of Verona [Matteo Giberti] to state the case, which could not be in better hands, as Giberti is alike prudent and pious, and will bring back the required information. Regrets being unable to express his gratitude to the Cardinal verbally. Will always remain heartily grateful to him, and prays the Cardinal to extend his courtesy to the Bishop of Verona likewise; and should he present him to the Queen [Maria of Hungary], would be much gratified, but refers himself to the Cardinal's judgment.

Cambrai? May 1537?

[*Latin*, 36 *lines*.]

May 14.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 15.

146. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO and AMBASSADOR at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Pope seems intent on the convocation of the Council, to make provision against the Lutheran heresies, and he apparently wishes it to be held at Mantua, although the Duke of Mantua says that city is not suited to the purpose, nor capable of holding so great a number of persons as usually attend such a meeting, on which account it appears that the matter will be procrastinated.

Is to communicate this likewise to the Magnificos the Bashaws.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian*.]

May 18?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv., Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 2. pp. 46-57. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

147. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL III.

Has received the Pope's letter, anticipating as it were the difficulty of proceeding. Affairs in England offering neither hope nor opportunity, his Holiness orders him to Mantua, where the Council will be held; and on calculating the time, conjectures that the Pope will be there long before this letter is delivered to him.* Wishes to obey promptly, but the road is not safe, and there are reasons which would dissuade him from to speedy a return, and indeed detain him for some time; and as these reasons connect themselves with a cause which the Pope has so much at heart, will state them, and then do what his Holiness shall please.

Is in the midst of all sorts of perils, although invested, or perhaps because invested, with the office of Cardinal Legate. On arriving in Paris hoped to confer with the King, who was not far distant. The King caused him to be received honourably in Paris, but sent him word he could not treat directly with him, or even allow him to remain in France, being compelled to act thus by the King of England (*sed precibus ejus coactum, qui mihi, et universo ordini nostro, atque legationis causæ esset inimicissimus*), for whom, by reason of the times, he is obliged to have great consideration.

* Paul III. subsequently renounced the idea of holding the Council at Mantua, and suspended it until the 1st of November 1537. (*See* Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.)

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Then proceeded immediately to Flanders, and was courteously received by the Bishop of Cambrai, but having sent one of his attendants with letters to the Bishop of Liège, who was at the Court of the Governess of the Low Countries, the messenger was captured by the Governor of Valenciennes under pretext of military movements, but in reality because the Ambassador of the King of England had a few days previously requested the Governess [Maria, Queen Dowager of Hungary, sister of Charles V.], not only to forbid him and his attendants to remain in the Low Countries, but also to prevent their passage through them on their way to Germany. Thought it beneath his dignity to travel in disguise, as was also proposed to him, and accepted the offer of the Bishop of Cambrai to send his own archdeacon, a learned and trustworthy man, to the Bishop of Liège, with his [the Cardinal's] demands. After eleven days he was answered that the Queen [Maria of Hungary] would send a person to escort him to Liège, where the Bishop would give him whatever security he could desire, but the escort has not yet arrived.

This perilous condition is yet more serious, considering the precedent thus afforded by the dread of the Princes of Christendom to displease the King of England (*ne inimico nostri ordinis displicerent*). Is apprehensive, not only of being compelled to withdraw from France, and excluded from Flanders, but of being put to death, the King of England, through his Ambassador, having requested the King of France to place him in his hands. The King of France did not consent to so open a violation of the law of nations, but many persons urged him to quit France as soon as possible. Believes himself to be safe in France, though he might perhaps fear, lest for the gratification of the King of England, who seems to seek his life above all things (*qui nihil magis quam meum sanguinem appetere videtur*), some attack may be made upon him.

These considerations well nigh compel him to remove to a distance immediately, especially as the insurrection* is quelled, many persons being executed, and the King having seized all the ringleaders. This intelligence reached him at Lyons, but a report then circulated that to satisfy the population in some degree, the King would convoke a Council, in which to discuss the religious matters which had instigated the rebellion, it being indeed said, that the day of St. John the Baptist, 24th June, had been appointed for this Council. This report, however, was very soon contradicted, nor can anything but evil be expected. These circumstances would suggest a speedy return, but excessive haste should be avoided, lest it appear that he was sent by the Pope without good reason. There was good cause so long as the insurrection lasted, but since its suppression there is no motive for remaining, the more as the dangers are many, and he is the only Cardinal of whom the Pope could avail himself, should he choose to negotiate with England. These considerations may induce the Pope to recall him.

* The Northern insurrection in England.

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Will now assign reasons why he should remain still at his post. First of all, if the Pope thought fit to subject himself to expense and anxiety for this mission, it seems that he ought to leave the legate so long as there be hope of any little advantage, because his departure would dishearten the Catholics. In addition to this, it is well to be always on the watch for any opportunity to regain England, lest the tenets of her present generation be inherited by the coming one (*ut filiis eorum qui nunc vivunt, ejusmodi opiniones prodantur*). The opportunity, therefore, must be taken, to which end it is desirable that a person known to the English, of irreproachable character, and upright and firm in his religious opinions, (*cujus existimatio nunquam apud eos sit læsa, rectaque semper, et constans de religione opinio*), should remain well nigh always before them, to take advantage of any opportunity; but how can this be done if the Legate has no place in which to remain, and the opportunities seem irrecoverably lost? He might at least repair to the territory of Liège, where there is no lack of cities and castles in which he might be safe. Opportunities will perhaps not be wanting, as may be inferred from this identical insurrection, whose leaders were first lured by fair promises and then crushed; the people, therefore, cannot but be malcontent, and will again rebel the moment they can. Opportunities will therefore occur, and it would seem well to remain on the watch for them; but in the meanwhile, the King [of England], his most powerful and bitter enemy, is endeavouring to get possession of him, dead or alive, and he boasts that for this purpose he will spend as much as one hundred thousand pounds sterling (*centum enim aureorum Anglicorum millia se profusurum jactat,* ut me in sua potestate vel vivum vel mortuum habeat*). Who, therefore, will save him from the perilous power of this man? God! on whom no one ever relied in vain; and good example, as afforded by the Bishop of Verona [Matteo Giberti], given him by the Pope as a companion on his journey and partaker of his labours, and who is such a mirror of fortitude, that, seeing him so firm in the midst of so many dangers, Pole is encouraged to remain.

Has thus stated the arguments in favour of return or delay, for the Pope to decide, and the Legate will most readily obey.

Cambrai, 18th May 1537?

[*Latin*, 236 *lines.*]

June 9.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 29.

148. AMENDMENT concerning ENGLAND—MOTION made in the SENATE.

As the secretary in England has not been written to since upwards of six months: Put to the ballot,—

That the summary of the letters from Constantinople, dated 16th and 21st May, be sent to him likewise, for communication to the King.

Ayes, 66. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1. (The letter to be dated 12th April.)

[*Italian.*]

* In the printed copy, vol. ii. p. 55, "jactant."

1537.
June 10?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 2. pp. 59-61. "Epistolarum, Reginaldi Poli."

149. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL III.

Have at length reached Liège, employing forty days for a journey which might have been performed in two. The Bishop of Liège received him most graciously, showing himself the son and friend of the Pope. Therefore commends him much, but does not write about business to avoid wearying the Pope. A few days ago the Bishop of Verona wrote on the subject, addressing his letter to the Pope's secretary.

Liège, 10th June 1537?

[*Latin*, 31 *lines*.]

June 10.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 2. pp. 64–68. "Epistolarum, Reginaldi Poli."

150. The SAME to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

From his (Cardinal Contarini's) letter, dated Rome, 12th May, received on the 5th June, understood how he had exerted himself about the money matter, and how readily the Pope had supplied his need, which was very great; but must describe the sort of imprisonment endured by him at Cambrai, where he and his attendants remained well nigh forty days, as it were besieged, and had to avail themselves of the assistance of others to obtain their liberty, which necessarily increased their extraordinary expenses. May rest assured that he does not waste the money, and he can obtain good evidence of this from Priuli; incurs no unnecessary expenditure; Cato, the censor, could neither suppress nor diminish any part of it; and the assiduity of the Bishop of Verona, who has especial care for the economy of his household, leaves him nothing to wish for, but the monthly salary is insufficient; nor on this will he dilate any further. How matters are proceeding in England may be inferred from what those who now rule there plotted against him. Sends him copy of a letter written by him to the Pope, and of one from Priuli on the same subject. With regard to his legation, he has as yet merely been able to withdraw to a place secure from treachery and conspiracies (*tutum ab istorum insidiis et conjurationibus*) with great difficulty, through the goodness of the Bishop of Liège. The citizens here are ready to defend him. Two days ago a certain Englishman arrived here, and he (Pole) obtained some intercepted letters addressed to this person by the English Ambassador in Flanders, telling him that if he could accomplish what they had discussed together, he would find great favour with the King, and be well rewarded. The rogue therefore came to Liège, pretending that having been outlawed from England, he was starving, and therefore wished to enter his (Pole's) service; but, had he remained another night in the town, he would certainly have been imprisoned; so anticipating this, or conscience-stricken, he made his escape before daybreak. From the letters of Priuli, he (Contarini) will learn several particulars of this sort, which clearly demonstrate the intentions of those (*istorum*) who track his footsteps in every place, and at all times, but his hope in God dispels all fear. Should he (Contarini) ask about his hopes with regard to the entire cause, they are very great, provided but moderate care be had.

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The Bishop of Verona [Giberti] is now absent at Brussels; so not knowing what he has done, is unable to write distinctly at present, but by the next courier will give a fuller account of all things. Does not despair of the cause, more than the Children of Israel, who in an excellent cause gave battle twice to their brethren of Benjamin, when the Lord assisted Israel*; and in like manner, those who defend this cause will be victorious in their defence, although at present they seem to have been conquered twice, once in Ireland and again in England, where the people in like manner were moved of God (*semel in Hibernià Deo duce providente, iterum in Anglia, Deo, ut ipse etiam judico, populum hortante*).† Is glad to hear that the Pope perseveres in his projects of reform; and has derived no less pleasure from the perusal of Contarini's confutation (*censura*) of Melancthon. Hopes that should the Pope persevere in the reform of morals (*in censura morum*), there will not be much controversy about the rest, and may God give peace to the Church.

Liège, 10th June 1537.

[*Latin*, 114 *lines*.]

July 9.

151. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 32.

It having been seen by the foregoing letters from England that the most Serene King wishes the Signory to acquaint him with the Turkish news, according to the custom of the State heretofore, and as it is fitting not to omit performing this office with his Majesty:

Put to the ballot,—

That the summary of the present letters from Cattaro, Antivari, and Corfu be sent to our secretary in England, with orders to communicate it to the most Serene King.

Ayes, 139. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian*.]

July 11.

152. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

Having heard by his last letters of the King's wish to be acquainted with the Signory's advices respecting the Turkish preparations and armada, not choosing to fail in the performance of this office with his Majesty, send a summary of news received by sea, and charge him to communicate it to the King.

The last letters received by the Signory from him (Zuccato) were dated 3rd June.

(Written in virtue of a decree of the Senate, and sent by the College.)

[*Italian*.]

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* *See* Judges, Chap. xx.

† Query the rebellion of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, attainted 21st May 1536. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald sent Charles Reynold, Archdeacon of Kells, to Pope Paul III., and Dominick Power to the Emperor Charles V. with letters craving their aid towards the conquest of Ireland, which he promised to hold of them for ever. (*See* Cox in Collins, vol. vi. p. 149.)

1537.
July 21.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. 2. pp. 73–77. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Date 21st July.

153. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

From Contarini's letter to Priuli, dated 10th June, learns how much he had been distressed by their danger, which they, however, escaped by means of the Bishop of Liège. At the time they were besieged rather than free, nor were they sufficiently safe, even in the city itself [*viz. Cambrai*]. They are now living in a city which they hope is sufficiently secure, but its outlets, in whatever direction they may travel, are not equally so. Contarini now fears that it may not be fitting to remain in those parts, especially with so little hope of succeeding in the chief object of the entire legation. The two letters written by him (Pole) to the Pope and to Contarini himself, stating what could be said for and against, by one on the spot, are an answer to this. It merely remains for him to submit to the Pope's decision, but considering what has already taken place in England, and what is still passing there, although instinct would urge him to Rome (*etsi sensus eo me impellat*), the success of the business, which he prefers to his own safety, counsels him rather to remain. Of indignity there is no fear, as nothing can be more dignified than to dare remain in such perilous places, where least of all the enemy of the cause would wish them to be, and from whence he threatens to eject them; but were they now to depart, he will boast of having expelled them, though what he may say or boast of, is merely to be held in account because it might dispirit good adherents.

Liège, 21st July.

[*Latin*, 56 *lines*.]

July 30.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X. v. xii.

154. INCREASE of SALARY for the SECRETARY in ENGLAND.

Five years have elapsed since Hieronimo Zuccato is alone in England with a salary of 30 ducats, to which be there added 20 ducats.

Ayes, 16. No, 1.

[*Italian*.]

August 10.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. 2. pp. 80–82. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Date 10th Aug.

155. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

Expatiates on the more than brotherly kindness of the Bishop of Liège, without which the Papal Legate would have had no safe resting place. The opportunity is favourable for aiding him in a matter which will be fully detailed in a letter from the Bishop of Verona to D. Carlo da Fano. Requests Contarini to favour this business with the Pope. Is ready to return on receiving the Pope's commands; nor would he have delayed so long had not Giberti, returning from the Queen's Court* and from Liège, brought home a message from the Bishop, who wishes Pole to stay with him for a few days, he being at a distance of eight miles from Liège, where he is to arrive in two days. Contarini will learn the remaining news from the letters of Priuli.

Liège, 10th August.

[*Latin*, 38 *lines*.]

* Brussels, residence of the Queen Dowager of Hungary.

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August 21.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date Printed in v. 2. pp. 88–89. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Date 10th Aug.

156. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

Perceiving the state of affairs in England, should think it advisable to remain at Liège, but as the Pope commands him to return he will do so, although, owing to the rage of the enemy, the road will not be safe for him. Hopes, however, to escape all peril, through the care of the Bishop of Liège, to whom he owes so much. To-morrow they will set out; and on again seeing the Pope and Contarini, Pole will fancy himself in the presence of his country and his relatives.

Liège, 21st August.

[*Latin*, 28 *lines*.]

Sept. 13.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta). v. lviii. p. 54. tergo.

157. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning ENGLAND.

That *ex nunc* the College be authorized to write to the most Serene Kings of England and Portugal, and to such other Princes and Lords as shall seem fit to said College, in the form and tenour of the letters written to the King of the Romans, and to the Electors of the Empire; being also authorized to expend such sum of money as fitting and necessary for the despatch of said letters without further ballot in this Council.

Ayes, 211. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 30.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date Printed in v. 2. pp. 89–90. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Date 30th Sep.

158. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

Before arriving at Trent, received a letter from the Rev. Prothonotary informing him that the Pope left it to his own decision either to remain at Liège or to return to Rome. Thinks it fortunate that this second letter did not arrive until he had already obeyed the order of recall contained in the first. In a few days hopes to be at Rome; writes from Bovolona, the villa of the Bishop of Verona [Giberti], not far from Ostia in the Mantuan territory, on the banks of the Po, where he purposes embarking tomorrow on his way to Ferrara, and then to Ravenna. Repeats his praises of Matteo Giberti, who will leave him at Ferrara. At Verona, embraced Contarini's brother Tommaso, and his brother-in-law Matteo Dandolo*, who immediately on hearing of his arrival, hastened to salute him. His Achates, Priuli, is never away from him.

Bovolona, 30th September.

[*Latin*, 34 *lines*.]

Oct. 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

159. DOGE ANDREA GRITI to HENRY VIII.

On hearing that Corfu (an island extremely convenient, not only for the Republic, but also for Italy and the rest of the Christian Powers) was besieged by the Turks with an overwhelming army and fleet, although the strength of the enemy was such as to alarm

* In the years 1549–1550, Matteo Dandolo was Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and his despatches contain many notices of the conclave which finally elected Pope Julius III., although at its commencement there was a strong majority in favour of Cardinal Pole.

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all Christendom, determined not to lose heart, and relying in the first place on the Divine assistance, had recourse not only to the Signory's own means, but also to other Christian Kings and Princes, to extinguish the general conflagration, lest it increase to the detriment of the Christian Commonwealth. Determined, therefore, to form an offensive and defensive league with the Pope and the Emperor against the common enemy, reserving honourable place in it for other Christian Princes, and to wage hostilities strenuously, although the Republic is free from all danger, the enemy having raised the siege of Corfu.

Requests his Majesty to aid the war as most becoming, both on account of his extreme piety towards God, as also by reason of the good will which he bears the State, as at present he could do nothing more profitable for Christendom, or more for his own renown, as he will hear more fully from the Secretary Hieronimo Zuccato, to whom he will give credence as to the Doge in person.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

160. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

The Great Turk having lately violated the peace between him and the Republic, laying siege with a fleet and army to their city of Corfù, from which he subsequently departed, they determined to make an offensive and defensive league with the Pope and the Emperor against the Turks, reserving a most honourable place for the other Christian Princes. Desire him, in company with the Venetian consul, to present the letter which they send him addressed to his Majesty, as by the enclosed copy, stating what is aforesaid, and praying and exhorting him, in this so great need of all Christendom, to render such assistance as required, he (Zuccato) acquainting them with the King's reply.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 95.

161. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY in ENGLAND.

By his letters of the 17th ult., are acquainted with what he said to Lord Cromwell, and with his (Zuccato's) sage suggestion about writing another letter to the King of England requesting him to lend his assistance against the Turks. Have, therefore, written to his Majesty, as by enclosed copy, and charge him to present the Signory's letters, amplifying them by word of mouth as he may think fit, so that his Majesty in this so great need of all Christendom, may give such assistance as becoming his forces and the title borne by him of "Defender of the Faith."

Are certain that he will do so very readily, to his immortal glory, for the service of God and benefit of Christendom.

The secretary is to answer their letters speedily, giving them notice of current events.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 17.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

162. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

By the return of a messenger sent by them in August to the "Bailo" Canal, have heard what is contained in the enclosed summary, which he is to communicate to the King as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. 2. pp. 99–101. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Date Dec. 27.

163. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL ERARDO DELLA MARCK, Cardinal Bishop of Liège.

Congratulates the Cardinal on his good health, for which he will never cease to pray, as it would seem to him less iniquitous to forget his parents than not remember for ever the kindness of the Cardinal, who always stands him in the stead of parents; nor will he ever cease showing his gratitude on all occasions by every sort of observance.

With regard to the Cardinal's legation, was very glad to hear from Benedetto Gentili that he was satisfied with the specification of the powers (*facultatum*). All the jurists were of opinion that any fresh declaration might be rather injurious than beneficial, though should this be thought necessary for the removal of any scruple, Pole will ask it of the Pope, by whom it will be readily conceded.

Touching the paragraph in cipher written to Gentili, desiring due provision to be made against those who oppose the reform of the morals of the clergy (*cleri moribus*); will be on the watch for the cause of God, and hopes to succeed. By thus serving the Cardinal of Liège, he will serve God, to whom this entire cause belongs.

Rome, 27th December.

[*Latin, 29 lines.*]

Dec. 31.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 103.

164. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

Received letters from their secretary in England, dated the 17th ult., giving an account of what was said to him by Lord Cromwell, as by the enclosed copy.

In a subsequent letter, dated 20th November, understand that Lord Cromwell confirmed by order of the King what he had previously asserted as of himself, namely, that his Majesty was surprised that with regard to the expedition to be undertaken against the Turks, nothing had been written to him either by the Pope or by the Emperor, as the ambassador will perceive by the copy of the letter, which they are sending to Rome, that it may be communicated to his Holiness. Think fit to send it in like manner to the ambassador, charging him to take an opportunity for reading it to the King of the Romans, that his Majesty may forthwith make such provision as he shall deem most opportune, it being quite certain that if able to obtain the assistance of the King of England for the undertaking, it would very greatly aid and profit all parties.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 5.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 104.

165. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him summaries of letters from the governments of Candia, Canea, and Zante for communication to the King.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

166. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices of great importance received from the Levant, concerning great mischief done and doing by Barbarossa, as Zuccato will perceive, and which he is to communicate to the King.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

167. The SAME to the SAME.

Have received very fresh letters from Napoli di Romania, Malvasia, and Zante, announcing the very great havoc committed there, as by the enclosed summary, which he is to communicate immediately to the King in great form (*cum gran modo*), as he will have done by the other advices.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 109.

168. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him the summary of the letters from the Government of Candia.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

169. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose the summary of letters and advices from Constantinople, to be communicated to the King as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lviii. p. 121.

170. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By his letters of the 27th ult. are acquainted with what he told the Emperor about the letters sent to him, the ambassador, by the [Signory's] secretary in England, in accordance with the desired good result (*tendente a quel bon fine che si desidera*). To persevere in this course, as it would be very beneficial to Christendom were it possible to obtain the assistance of the King of England for the expedition; and they are pleased to hear of the offices performed by him with the Legate to this effect. To continue acting thus, as shall appear necessary to him, according to the will of the Emperor, whom he is to assure that whatever his Imperial

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Majesty has with his usual wisdom done and said has caused the Signory extreme satisfaction, and they hope he will continue doing for the future whatever he shall deem fitting for the attainment of this most important object.

Ayes, 179. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 1. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 2.

171. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send the summary of advices from Constantinople, dated 23rd and 24th January, of which confirmation has been received through several channels, that he may communicate them to the King.

Ayes, 173. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian.*]

March 1. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

172. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

The Republic's defensive and offensive League against the Turk (concerning which they wrote to him heretofore) having lately been concluded at Rome, a very honourable place being reserved for such kings and Christian princes as are not comprised in it, charge him to announce the ratification to the King of England as becoming and as required by their observance towards his Majesty, from whom they not only hope, but are certain, that he will contribute such forces (*presidij*) and favour as expected from him by the Christian religion owing to the title deservedly given him, and because he will thus act in accordance with his own goodness and magnanimity.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 16.

173. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices in letters from Napoli di Romania, from the 25th January to the 15th February, and from Pasqualigo, Proveditor of the Fleet, and other places (*et del proveditor del armata Pasqualigo et altri loci*), for communication to the King.

Ayes, 168. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 15.

174. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him the enclosed summary of advices received from the sea for communication to the King as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 17.

175. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send summary of a report made in the College by a trustworthy person come from Constantinople, for communication to the King as usual.

Ayes, 137. Noes, 36. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

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April 2.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 18.

176. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices contained in letters from Cattaro, dated 21st March, for communication to the King as usual.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 6.
Lettere del Collegio, File no. 15.

177. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose the report of a native of Cattaro, who quitted Constantinople on the 26th February, and gives account of the great preparations, both for an army and a fleet, which were then being made by the Great Turk.

To announce this to the King.

[*Italian.*]

April 12.
Lettere del Collegio, File no. 16.

178. The SAME to the SAME.

Send him the enclosed advices, dated Constantinople, 8th March, which are of very great importance, for communication to the King as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 16.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 28.

179. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

By many advices received from several quarters, have heard of the very great preparations making by the Turk for the invasion of Christendom, which preparations are not only in course, but moreover commence making themselves felt, as in the Signory's province of Dalmatia the Turks are doing great mischief, and have already laid siege to several important castles there. It is also asserted by well nigh all the news-letters, that Sultan Solyman in person is coming by way of the Friuli, with a very large army, to invade Italy. The war commencing thus in the Republic's territory it behoves them to make valid preparations for defence, and for the preservation of many poor Christians, releasing them from the hands of so cruel an enemy as the Turk. This can only be accomplished at incredible cost, to be incurred by them not merely to protect the State of Venice, but also the whole Christian commonwealth, which is in manifest peril, unless assisted by those Princes to whom its defence chiefly appertains, such as the most Serene King of England, who, knowing the very great general need, will (they are very certain) on this most important occasion do as has always been done by his ancestors.

Zuccato, therefore, to acquaint his Majesty in the first place with what is aforesaid, and with the great reliance placed by them in the love he bears the Republic, in the ancient goodwill which has always subsisted between his most Serene predecessors and the State, and with their observance towards him. Is then earnestly to request his Majesty in their name to assist them with as large a sum of money as shall seem fit to him, for the succour not merely of the Republic but of all Christendom, demonstrating to him that he cannot have a better opportunity for gaining immortal renown and

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universal goodwill, not only for himself but for his posterity. He will likewise confer an eternal and very great obligation on the Republic and their descendants, who will always be mindful of such benefit received from his Majesty, and endeavour to prove their gratitude on every occasion. To give them immediate and detailed advice of his Majesty's reply.

Have lately received Zuccato's letters of the 24th ult., which need no reply, save commendation for his diligence in acquainting them with English events, and he will moreover continue to do so for the future.

Enclose summaries of the advices about the affairs of the Turks in Dalmatia for communication to the King as usual.

Ayes, 145. Noes, 26. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

April 30.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 39.

180. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices from the Venetian Governors of Zara, Sebenico, and Spalatro, dated 22nd, 23rd, and 24th instant, for communication, &c.

[*Italian.*]

May 2.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 16.

181. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose the summaries of advices from Dalmatia and other places, which he is to communicate to the King as usual. Are certain that of his great wisdom the King will well weigh their importance, and not fail rendering such assistance for the defence of the Christian religion as becomes his goodness and well deserved title, as written to Zuccato in their foregoing despatch.

[*Italian.*]

May 9.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 43.

182. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of letters from their ambassador with the King of the Romans, and of the advices from Constantinople, dated 29th March to the 23rd April for communication, &c.

Ayes, 171. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 28.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 52.

183. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of letters from Candia, dated 27th April, for communication, &c.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

July 11.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 70.

184. The SAME to the SAME.

Send him the news-letter, enclosed in the dispatch from the Signory's Captain General on the sea, dated Corfù, 25 June, for communication, &c.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

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July 13.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 16.

185. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him the summary of advices from the sea announcing the voyage of the Turkish fleet to Candia after ravaging the Archipelago. Is to communicate them to the King as usual.

[*Italian.*]

July 14.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 16.

186. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose the summaries contained in letters from their Captain General on the sea, dated Corfù, 25 May, for communication &c.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 16.

187. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose the summary of letters received from their Captain General for communication to the King and other personages.

Zuccato's letters of the 7th September received lately, require no farther answer save commendation for his diligence.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X., v. lix. p. 180, tergo.

188. MAPHIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

The nobleman, Ser Maphio Bernardo, having appeared before the Chiefs of this Council requesting an order from them for the Civil Court of the Forty to hear a cause pending between him and the wife of Levrieri, so that being speedily despatched, he may then attend (as is his intention) to the winding-up of his bank, which concerns the public for the honour of our city:

Put to the ballot, that by authority of this Council the Chiefs of the "Old Civil Court" of the Forty be desired to try said cause of Maphio Bernardo at their first sitting in November, notwithstanding the law respecting the priority of other suits; this same request having been made by the plaintiffs.

Ayes, - 16 - 13. *Pendet.*
Noes, - 10 - 13. *Exiit Ser Nicolaus Bernardus Consilr.*
Neutrals, 2 - 2.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 93.

189. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him summaries of the letters from their Captain General on on the sea, dated from the 23rd to the 30th September, for communication, &c.

Ayes, 179. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 8.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 94.

190. The SAME to the SAME.

Send him summaries of letters from their Captain General on the sea, dated Corfù from the 4th to the 8th October, for communication, &c.

Ayes, 129. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

1538.
Oct. 23.
Parti Secrete Consiglio X., v. lix. p. 186, tergo.

191. MAPHIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

Repetition of the motion made heretofore for Ser Maphio Bernardo, that the council [of the Old Civil Court of the Forty] be appointed to hear him about a certain suit, as requested in the name of the plaintiff, D. Cecilia, the wife of Levrieri; declaration being made that should any case be appointed for the 1st of November, this of Bernardo is to follow immediately, and to be the second. The introductory paragraph [in the petition] about winding up the affairs of the bank, to be cancelled.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 8. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 99.

192. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of letters from the Captain General on the sea, from galley-board at Corfù, dated 15th to the 18th October, for communication, &c.

Ayes, 157. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 16.

193. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him the summary of the advices received from the sea, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1539.

1539.
Jan. 1.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. ii. pp. 117–119. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

194. CARDINAL POLE to DAVID BEATON,* Cardinal of Scotland:

When it was first announced by the Pope that the King of Scotland demanded for his kingdom a pillar from the Roman Church, favoured the grant, although no name was mentioned, and subsequently on giving his vote when Beaton's name was proclaimed, he evinced extreme satisfaction. Now that the dignity has been conferred, congratulates Beaton by letter, but not more than he congratulates the entire realm of Scotland, which will be thus saved from the contagion of those neighbours, who, by confounding divine and human institutions (*qui divina et humana permiscentes*), seek to deprive the Church of order, decorum, and strength (*ordinem ex Ecclesiâ, quasi pulchritudinem ejusdem, et robur tollere conantur*). Scotland will now have her hinge and pillar, both to maintain the dignity of the hierarchy (*decus ordinis*) and preserve the country from the contagion of most corrupt men. The College of Cardinals relies on Beaton's piety and watchfulness, and most especially on the piety of King James, who has had great opportunity for illustrating it, as whilst the contagion infected the

* David Beaton was created Cardinal by Paul III., on the 20th December 1538. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 205–209.)

1539.

whole of the neighbouring country and corrupted its faith, his Majesty kept himself and kingdom pure and undefiled as a pillar of the Roman Church. He followed in this the example of the most noble kings, his ancestors, who, inferior to no sovereigns in this respect, so surpass them all in antiquity of lineage, that the Roman Church ranks them amongst her eldest sons (*cum vero antiquitate sic superant, ut inter primogenitos Ecclesia Romana eos numeret*); and for the Church of Rome to grant to such a son a demand so piously made, affords ample matter for the whole Church to rejoice and give thanks to God.

Individually, rejoices at Beaton's election, hoping that through this example and assistance, his own country—the neighbour of Scotland—heretofore eminently religious (*in religione olim pulchram*) and like a bride the ornament of her spouse, now deformed, abandoning her spouse like a painted adulteress in the arms of another, may recover her former lustre, and be reconciled to her spouse. May Christ and the spouse of the Church grant this, through his most precious purifying blood, his example rendering it a duty for them to shed theirs in like manner, (*sanguine eam suo preciosissimo lavit, cujus exemplo, qui Dominus est omnium, nos pro eadem sanguinem fundere semper parati esse debemus*),* especially all Cardinals,† who are reminded of it, even (amongst other things) by their vesture, so that, should any one ask them, as the Prophet did, "Why is thy robe red?" (*quare rubrum est vestimentum tuum?*) they may answer, as Christ did, "Because it behoves us to answer by deeds rather than by words" (*quod respondeamus: quod Christus fecit, quod nos factis potius, quam verbis respondere decet*). This is what he hopes from Cardinal Beaton, nor does he hesitate to promise it himself for certain. In the meanwhile, requests Beaton to recommend him in most humble terms to his Majesty [James V.]; to whom although personally unknown, yet is he allied to him in blood and devoted to the King for whatever concerns his honour and welfare, as he hopes to prove very clearly, should the King ever test him.

Offers his services to Beaton at Rome for whatever may contribute his honour or advantage.

Rome, 1st January.

[*Latin*, 49 *lines*.]

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. iii. pp. 63–66. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

195. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL SADOLETO.

Laments the death of Cardinal Simonetta,‡ which must be universally regretted, but especially by their order of which he was an eminent ornament, and also because he was the friend of Cardinal Sadoleto. They ought, however, to congratulate each

* Cardinal Beaton was assassinated on the 28th of May 1546 (see Hume, vol. 3. p. 301), so the passage sounds prophetic.

† Probably an allusion to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, executed on the 22nd of June 1535. (*See* Hume, vol. iii. p. 192.)

‡ Jacopo Simonetta was created Cardinal by Paul III. in May 1535, and died in 1539, which date I therefore assign to this letter. Simonetta had been one of the chief defenders of Queen Katharine in the divorce case, and during the absence of Capizucchi conducted the trial. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 149.)

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other on his release—not from life, but from misery—and on his exaltation to glory.

Apologises for not having written sooner as he was waiting for something certain to tell, but can only say that he is at ease, and speaks often of him to his host [Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona?] with such praise as he deserves, and by whom he is in like manner admired, and they expatiate on his virtues and literary science.

Begs him to embrace Paolo and his other nephews, and Gianfrancesco, and the whole family; and were it possible, the entire city,* to which he (Pole) is and ever will be most grateful.

Verona, —— 1539?

[*Latin*, 64 *lines*.]

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. iii. pp. 71–73. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." No date of time or place.

196. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of MANTUA [ERCOLE GONZAGA].

Thanks him for the friendly hospitality conceded to a youth, his kinsman,† who also shares his fortunes, both being persecuted by the same enemy. Cardinal Contarini did not think it desirable for the young man to remain with him at Rome. Mantua seemed a more fitting residence, and this was also the opinion of the Bishop of Verona. Perceiving that the Cardinal of Mantua treated the youth as a mere guest, without employing him for any of those offices which young men are accustomed to render to Princes, proposed, in order to relieve the Cardinal from this burden, to send him to Padua, provided the Bishop of Verona approved of it. The Cardinal however was averse to this, and would not allow the youth to leave him, unless he went straight to him, Pole. Thanks the Cardinal cordially, but as the causes which forbad him to recall the youth have in great measure ceased, he now requests the Cardinal to give him leave to return.

Rome? 1539?

[*Latin*, 55 *lines*.]

Feb. 3. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 116, tergo.

197. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summaries of news from the Levant, for communication, &c.

Ayes, 104.

[*Italian*.]

Feb. 7. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lix. p. 117.

198. THE SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summaries of the letters from their governors of Corfù, dated 20th January, for communication, &c.

Ayes, 150. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian*.]

* In 1531 Cardinal Pole resided at Avignon (*see* Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. No. 677), six leagues from Carpentras; of which city Sadoleto had been made Bishop by Leo X., and Pole's affection for the place dated from that period.

† Gerald Fitzgerald, 11th Earl of Kildare. (*See* Collins's Peerage, vol. vi. pp. 155–157, edition, London, 1812.)

1539.
Feb.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

199. CARDINAL POLE to FRANCIS I., KING of FRANCE.

Most grateful to the King for condolence by the French ambassador [in Rome?] on the affliction and oppression of his family. The King has not only a royal, but Christian mind, commiserating the nobility unjustly aggrieved. The calamities of his family are connected with those of the Church, and of the [Catholic] religion, which is so cruelly and impiously harassed. Does not doubt its being speedily succoured by the King, as by his ancestors. This firm hope is his greatest comfort in these calamaties of the Church and of his country, both public and private. Is greatly confirmed in this hope by the Pope, who assures him of the King's readiness to succour the Church in its great need, as at no period was it ever so cruelly persecuted, even by any infidel Prince, still less by a Christian power. Therefore his Holiness has accredited him (*mi ha spedito*) to the Emperor, whom should he find as well disposed as the King, he is then to attend his most Christian Majesty.

Rome, February?

[*Italian.*]

March 21.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta) File no. 16.

200. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

In continuation of their duty towards the King, enclose advices from the sea, namely, the report of Antonio Modeneo, who quitted Adrianople on the 28th of January; the summaries of letters from Cattaro, dated the 6th instant; from the Governors of Candia down to the 3rd February; and another report sent by the Government of Corfu; for communication to his Majesty as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in v. ii. pp. 204, 205. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." No date of time or place. In MS., Carpentras.

201. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL BEMBO.

Congratulates him on his promotion to the Cardinalate, reciprocating the congratulations received from Bembo when the same grade was conferred upon himself. Young as he is, being a youth in comparison with his friend, so much his senior, he cannot repeat the exhortations given to him by Bembo concerning the exercise of his office.

Writes from Carpentras, where he is recruiting himself most pleasantly at ease, after the arduous business which has hitherto occupied him, and is preparing for future toil with Bembo's old friend, and now his colleague, Cardinal Sadoleto, who overwhelms him with kindness.

Carpentras, April? 1539?*

[*Latin, 28 lines.*]

May 12.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lx. p. 26.

202. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of letters.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 32. Neutrals, 15.

[*Italian.*]

* Bembo was created Cardinal on the 20th December 1538, but did not accept the grade until the 24th March 1539.

1539.
May 16.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 16.

203. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Sent him the preceding advices by their last, and now enclose summary of letters from the Governor of Cattaro, dated 30th April and 2nd instant, for communication to the King as usual.

Have received the letters written by Zuccato from time to time, and he is to continue doing so, as it proves to their satisfaction.

[*Italian.*]

May 26.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v lx. p. 27, tergo.

204. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Send him the summary of the letters from the Governor of Cattaro, dated the 15th instant, to be communicated to the King.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lx. p. 31.

205. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summaries of letters from the Government of Candia, dated 20th and 22nd April, and from their other maritime possessions, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

August 15.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. ii. pp. 181–188. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Dated 15th August 1539.

206. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

His desire would take him to the Pope's feet, but mental distress makes him wish for solitude, which he always loved, and now more than ever when sorrow not only goads but overwhelms him. Does not indeed despair of his country, as God cannot forget it, and his time must be awaited patiently. Acknowledges this, but still grieves, and wishes Contarini to request the Pope not to insist on his returning to the bustle of Rome (*ad celebritatem istam urbis*). It is not for the good of the cause that he should be seen there. Would it not be said that the case of England is utterly desperate? Let the Pope therefore grant him a little quiet. If he dwells on this it is because the words of Cardinal Farnese make it appear that the Pope insists on his being at Rome. Therefore refers everything to his (Contarini's) prudence and love. Some leave is conceded to those of their order, as to others. On the loss of kinsfolk, friends, wife, or parents, a few days for sorrow are taken by them, during which they abstain from public duty, and this custom, as observed with regard to one single loss, is acknowledged. He (Pole), who in a moment has lost not one relative but almost all, part by death, and part by imprisonment,* and above all, who sees his country well nigh exterminated (for nothing else can be said of a land from which faith and religion are banished), without indecorum may ask leave of absence from Rome, and leisure from

* On the last of December 1538, the Marquis of Exeter and the Lord Montacute were arraigned at Westminster, three days after which Sir Edward Nevill and Sir Geoffrey Pole were arraigned with some inferior persons. All were condemned. The Marquis of Exeter, Lord Montacute and Sir Edward Nevill were beheaded on Tower Hill, January 9th, 1539. Sir Geoffrey Pole was pardoned.

Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, and Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter, were attainted by Parliament, April 28th, 1539; and the Countess of Salisbury was beheaded in the Tower, May 27th, 1541. (*See* Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, vol. ii. p. 96.)

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the business of the Court to mourn these misfortunes. Thinks it would be indecorous not to make this request most earnestly, as were he to demand a vacation for life, to devote himself entirely to prayer and tears by reason of such great calamities as have befallen his family and country, he would perhaps act strictly in conformity with decorum and duty (*qui si in tantis calamitatibus, et meorum et patriæ vacationem per omnem vitam peterem, ut orationi et lacrymis totus incumberem, meo fortasse et decori et officio maxime servirem*). Knows that he (Contarini) has his welfare as much at heart as if it concerned himself, lamenting his adversity in like manner, and is so convinced of the Pope's benignity, that he is certain his lamentations alone will suffice to obtain for him the favour demanded.

Carpentras, 15th August.

[*Latin*, 114 *lines*.]

Oct. 5.
Chiefs of the Ten, Letters, File no. 32.

207. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Should any persons wish to export wheat and other grain from England to Venice, where a great scarcity prevails, is to do his utmost to obtain the necessary permit. If requested by anyone to that effect, to urge the King or the English ministry to grant a permit for the free export of wheat and other grain for Venice, the exporters, however, giving sufficient security to the Republic's consul in London for its conveyance to Venice. To assure the King and the ministry of the Signory's extreme gratitude, should the demand be granted, and to give full account of the result.

Signed: Piero Badoer, procr., C.C.X.
Bernardo Emo, C.C.X.
Sebastiano Foscarini, C.C.X.

[*Italian*.]

Oct.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. iii. pp. 66–71. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

208. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL SADOLETO.

Concerning his (Sadoleto's) affairs, the Pope received his salutations graciously; asked about his health and studies, and the climate of Carpentras, and showed he greatly appreciated his abilities. Thought it advisable to anticipate the Pope with regard to the matter affecting him (Sadoleto), as his Holiness seems determined to recall all the Cardinals to Rome, especially those accustomed to reside there, as has been done already, much to his (Pole's) personal inconvenience. Therefore told the Pope how fitting it was for Sadoleto to reside at Carpentras, especially considering the evil nature of the present times, when the people are much more prone to innovation than heretofore; and lest those remarks should seem merely generical, narrated what he himself had witnessed with regard to the popular tumult at Avignon, and the plots of the heretics, which were all admirably suppressed by Sadoleto's prudence, so that, as was said by the Provençals, his presence there seemed truly providential. The Pope listened graciously to the whole, but did not say a word, so that he departed without hearing much about Sadoleto's recall. Touching his (Pole's) endeavours to

1539.

defend the Christians of Provence against the insatiable avarice of the Jews, he hopes Sadoleto will have received further information from his agents in Rome, whose demands were granted. Was glad to see by Sadoleto's letter to the Cardinal de Bellai, that he confutes his adversary by attending to other matters, because in a discussion with a person already separated from the Church, his dignity forbad him to enter the lists; the more as Sadoleto had already experienced the obstinacy of his opponent, and therefore did well to combat him indirectly.

Having written thus far, Pole was seized with fever, which molested him during ten days; he is still weak, but writes to prove his convalescence.

Rome, October? 1539?

[*Latin*, 139 *lines*.]

December?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. iv. pp. 32, 33. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

209. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL III.

When by divine providence, Pole detached himself from his country, parents, and kinsfolk, placing himself in the hands of the Pope, he earnestly prayed to be relieved from the embarrassment in which he sees others involved by awaiting from foreign powers rather than from the sole vicar of the Lord, whose dominion alone he acknowledges, what is necessary for their dignity. This he has now obtained by his appointment, through the Pope's goodness, to the legation to the patrimony [Viterbo]. Will shortly return thanks orally, and kiss the Pope's feet, but in the meanwhile, announces how much he is affected by so great and opportune a benefit, conferred at a moment when the succour was very greatly needed.

———, December?

[*Latin*, 16 *lines*.]

A.D. 1540.

1540.

Feb. 24.
Senato Terra, v. xxx. p. 162.

210. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning ENGLISH WOOL.

As the prolongation of the Act passed by this Council on the 20th November 1535 about the importation of wools from England, Flanders, and Brabant, by land or sea, on payment of one-third of the freight to the arsenal, expires on the last day of the present month of February, it being necessary, to enable the merchants to bring wool hither,

Put to the ballot,—

That the aforesaid Act of the 20th November 1535, which was prolonged on the 26th September 1538 until the close of February 1540, be further prolonged *in omnibus et per omnia* until the close of February 1542.

Ayes, 110. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

1540.
March 22.
Senato Terra, v. xxxi. p. 11.

211. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN CONSUL and his SUCCESSORS in ENGLAND.

According to his suggestion, wrote to their secretary (Zuccato) in England to obtain from the King and the Magnifico Cromwell, the renewal of the permission to export wools from England to Venice. Do not doubt that the secretary will easily procure what they wish, but the consul nevertheless is not to fail giving him every assistance in his power for the attainment of a favourable result. On receiving the permit, is to keep it in his own possession, so that from time to time it may remain in the hands of the Signory's consuls, taking good care for the future to whom it be given, to avoid any repetition of the present disorder*, having the exporters' names inscribed at the consulate (*cancellaria*), and making them give security and take oath that the wools exported in virtue of this permit shall be brought to Venice. To transmit their names in writing to the Signory, that they may be registered in the books of their [London?] factory.

Is to send them likewise the names of all those merchants who during the last four years have exported wools from England in virtue of that patent, as already written to him.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 22.
Senato Terra, v. xxxi. p. 12.

212. The SAME to the SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

His letters of the 17th ult. acquainted them with the irregularity which occurred respecting the patent to export wools from England, and the offices performed by him with the Magnifico Cromwell to obtain for them the retention of this privilege, for which they praise him. But as he finds it difficult to obtain the permit to export wools from England to Venice, and as they desire its confirmation, not only for the benefit of their merchants and subjects, but also for the public, he is to use his best offices with the King and Cromwell, so that the King's subjects in Venice, and those of the Signory in England, having had constant intercourse and being well treated, his Majesty is requested to confirm the patent in the same form as it now stands. Should the King not choose to grant it for so great an amount, is to request him at least to renew it for some lesser weight, so that the Venetian merchants may thus be enabled to trade in England; telling him in the Signory's name that at this present time his Majesty could grant them nothing more agreeable. To this effect the secretary is to employ his utmost industry until their wish be obtained; and on receiving the permit for as many [sacks of wool] as he can, he is to consign it to the consul, with the orders contained in their preceding letters of the 26th January, so that for the future it may not be used unduly, to the detriment of the Venetian nation. To transmit a note containing the names of all those who during the last four years have had the "permit," together with the quantity of wool exported by them in virtue of

* The disorder signified apparently that the wools exported from England, in virtue of the "permit," were not sent to Venice.

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it; and to acquaint the Signory with the names of the persons to whom it may be consigned from time to time, that they may be registered in the London factory at Venice.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

213. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

On my way hither I met the Countess Palatine, the sister of the Duchess of Milan, and according to what I heard from her attendants it is believed that the said Duchess Dowager will marry the Duke of Cleves and Juliers, who is here at the Emperor's Court; and concerning this they are awaiting certain replies from England.

Ghent, 28th April 1540.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X. v. viii. p. 153.

214. ENGLISH MINISTER in VENICE—MOTION made in the COUNCIL of TEN.

That to gratify Dom. Sigismund Harvel, minister in this city from the most Serene King of England, four of his servants living with him, and to whom he gives a salary and their board, be allowed to carry arms, their names being notified as usual.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Senato Terra, v. xxxi. p. 28.

215. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning ENGLISH WOOLS.

The woollen manufacturers have informed the Senate that there not being any Frankish wool in Venice at present, their trade is reduced to such an extremity that unless speedy provision be made it will be utterly ruined. Wherefore, as it is one of the chief employments of the Venetian people, and a very great livelihood for the poor, it is necessary to enable the merchants to import the greatest possible quantity of wool, for the benefit of the city. And as on the 29th of February last this Council prolonged until the end of February 1541 the Act passed on the 20th November 1535, about the importation into Venice of wool from England, Flanders and Brabant, both by land and sea, on condition of paying one-third of all the freights to the Arsenal;

Put to the ballot,—

That all persons importing wool into Venice by land from England, Flanders and Brabant, during the period of one year from the present time, be exempted from the payment of any freight to the Arsenal. Wool brought in foreign ships from the same places during the same period, and in Venetian ships during eighteen months, to enjoy the same exemption, with the exception however of such wools as are already on their way either by land or sea; the importers being bound for the future to bring their authentic certificates of the day of departure, the aforesaid Act of the 29th (*sic*) [24th] February remaining *in reliquis* firm and valid.

Ayes, 156. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

1540.
June 11.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

216. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The King of England lately ordered the arrest of the Lord Deputy of Calais* on suspicion of his having negotiated the marriage of his daughter to a Frenchman without the King's knowledge, and he has also imprisoned some more bishops. According to a report which comes from Antwerp, the Lord Deputy has wounded the King, but no great credit is given to this.

Brussels, 11th June 1540.

[*Italian.*]

June 19.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

217. The SAME to the SAME.

News has been received from England of the arrest of the Lord Deputy of Calais. Amongst other persons whom the King has also imprisoned, is his prime minister, the Secretary Cromwell, for having uttered certain words concerning the faith, against the King's supremacy. It is thought that he likewise will make the same end as all the others most in favour with the King, who is said to have found a large sum of money in his possession. No other authentic news has been received from England.

Ghent, 19th June 1540.

[*Italian.*]

June 26.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

218. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The right revd. Legate tells me he has letters from Rome, dated the 9th instant, informing him that advices had been received from Venice to the effect that many meetings and conventicles were held there by Lutherans; so he requested me to write to your Excellency to provide against this, and not allow one rotten apple to spoil the rest which are good, but to expel them [the heretics?] from the capital and your other towns, as unless these first beginnings be guarded against, they are followed by the things now witnessed in Germany and England, where there is neither religion, nor yet obedience to the temporal rulers. These evil commencements are followed by so many other disorders, that when it is wished to apply a remedy, it is no longer possible.

I promised to perform this office, and your Excellencies will do as to your wisdom shall seem fit.

Bruges, 26th June 1540.

[*Italian.*]

July 2.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

219. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

The French Ambassador, who was here in the name of the most Serene Queen [Eleanor of Austria], is gone back to France, Mons. de Lavaor [Lavaur?] remaining alone, and he tells me that by letters from the French Court, dated the 26th June, it is understood that two sentences have been already passed against Cromwell, but are

* Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle.

1540.

not yet published; and that the Bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner] has been appointed Vicar General (*Vicario General della Religion*) in his stead.

The Ambassador from England, who also visited me, says that the Bishop of Bath [John Clerk] has crossed the Channel, and is on his way either to the Emperor or to the most Christian King, on a mission from the King of England.

Bruges, 2nd July 1540.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

220. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Bath arrived here from England on Sunday, and on Monday morning departed on his way to the Duke of Cleves, brother-in-law of the King of England, and he is to return immediately. He says that Cromwell will be burnt, together with two other heretics, one of whom was a Friar, who preached Lutheranism.

The Prince of Salerno has departed hence accompanied by Don Luis d'Avila, and another Gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, and they are gone to England, for the purpose, they said, of seeing the Island, and the King; though they may perhaps have something to negotiate with his Majesty on behalf of the Emperor.

Here in Bruges there are many beautiful things, and amongst the rest a wonderful engine which draws (*estrazze*) the water from certain ditches, and then by means of leaden pipes underground, and under the canals of this city, it reaches the wells, which have thus a constant supply. Should your Serenity wish to do the like at Venice, you might draw the water from the Brenta, which would be much purer, and not very expensive, and by similar underground and under-water pipes of lead or oak, keep all the wells of Venice constantly supplied; and you might also have mills in Venice as at Bruges. It seems to me a fine thing, and should their Lordships the water-bailiffs give ear to this most holy work, your sublimity has but to give the order, and I will have the model made, and bring it with me.

Bruges, 10th July 1540.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

221. The SAME to the SAME.

In my foregoing letter of the 10th I wrote that the King of England was sending the Bishop of Bath to the Duke of Cleves. The cause is said publicly to be that his Majesty purposes repudiating even this last wife, the sister of said Duke of Cleves, because he [the King] had promised marriage to another woman, maid of honour to the deceased queen, as you must have heard in detail from your secretary [Hironimo Zuccato] in England. Hence comes it that whereas the King and the Duke have hitherto been most closely leagued together against the Emperor, they now—both one and the other—would ally themselves with him on any terms.

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The negotiations of England are already incessant; and lately whilst we were at Bruges, the English ambassador had audience of the Emperor almost daily, whilst previously they scarcely spoke to each other, and posts pass to and fro constantly. Ambassadors are also expected from the Duke of Cleves. In short, affairs here seem all tending to the Emperor's advantage, as was also the case with the insurrection at Ghent, which will yield him two millions of gold, nor would he have now come into these parts had it not taken place.

With reference to the repudiation of the Queen of England, I may mention that the Landgrave [of Hesse] * has a beautiful and most amiable wife, the daughter of the late Duke George of Saxony. She is a good Catholic, and has borne him four children. But the Landgrave, being enamoured of a very beautiful girl in the service of his wife, importuned his wife to enter a convent, representing that he was eaten up by the French disease and unwilling to communicate it to her. As she would not consent to this, he at length sent to consult Martin Luther and his companions, who stated their opinion that his Lordship might take this damsel likewise to wife, as no divine law exists prohibiting polygamy, but the Old Testament on the contrary affords many instances of a plurality of wives. Your Serenity will thus perceive into how many errors —one greater than the other—those who commence deviating from the true Catholic faith precipitate themselves.

Antwerp, 17th July 1540.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

222. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Instead of going (as expected) to Maestricht for St. James's day, went to Dort, which is all in the water, the water being fresh, ebbing and flowing like the sea at Venice, and they call it "Little Venice." Proceeded from Dort to Rotterdam, the birthplace of Erasmus,† and but few were the courtiers who abstained from inspecting not only his house, but the chamber in which he was born. From Rotterdam proceeded to Delft, and then to the Hague, where they arrived on Saturday. The Emperor is to hold the Courts of Holland there, but since his arrival until now, he has been constantly in bed with the gout, and gives audience to no one. In the meanwhile visited Mons. de Granvelle, and we commenced discussing the divorce of the King of England, who has in fact made his bishops declare that by no contract can the sister of the Duke of Cleves be his wife; and according to the statement of his Majesty's adherents, letters have been found in Cromwell's possession showing that this Princess had promised [her hand?] previously to another Prince of Germany. But the truth is that after the sentence passed by the bishops on a

* A sketch of the character of the Landgrave of Hesse was given to the Signory in 1530, by the Ambassador Nicolo Tiepolo, who wrote that when reproached for having killed his mother because she reproved him for his Lutheran tenets, the Landgrave replied that he put her to death for other causes. (*See* Calendar, vol. iv. no. 1096.)

† Erasmus died at Basle on the 12th July 1536.

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certain Saturday, his Majesty on the following Monday married the niece of one of the English dukes, she being already pregnant by him; and it is said that he had promised her marriage before espousing Cleves, who is now called the Lady Anne, and he has given her a separate residence and 3,000*l.* per annum for her expenses.

The Prince of Salerno and the gentlemen who accompanied him have returned from England, and Dom. Francesco da Este is also gone to see the island, and has not yet come back.

I hear on good authority that the Emperor has sent an ambassador to England, besides the one in ordinary there, and, as written in my last, the English ambassador resident here has of late had very frequent audiences of his Majesty.

The Hague, 29th July 1540.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Libra ry.

223. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

With regard to the 11 doctors on either side to be elected [by the Catholics and Protestants], that they may assemble next October at the Diet of Worms, this mode of election is not much approved of by the Catholics in general, because the 11 Protestants will be all united, whereas some of the Catholics may perhaps adhere to their opponents respecting the marriage of priests, the communion under both forms, and the like.

The Hague, 7th August 1540.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

224. The SAME to the SAME.

Since my last of the 7th, it has been heard for certain that the most serene King of England has caused Cromwell to be beheaded. He, moreover, made a better end than the evil, of which he had been in great part the cause, deserved.

Nothing more is said about the repudiation, it being already a stale affair (*per esser cosa vecchia*).

The Hague, 10th August 1540.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

225. The SAME to the SAME.

At the end of October next the deputies for either party, both Catholics (*Ecclesiastici*) and Protestants, 11 on each side, are to meet at Worms and discuss amicably the affairs of the faith and the religion, and see what articles are fitting and unfitting, and then report upon the whole at the future Diet. It is supposed that some of the deputies elected by the Catholics will concur with the Protestants on many points, which does not please the right reverend Legate and other ecclesiastics. Besides treating the affairs of the religion, the Emperor hopes also to obtain at this Diet a subsidy for the most serene King of the Romans, for the defence of Hungary against the Turks if necessary.

Brussels, 18th September 1540,

[*Italian.*]

1540.
Sept. 26.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

226. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The King of England has suspended the affair of the strangers until Easter, at the suit of the French ambassador, and it is believed that his Majesty will somewhat modify the Statute.

The new Queen Katharine is said for certain to be pregnant.

The Rev. Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, has returned to the Court of France, and he gave me a copy of the writing presented by him to the Legate stating his opinion concerning the conference (*colloquio*), which I send to your Serenity.

Brussels, 26th September 1540.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

227. The SAME to the SAME.

On the day of Saints Simon and Jude the Emperor gave the Order of the Fleece to the Prince of Orange and Mons. de Buren (Governor of Friesland), with the usual ceremonies. The Papal Nuncio, the new French ambassador, Mons. de Veilly, the Portuguese and I, accompanied his Majesty to the mass. The English ambassador was not present owing to the dispute about precedence between him and the Portugese ambassador, and when one of them attends a ceremony the other absents himself.

Brussels, 30th October 1540.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

228. The SAME to the SAME.

The Prior of Naples, Knight of Rhodes, tells me that the King of England has appropriated to himself all the English revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, and made them lay down the White Cross; and from what the English ambassador tells me, his Majesty acted thus because they did not hazard their lives, still less their substance and revenues, against the Infidels, as they are obliged and bound to do, under penalty of confiscation of all their effects.

Brussels, 14th November 1540.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

229. The SAME to the SAME.

At Antwerp, a number of Portuguese, who lived as Christians and were in reality Jews, have been arrested, their synagogues and much other evidence to that effect having been discovered, so they can scarcely excuse themselves. Their purses will be cut, especially those of some of the chief of them, and it is believed that 100,000 crowns will thus be obtained.

Mons. de Granvelle has arrived at Worms on behalf of the Emperor, the persons appointed to hold the conference (*colloquio*) being already assembled there, and they are expecting the Papal Nuncios; may God grant that it prove for the benefit of the Christian religion.

Brussels, 21st November 1540.

1540.
Nov. 30.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Without date. Printed in v. ii. p. 18. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," dated as above.

230. CARDINAL POLE to STANISLAS OSIO.

After an interval of years, answers his congratulatory letters on Pole's election to the Cardinalate. Was prevented from replying sooner, first by the arduous negotiations in course at the time, and secondly by his sojourn in a province where there was no opportunity for the transmission of his reply. Has now made inquiries about Osio from some of his countrymen,* and sends him this letter, complimenting him on his success in life, which Pole anticipated, when he saw him studying at Padua, and now offers him his good offices.

Rome, 30th November 1540.

[*Latin*, 24 *lines*.]

Dec. 4.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

231. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor arrived here on the 28th ult. He had St. Paul's church prepared for the performance of the ceremony of the Fleece on St. Andrew's day. He heard vespers there on the eve with the intention of attending mass in like manner on the morrow, with the knights, ambassadors, and others, but having passed rather a bad night he did not rise from his bed, so there was no further ceremony, save that the knights went to mass in their chapel, and dined at the palace as usual, being only nine in number. The Emperor is still in bed, his malady being a slight attack of piles (*un poco di moroide*). According to report, he will perhaps remain here some days.

The embassy from England which was to come hither consists of the Bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner], and another gentleman of the King's chamber. They have already arrived at Calais, and are accompanied by 100 horsemen; but as yet nothing more is known about the cause of their mission.

Valenciennes, 4th December 1540.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 10.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

232. The SAME to the SAME.

Letters have been received from the conference at Worms in date of the 5th, and it seems that the adversaries are so strong and obstinate in their opinion, that there is no way to convince them.

The Bishop of Winchester is expected from day to day, as also an ambassador from the King of Poland.

Valenciennes, 10th December 1540.

[*Italian*.]

* By the printed edition of this letter, it appears that Osio was a native of Poland, which is confirmed by the biographical dictionaries, and these show that his intimacy with Reginald Pole commenced at the University of Padua. On his return to Poland he became secretary of King Sigismund, and eventually Bishop of Warmia. When Pius IV. sent him to the Emperor Ferdinand about the continuation of the Council of Trent, that Sovereign said he "could not resist a man whose mouth was a temple, and whose tongue an oracle of the Holy Spirit." In acknowledgment of so important a service Pius IV. created Osio Cardinal, on the 26th February 1561. The Catholics styled him "pillar of the Church," and the "Saint Augustin of his age;" the Protestants found him one of their most formidable adversaries. Cardinal Osio died at Capranica, in the Roman States, in the year 1579.

1540.
Dec. 18.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

233. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Winchester has arrived at Mons, and by the Emperor's order is gone to Namur.

There are letters from the conference at Worms purporting that the business there proceeds very slowly, and not much to the satisfaction of the papal agents, or of Mons. de Granvelle.

The letters from Germany urge the Emperor to go speedily to the Diet [of Ratisbon?], as otherwise the Princes, after waiting for him eight or ten days, will immediately depart.

Valenciennes, 18th December 1540.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

234. The SAME to the SAME.

Arrived here on the 23rd, as did the Emperor on the morrow, having made the first day's journey from Valenciennes in a litter, and all the rest on horseback; he is now quite well.

Yesterday afternoon he gave audience to the Bishop of Winchester, who went to his Majesty with great pomp, being accompanied by some 150 persons on foot, all with gold chains round their necks. So far as can be heard, he is come to accompany the Emperor, and to be present at the Imperial Diet [of Ratisbon], and according to report, he will not use his offices in favour of the Pope. He is accompanied by another gentleman of the King's chamber [Pate?], who will subsequently remain here as ambassador in ordinary with the Emperor; and the ambassador, late resident here [Sir Thomas Wyatt?], has taken leave of his Majesty, and in two days will depart on his way back to England.

It is reported from Worms that the adversaries have printed their Confession there, with all their articles, and they are very elate, it appearing to them that these articles are unanswerable. Numerous pasquinades, as customary at Rome, have appeared, all against the Pope.

Today the Emperor went to mass at St. Mary's, accompanied by the Nuncio, by the French Ambassador, and by me. The English Ambassadors did not attend.

Two Franciscan Friars of the Observantine Order have also come to the Emperor from Ireland, in the name of the whole of that island, to complain of their Lord, the King of England, and to request his Majesty to take them under his protection, as they will submit to him (*che si daranno a quella*). They are going to Rome to beseech the Pope to compel the Emperor to take that kingdom, because the inhabitants will all submit to his Imperial Majesty (*perchè tutti si darano a sua Impl. Maestà*).

The Emperor will depart tomorrow for Luxemburg.

Namur, 26th December 1540.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1541.

1541.
No date.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x., printed in v. iii. pp. 32–34. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

235. CARDINAL POLE to FRANCIS I., KING of FRANCE.

Thanks the King for having remembered him, whilst by friends and kindred he is forgotten, they seeking to deprive him of all support. With regard to the Bishop of R . . . . . (*Episcopum Rudensem*?) whom the King recommends to him, he was presented to him at Venice by the Bishop of Lavaur? (*Episcopo Vaurensi*). Will not fail to aid the Bishop of R . . . . ., and will pray God that King Francis may preserve that piety which transpired in his conversations with the Pope, with Cardinal [Gasparo] Contarini, and himself, during the Congress of Nice.

Viterbo?.

[*Latin*, 39 *lines*.]

Jan. 7.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

236. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The English ambassador late resident here,* absented himself with a single servant, nor is it known whither he is gone. He had some suspicion that his King was not well satisfied with him, and therefore feared to enter his presence. He was in truth a very admirable and worthy man, and I believe also a good Catholic.

There are letters from Worms, dated the 20th December, and it seems that affairs there are not proceeding very prosperously, there being on the contrary some discord amongst the Catholics, with small hopes of agreement.

The French Ambassador, the two who lately arrived from England, and I came hither by land, the journey being shorter, but more fatiguing. The Nuncio and the Portuguese Ambassador are coming by way of Cologne by water, which is longer but more convenient.

Luxemburg, 7th January 1541.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 19.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

237. The SAME to the SAME.

The Emperor arrived here late last evening, as did I on the day before. Mons. de Granvelle has also come from Worms, and it seems that the entire negotiation will be transferred to the Diet, and, from what I hear, with small hope of adjustment. They lately disputed during four consecutive days about original sin, on which point they will have agreed, as yesterday morning Bucer admitted that sin which remains after baptism, is sin without transgression (*colpa*), and this is what the Catholics insist on.

Spires, 19th January 1541.

[*Italian*.]

* Sir Thomas Wyatt. *See* Nott's Surrey and Wyatt, vol. ii. p. 63.

1541.
Jan. 26.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

238. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

On the 24th we were to have departed hence for Ratisbon by way of Nuremberg, but the Emperor having been seized with a fit of the gout on the preceding day the departure was delayed, nor can it yet be known when his Majesty will depart, as he is still in bed, and has suffered much pain.

The Bishop of Feltre, the Master of the Sacred Palace, and many others of the Catholic Doctors have come hither from Worms; nor in short, during the two months and upwards of their colloquy, have they done more than was written in my foregoing letters. First of all, they waited for the most illustrious De Granvelle [Antoine de Perrenot, Bishop of Arras], who did not arrive until the 22nd of November; then on the 25th, after making his lordship sing High Mass in the cathedral, they assembled in the place appointed for the conference. After perusal of the letters addressed by the Emperor to the Princes and States of Germany, as also of Mons. de Granvelle's commission, which was most ample, his lordship made so very fine an oration that it moved many persons to tears. A few days later the Bishop of Feltre, in the name of the Pope, made another oration, no less fine than the first. They next commenced discussing the mode of procedure, either according to the treaty of Franckfort, or to that of Haguenau, and spent many days in debate on this matter, determining at length to proceed on the basis of the treaty of Haguenau. Concerning these treaties your Lordships can obtain full information from Messer Marin Giustinian, his magnificence being better acquainted with the subject than anyone. They then mooted another difficulty respecting who was to speak, and much time was spent on this likewise, it being at length settled to have one spokesman for each side, the Catholics electing Eckius, and the Protestants Melancthon. At length, on the 14th inst., and not before, and being agreed on the first article (*De Trinitate*), they disputed for four consecutive days about the second article (*De peccato originali*), concerning which they at length became agreed. Then on the 17th letters arrived from the Emperor, commanding that whether the conference (*colloquio*) had been commenced or not, the entire business was to be transferred to the Diet. Thus has this conference been dissolved, nor have they proceeded farther because, concerning the other articles which follow (*De giustificatione, etc.*), it seems that the Catholics are not well agreed amongst each other, and it is thought that unless the Emperor himself in person produce some good effect with the Princes of Germany, small fruit will be gathered from amongst these Doctors. The Pope's determination to send Cardinal [Gasparo] Contarini to the Diet is much commended, by reason of his eminent qualities.

Spires, 26th January 1541.

[*Italian.*]

1541.
Feb. 4.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in v. iii. pp. 13–15. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

239. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

Letter referring to private matters. Prays God for the success of his cause, and for the health of his advocate.*

Rome, 4th February 1541.

[*Latin*, 44 *lines*.]

Feb. 28.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

240. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

It is reported from England that by the King's order Sir Thomas Wyatt has been arrested. He was heretofore his Majesty's ambassador with the Emperor. According to report his arrest took place because he was devoted to Cromwell; and it was said yesterday that he had been beheaded.

Ratisbon, 28th February 1541.

[*Italian*.]

March 13.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

241. The SAME to the SAME.

The Right Rev. Legate [Gasparo] Contarini arrived at the Carthusian monastery on the day before yesterday, and yesterday he made his entry in great state, having been met by well-nigh the whole Court, including Mons. di Prata [De Praet?], and the Bishop of Arao [Arras?], in the name of the Emperor, many bishops, all the ambassadors, save those from England, and the Frenchman, who was somewhat indisposed. The clergy likewise went to meet him, and at the gate he was received under a canopy, which is not usually done, unless to the Emperor. He then went to the cathedral and sang the "*Te Deum laudamus*," after which he went to his habitation, where he received presents from the municipality of Ratisbon, from the bishop, and from many others, his popularity being such as to defy exaggeration, many persons being heard to exclaim "*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*," and everybody seemed to rejoice at his coming. God grant that he may be an instrument destined by Him to effect something beneficial for the affairs of the religion. He is lodged in the palace where Cardinal Campeggio resided, and which forms the centre of the Emperor's palace (*per mezzo quello di Sua Cesarea Maestà*,) and his Imperial Majesty has appointed his audience for today.

Ratisbon, 13th March 1541.

[*Italian*.]

March 17.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxi. p. 67.

242. MOTION made in the SENATE for the appointment of an Ambassador to England.

Since the return from England of our nobleman, the Ambassador Carlo Capello, knight, who left his secretary there, the election of

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* In the year 1541, Paul III. sent Gasparo Contarini, with the title of Apostolic Legate, to the Diet of Ratisbon, where his moderation and concessions to the Protestant party caused him to be accused of heterodoxy at Rome.

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his successor has been delayed from day to day until now, and thus the laudable custom of keeping an ambassador from our state at the English Court—as the other powers do—has been interrupted.

On many very fitting accounts, both public and private, and for many very reasonable causes, it cannot but be profitable and convenient to elect an ambassador to the King of England; and by so much the more, as the secretary resident there during the last eleven years requests leave to return.

Put to the ballot, that an ambassador be elected to the most Serene King of England, he receiving for his expenses 140 golden ducats per month, like the others, without being bound to show any account, and to keep eleven horses, including those of his secretary and servant, and four footmen, and to depart when and with such commission as shall seem fit to this Council.

Ayes, 79.

Amendment.

That the present matter be deferred, on fitting accounts.

Ayes, 96. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

243. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

All the princes here, both spiritual and temporal, ask me about my successor, Messer Marin Giustinian, who is well known to them, and they greatly wish for him here by reason of his experience and intelligence in these matters, and especially the ecclesiastical doctors, who say it would be very fitting for him likewise to be here, as he has long treated the subject. Dom. Giovanni Cocleo has dedicated to him his work on saint worship (*De veneratione et invocatione sanctorum*), which I send herewith for delivery to him.*

Ratisbon, 23rd March 1541.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

244. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday the Count Palatine Otho arrived here, and tomorrow the Landgrave is coming with 340 horsemen. As yet nothing more is heard about the Duke of Saxony.

The other day, when talking with Duke Ludovic of Bavaria, he said to me, "Ambassador, we understand that the Cardinal Legate here is a Venetian, your countryman, and of your own family. Tell him in our name to defend the affairs of the religion stoutly, and not to have regard for anything, as we also will do the like; and do you likewise act thus."

I answered his Excellency that I would do as enjoined me, though it was unnecessary, the Cardinal Gasparo being as ready

* In the year 1539, the theologian controvertist Cocleo was attacked by Richard Morrison, who answered his treatise against the marriage of Henry VIII.; and the rejoinder of Cocleo was entitled, "Besom of John Cochlæus for the sweeping of Morrison's cobwebs."

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and active as possible in this matter; and in truth all who listen to his right reverend Lordship are astounded at the facility and grace (*galantaria*) with which he confutes all these articles; and although the nuncio Poggio was a skilful and very experienced statesman, as well acquainted as any one with all the affairs of this Court, yet to say the truth he was no great theologian, whereas now the Pope has his Legate here, and for nuncio the Bishop of Modena, also a learned man, and who understands this matter and has negotiated it constantly; so that they praise the Pope to the skies for having sent Cardinal Contarini hither.

I for myself believe and maintain what Holy Mother Church believes, in which belief I shall persist until death, and I have extreme satisfaction in hearing the right reverend Legate discourse, it seeming to me that no one understands these matters better than he does; but really afterwards, when talking with these Lutherans—for I am compelled to associate with them likewise—they adduce so many arguments and have such a flow of language that I confess ingenuously to your Serenity that I know not how to answer them, this not being my profession. I mention this because, were my successor Giustinian here, it could not but prove very greatly to the honour and glory of our noble, holy, and Catholic Republic, to have another defender of the religion, and one who is capable of vigorously confuting these heresies, about which I know not how to utter a word. Your Serenity would thus please the Pope, the Emperor, the Dukes of Bavaria, and other Catholic Princes, and all these Bishops; and indeed on the day before yesterday the Bishops of Bamburg and Augsburg inquired of me when Giustinian would arrive, as his presence here would be greatly to the purpose as he understood these negotiations marvellously, and excelled in these matters, they having known and been very intimate with him. It would therefore be for the honour and advantage of the State to send him immediately, as he will arrive in very good time, the Protestants having so long delayed their coming hither that the Diet will not commence until after Easter, and although the Emperor remains most unwillingly, he nevertheless being here, cannot depart. The Legate came hither from Trent in a litter in twelve days, so any ambassador from Venice will have plenty of time for the journey. The Pope has sent to this Imperial Diet the aforesaid Legate Contarini, the most Christian King has sent Dr. Rhaimond, who has already arrived, and the ambassadors from the King of England are the Bishop of Winchester and another [Pate?], who, although opposed to the Pope's temporal interests (*che sebene nelle cose del Pontefice sono contrarij, tamen nelle altre sono con Catholici*), are nevertheless with the Catholics in the other matters and defend them stoutly; so that the Signory likewise cannot but do well to send Giustinian.

The nuncio Poggio departed on the day before yesterday, and the Emperor gave him a gold cup full of crowns, worth in all 4,000 crowns.

Ratisbon, 26th March 1541.

[*Italian.*]

1541.
March 29.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

245. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Landgrave of Hesse made his entry in Sunday with a very handsome retinue all armed, and yesterday he had public audience of the Emperor. It is incredible how all flock to see him, whereas no one stirs for a sight of the other Princes, and they do the like by Melancthon, he having come with the councillors of the Duke of Saxony, who it is thought will either not attend the Diet or arrive at its close. Melancthon has apologized to me about a pamphlet or epistle which has been published with a dedication to the Venetian Senate. He tells me it is not his, but composed by others and published in his name, as is the case with many other works, nor would he have dedicated it to the Senate without some occasion. I said this was of little importance, but that I indeed prayed God to render him his instrument to produce some good effect for the Christian religion. He answered me that he was an insignificant person (*un picciol homo*) and could do but little, though so far as was in his power he wished solely for some good result.

Yesterday when at the house of the Cardinal Legate [Gasparo Contarini], the Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Modena, inquired of me when my successor [Giustinian] would arrive, saying that his presence here would be much to the purpose, he, the Nuncio, knowing very well how great his ability is with regard to these matters of religion.

Letters from England state that the King has had the Lord Deputy of Calais and some twelve other persons arrested, and it also seemed that on the frontiers there, the understanding between the French and English is not so good as it might be, by reason of certain fortifications which the most Christian King is building in those parts.

Ratisbon, 29th March 1541.

[*Italian.*]

April 6.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

246. The SAME to the SAME.

The Cardinal of Mentz arrived here unexpectedly early one morning in order that no one should go out to meet him, and he came with a most splendid company. On that same day he went to the Emperor, and on the morrow visited the Cardinal Legate Contarini; and whereas heretofore this same Elector and the Cardinal Saint Sixtus, who was then Apostolic Legate, wrangled greatly about precedence, so now on the contrary he is most gracious and respectful with the present Legate, and although Elector, and Cardinal, Primate of Germany, and of the most noble house of Brandenburg, besides having many other titles which are now for the first time all centered in one sole person, he shows himself as obedient and respectful as possible to the Legate and the Apostolic See.

Every day lately the Emperor has been endeavouring to adjust the disputes between the Duke of Bradenburg and the Landgrave, and to be appointed arbitrator in this matter, lest from the hatred and mortal enmity between the parties they have recourse to

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arms, even in his Majesty's presence !! Although it is well nigh impossible to arrange the business, his Imperial Majesty has somewhat quieted the Landgrave, so that they have been able at any rate to commence the Diet, in which it was feared that some great turmoil would otherwise have taken place; and although some other Electors and Princes and Bishops have still to arrive, yet is the Emperor so anxious to depart hence that he would not wait any longer, and went yesterday, in the name of the Holy Ghost, to hear mass, with such Princes and Bishops as are already here. The right reverend Legate went beforehand to the church, where he awaited his Majesty on a gilt throne in advance of the Emperor's on the opposite side nearer the altar, so that he really seemed the Pope in person. The Cardinal of Mentz also went in a litter to await the Emperor, and accompanied the Legate to the high altar, and when his Majesty arrived turned back as far as the door to meet him. After the mass had been sung by the Bishop of Ratisbon the Legate gave the benediction. The Landgrave of Hesse and the Count of Hainault (the Duke of Saxony's envoy) were not in the cathedral, not choosing to be present during the mass, and they waited for the Emperor in the town hall, which had been prepared for the session of the Diet.

On the termination of the mass, the Emperor with all the Princes (the Cardinal Legate Contarini remaining in the Cathedral) went to the town hall, and the Count Palatine Frederick announced in his Majesty's name in German (the Emperor not speaking that language fluently) that he had summoned all the Princes of Germany to this Diet to provide for the affairs of the religion, and for the common weal of the Empire, as by a writing which would be read to their lordships, whom he requested to listen to it attentively, that they might be enabled to counsel and decide as should seem fit to them for the benefit of the Christian religion and of the empire. Thereupon Navia (*il Navia*) read a long writing recapitulating all that the Emperor had done since the year 1531, when in the like manner, the last Diet was held here at Ratisbon. That in the first place the Emperor went in person to Vienna to fight the Turks, and had not Sultan Solyman taken flight (*fugito*), he [the Emperor] would have demonstrated how anxious he was to hazard his life for the benefit of Christendom. He next went into Italy to arrange with Pope Clement about the Council, according to his promise at the Diet. After this, he proceeded to Spain and made the Tunis expedition in person against Barbarossa, as well known to the whole world; returning again to Italy, to urge the present Pope [Paul III.] to call the Council which did not take place for the causes well known to the Princes Electors. On hearing that the King of France had commenced hostilities against the Duke of Savoy, who as one of the Princes of Germany is under his protection, being also his Imperial Majesty's brother-in-law, the Emperor went into Provence to assist the Duke, always endeavouring through the Pope, first at Rome, and subsequently at Nice, to make peace with King Francis, to effect which he exposed himself to danger, by going in person to Aigues Mortes; and then he went to Spain. He constantly laboured by sea and land, defensively and offensively, to act against the Turk,

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as was notorious to everybody; and when he heard subsequently that the affairs of Germany were in great confusion on account of the religion, that the Low Countries had commenced rebelling, that Denmark had already separated herself from Germany, and that the Swiss Cantons might be supposed to have well nigh followed this example, as they unscrupulously took pay from aliens, and served them against the Empire, he therefore set out for Germany, it being his wish to come through Italy, but seeing the importance of speed, he again incurred peril, travelling alone postwise through France, to remedy and obviate all these disturbances. So he prayed these Princes to consult and determine what should be done for the benefit of the Christian religion, and the welfare of the Empire, and to provide against the Turks, who now evidently intended again invading Austria; and concerning the affairs of the religion, whether they approved of His Majesty's appointing learned and suitable persons to confer together, and subsequently reported to the Diet the course recommended by them.

After the perusal of this paper, the Cardinal of Mentz and the Envoys of the other Electors withdrew to one side, and the rest of the Princes and Bishops to another, and having conferred together for a short while, they answered the Emperor that as the writing was long, they requested him to give them a copy, that they might consider it, and then reply as necessary. So it was arranged for them to send (this morning) their secretaries, to whom the writing should be read again, that all might have a copy, and but little else will be done until after the holydays, as we are well nigh in Passion week.

Ratisbon, 6th April, 1541.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed and dated in v. iii. pp. 17–19. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

247. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

Congratulations on his safe arrival and honourable reception at Ratisbon. Is also glad that at the first conference the Emperor showed himself well disposed to adjust the controversies which disturb the Church. This proves that most prudent sovereign hopes to succeed in his purpose, the more as the Turks have turned eastward, for which God be praised. Yesterday by the Pope's order his (Contarini's) letters to Cardinal Farnese, to this same effect, were read in Consistory. The Pope commended his prudence, and all applauded. Would fain give him good news from Rome in return, but cannot, as they have war at the gates.* With regard to the Marchioness of Pescara,† supposed by him (Contarini) to be a suitable mediator for the suppression of her brother's obstinacy, she tried all means to divert him from war to obedience, and having failed in her object, had recourse to prayer, and withdrew into a nunnery at Orvieto, whence she writes to him (Pole) that her days pass happily. This verily is true happiness, to think of God and not of the world; wherefore purposes per-

* Allusion to the attacks of Ascanio Colonna and his faction.

† Vittoria Colonna, sister of Ascanio.

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severing in prayer, that his (Contarini's) prudence may render him successful in this important negotiation.

Rome, 11th April 1541.

[*Latin*, 78 *lines.*]

April 13. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Marks's Library.

248. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

On the 6th, I wrote about the proposal made in the Emperor's name in the Diet, and now send a copy of it translated into Latin.

The members of the League of Smalkald, that is to say the Protestants, after having held several consultations together, at length gave the Emperor their reply in writing, the "Obedients" or Catholics doing the like, although it seems that amongst these "Obedients" there is some difficulty. From what I understand, both parties will assent to his Majesty's appointment of such persons as may seem fit to him that they may confer and negotiate some form of concord, and then state the whole to the Diet, for the adoption of such resolutions as expedient, and God grant that they may benefit the Christian religion.

Ratisbon, 13th April 1541.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. iii. pp. 22–24. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," dated 22nd April 1541.

249. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL GASPARO CONTARINI.

Together with the Cardinal of Rimini, explained to the Pope how fitting it would be to send him (Contarini) two months salary. The Pope considered it perfectly just. Today his Holiness was the first to speak about it to him (Pole), inquiring whether the money had been remitted, and when answered in the negative, being also told that not even had the order been issued, he had it despatched immediately. With regard to his (Contarini's) other demand for permission to pass two months in his diocese,* to avoid the summer heat, from which he suffers greatly; discussed the subject first with Cardinal Farnese, to prepare the way, and then spoke to the Pope, who granted the request, saying that should he go into Cisalpine Gaul, as he apparently intended, Contarini might easily meet him there if necessary.

Rome, 22nd April 1541.

[*Latin*, 43 *lines.*]

April 25. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

250. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Passion week and the Easter holydays prevented the Emperor from naming the members of the conference until the 20th, the persons appointed being as by the enclosed copy;† and today, in the name of God and Messer St. Mark, these Doctors are to meet and commence negotiations.

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* Gasparo Contarini obtained the bishopric of Belluno in the year 1536. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 155.)

† The copy does not exist, but Sarpi in his History of the Council of Trent, gives the names thus:—for the Catholics John Eckius, Julius Pflug, and John Gropper; for the Protestants Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistoire.

1541.

Last evening, letters arrived from Rome, with an account of all that has taken place hitherto between the Pope and Ascanio Colonna. The Lutherans here, and indeed many others of the Court, cannot bear that the Emperor should so zealously defend the Pope's interests here, to the detriment of all his own affairs elsewhere, whilst the Pope on the other hand is intent on nothing but to effect the ruin of one of his Majesty's adherents.

Ratisbon, 25th April 1541.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

251. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor has been hunting for three days, having also done the like some days previously, and he was accompanied by the Dukes of Bavaria, and the Duke of Brunswick. They are to arrive at the Carthusian Monastery outside this city tomorrow evening, and will remain there Sunday and Monday to keep the birthday of the Empress, and on Monday evening will come to see what has been done by the controvertists appointed by him, who have already held three meetings, and according to report commenced with the article "*De justificatione,*" concerning which the Catholics hope that the Protestants will agree with them. The articles are in number fifteen, as by the enclosed list.*

Ratisbon, 29th April 1541.

[*Italian.*]

May 3. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

252. The SAME to the SAME.

The Emperor returned hither on Monday, and according to report he is going to some baths three leagues hence to drink the waters, as taken by him heretofore.

These Doctors seem to be agreed about the article "*De fide et justificatione,*" thus, "*Quod viva et efficax fides per charitatem justificat hominem, et quod non debeat prædicari de sola fide, nisi istis adjunctis, dilectione, timore Dei, pœnitentiâ, et bonis operibus.*"

They are now discussing the article "*De vera Ecclesia Dei.*"

Ratisbon, 3rd May 1541.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

253. The SAME to the SAME.

Concerning the affairs of the conference, all its members assemble daily, and since my last of the 3rd, they seem also to have agreed about some other articles. Since then, however, they are said to differ greatly concerning the article "*De venerabili Sacramento,*" which is a matter of very great importance; and the like has apparently occurred "*De Potestate Ecclesiasticâ.*" They are also in great difficulty "*De ministris Ecclessiæ,*" so that whereas at the beginning they anticipated some good result, they now on the contrary have not such high hopes as at first, but nevertheless

* The list is not copied in the letterbook.

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continue debating about the other articles, and will subsequently report the whole to the Diet.

Ratisbon, 7th May 1541.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

254. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The business of the conference (*colloquio*) has somewhat cooled, and with regard to the article "*De venerabili Sacramento*," not only do the Protestants disagree with the Catholics, but these last in like manner are divided amongst themselves; and concerning this article, neither the Emperor, nor the Legate, nor any other Catholic, will deviate in the least from the Dogma of the Catholic Church. By means of the Legate the article "*De Potestate Ecclesiastica—de Ministris Ecclesiæ*," is to be left for the last; and with regard to the others, they proceed but slowly, by so much the more as during the last four days, Eckius, the chief of the Catholic Doctors, has been indisposed, and were his malady protracted it would be untoward, as this business is familiar to him, and he understands it as well as possible. It seems that at the beginning there was more hope of an adjustment than now, but the Emperor nevertheless does not omit doing everything in his power to obtain some good result; and should no adjustment be made between these Princes, many persons are of opinion that his Majesty will return to Flanders, especially as he has sent away his whole fleet that it may go into the Levant, having also dismissed the 400 spears who accompanied him thus far.

It is heard by letters from Flanders that King Henry has sent some infantry across the Channel because the most Christian King has been raising new fortifications at Ardres; and also on account of a dispute which has prevailed during the last few months between the French and English about a bridge.*

The Marquises George and Albert of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pomerania have arrived here, all three being most violent Lutherans (*Lutheranissimi*).

Ratisbon, 14th May 1541.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

255. The SAME to the SAME.

With regard to the conference (*colloquio*), it seems that during the last few days, they discussed the article "*De confessione*," and although they say that confession is a good thing, they nevertheless came to the conclusion that it is not "*de jure divino*," nor yet necessary for salvation (*de necessitate salutis*); so that the farther they go daily, the more evident it is that they are firmer than ever in their opinions, which may the Almighty regulate.

Ratisbon, 16th May 1541.

[*Italian.*]

* Cowbridge. The disputes about Cowbridge are alluded to in "the Chronicle of Calais," printed for the Camden Society, A.D. 1846; and at p. 197 of that work it is stated that the last notice of the matter is dated 2nd of February 1541. We now see that the controversy appointed for that day was still going on in the following month of May.

1541.
May 22.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. iii. pp. 34–35. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," and dated as above.

256. CARDINAL POLE to CRISTOFORO MADRUCCI, CARDINAL BISHOP of TRENT.

Formal letter.
Rome, 22nd May 1541.
[*Latin*, 31 *lines*.]

May 29.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

257. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

These doctors have at length terminated their conference (*colloquio*), and it is universally supposed that the malady of Eckius has been the cause of their despatching the business much more speedily than they would have done had he been in health, he being a person who would have chosen to debate each point at full length, and the affair would have been more protracted.

From what I hear, the conclusion is, that the Protestants hold to their own opinions, and most especially with regard to the principal articles. Respecting the two articles which have been disposed of—the one at Worms, "*De peccato originali*," and the other here "*De justificatione*,"—the Catholics say that the Protestants have come over to their opinion, and the Lutherans declare that ours think as they do (*Li Catholici dicono che li Protestanti sono venuti nella sua sententia, et li Lutherani dicono che li nostri sono della lor opinione*). Concerning the majority of the other articles—and of the most important ones—they are more at variance (*più discordi*) than ever. Everything has been consigned to writing, and will be reported to the Diet in the course of the present week, as the theologians have been unable to agree together; it will now be seen whether some good adjustment and result can be effected through these Princes. Many persons are of opinion that the matter will not be long delayed, and that in one way or the other it will have speedy dispatch.

An oration has been issued with the following title:—"Ad Principes Electores et Status Imperij, De Origine et Defectu Papæ; De ejus practicis; et quid demum hoc tempore de eo sperandum sit."

Thereby you may perceive whether they are on the point of adjustment (*in termine di accordarsi*); and although it is in German, your worthy and faithful Secretary Ladovici can translate it at leisure, and your Excellencies comprehend its tenour.

Words cannot express how much comment the Pope causes by his hostilities in Italy [against Ascanio Colonna], and the inference drawn is, that provided he aggrandize his own relations, he cares but little whether he thus ruin the Church. I am told by a trustworthy person, that lately at one of the banquets given by these Princes—for at the Diets they do nothing else daily—the greater part of the persons present said that Ascanio Colonna ought to come hither, and that if the Emperor would not assist him, he should be assisted by others, such strong language being used that I am ashamed to write it.

With regard to the other articles, as they are to be published, I abstain from sending them until they are in print.

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Last Sunday, the Emperor went to Mass in the Church of St. Emmerano,* where a dispute arose between the Marquis George of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine Otho Henry, about precedence; the Marquis claiming it in right of his age, and Count Otho Henry saying that the house of Bavaria took precedence of all the other houses. It length, being unable to agree together, they and all the other Princes present departed, leaving the Emperor alone with the two electors—Frederick Count Palatine, and Duke Lewis of Bavaria,—together with the ambassadors of the other electors. On the other side of the choir there were the Right Reverend the Legate [Gasparo Contarini] and the Nuncio, with all the other Bishops.

Here in the houses of the Protestants the preachers proclaim their dogmas daily, in six places, to very full congregations; most especially on holydays; and it is supposed that should nothing else have been done at this Diet, the city of Ratisbon likewise, from being Catholic, as it was, will now turn Lutheran. No persons are seen in the churches, save those of the Imperial Court or the attendants of some of the Catholic Princes.

The advices from Flanders, especially from the Queen [Dowager of Hungary], purport that the Emperor, after settling affairs here, will return to Flanders, as confirmed by many others at Ratisbon, in case he be unable to make any satisfactory adjustment with these Princes. The English ambassador here, the Bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner], is seen to be often at the house of Mons. de Granvelle, and to have frequent audiences of the Emperor; so possibly should his Imperial Majesty come to no agreement here, he will make an alliance with King Henry.

Ratisbon, 29th May 1541.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

258. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Today the disputants of the conference (*li Colloquitori*) presented to the Emperor the book containing the whole account of the conference (*colloquio*), and this week it will be published in the Diet, where everything will be heard in detail. It seems that they are agreed about some few articles; about the principal ones they are at variance; and some others are referred by them to his Majesty, that he may find such form and way of concord as shall seem fit to him.

His Majesty is sending Mons. de Praet into Flanders to be present at the marriage of the Duchess of Milan to the Marquis, the son of the Duke of Lorraine. He will depart in three days, it being also said that he will proceed to England, with whom the negotiations seem to become closer hourly, in which case the Emperor will return to Flanders.

* There is an account of the Benedictine Abbacy of Saint *Emmerano* at Ratisbon, in Büsching's "Nuova Geografia." (Italian edition, vol. x. p. 108.)

1541.

I enclose some replies made by the Catholic Doctors to part of the propositions of the Protestants sent by me a few days ago.

Ratisbon, 31st May 1541.

[*Italian.*]

June 2. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

259. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Since yesterday it is reported all over the Court that the Emperor is sending orders to Italy to prepare for the Algerine expedition, he having determined to undertake it; and although many persons think it unreasonable, yet is it my duty to write whatever I hear, by so much the more as the report is general throughout the Court; nor at present do they talk of anything else.

Yesterday and today these Princes assembled to try and find means to adjust the dispute about precedence between the Count Otho Henry and the Marquis George of Brandenburg, as otherwise they cannot call the Diet, but as yet they are not agreed.

The Bishop of Vienna [John Faber], who was a great defender of the Catholic faith, has died, and will be succeeded by his Majesty's preacher Nausen, he having been the Bishop's coadjutor.

All persons are of opinion that we shall speedily depart hence; some say for Italy, others for Flanders.

Ratisbon, 2nd June 1541.

[*Italian.*]

June 2. Senato Terra, vol. xxxi. p. 129.

260. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning ENGLISH WOOL.

On the 11th of June 1540, at the request of the woollen manufacturers, it was carried in this Council that all importers of wool to Venice by land from England, Flanders, and Brabant, were to be exempted, during one year, from the payment of any freight to the Arsenal.

Put to the ballot, that by authority of this Council, said act passed on the 11th June be prolonged during one year from this time, with the same conditions as contained in said Act.

Ayes, 138. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

261. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday the Emperor sent for all the Princes, both Catholics and Protestants, and informed them that the conference (*colloquio*) was ended, and that the disputants (*collocutori*) had presented to his Majesty the book, whereby it appeared that they were not agreed about many of the principal articles, and he therefore wished the Princes to record what they thought fitting to be done for the benefit of the Christian Religion; and that they should have copies of the book to enable them to consult and state their opinion.

Ratisbon, 9th June 1541.

[*Italian.*]

1541.
June 10.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

262. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday Cardinal Frangipani made a very fine speech [in the Diet?], so that it well nigh moved all the Princes to tears, and it is thought that they will at any rate be disposed to do some good; but we must now await the replies to all the articles proposed by his Majesty.

Ratisbon, 10th June 1541.

[*Italian.*]

June 15.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

263. The SAME to the SAME.

On Monday the 13th, the Landgrave of Hesse went and took leave of the Emperor, and departed yesterday morning with great pomp, they being mutually well satisfied with each other. The pretext assigned by him for his departure is the dangerous illness of the Duke Henry of Saxony, the father of his son-in-law; and he says he is compelled to be on the spot, lest other persons seize Duke Henry's territory.

The Protestants and Catholics together will give assistance to the kingdom of Hungary in the form desired by the Emperor, provided they are at peace and quiet amongst themselves; and it is believed that although they will not agree about religious matters (as already manifest) they will nevertheless find some mode of adjustment concerning this other, and they have appointed eight of their Princes to negotiate and treat the matter.

Ratisbon, 15th June 1541.

[*Italian.*]

June 19.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

264. The SAME to the SAME.

Here they are intent solely on making copies of these books and of the replies to them, which will at length be printed, so I do not take much trouble to be amongst the first to possess them, especially as small hopes of concord are visible, though it is indeed considered certain that a way will be found by means of some agreement so long as it shall please God.

Everybody is of opinion that the Emperor's departure will take place in a few days.

Ratisbon, 19th June 1541.

[*Italian.*]

June 22.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

265. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday morning, at the opening of the gates, the King of the Romans arrived, having come postwise in three days from Vienna. The Emperor being informed of his coming waited for him in his shirt at the window, and after they had embraced and remained a short while together, both one and the other went to rest.

With regard to the affairs of Buda, it seems that the besieging army outside is entrenching itself for defence against the Turks, should they come, rather than intending to give them battle; but they keep the town blockaded, so that it may not receive any

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succour.* Here these Princes assemble daily to determine about the assistance to be given to that kingdom; the Catholics would fain give them becoming aid forthwith, without farther conditions; the Protestants are willing to give greater assistance, but with the condition that liberty of conscience be guaranteed them [the Hungarians], and that no one wage war on them. The business will be settled between today and tomorrow.

I enclose some confutations about the matter "*De justificatione.*"

I have seen a letter dated Antwerp, the 13th instant, written by a person there to his friend here, telling of disturbances in the north of England, sundry individuals having been hanged, it being also said that the mother of Cardinal Pole has been beheaded; which, if true, will have been announced to you by your faithful Secretary Zuccato.

Ratisbon, 22nd June 1541.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

266. FRANCESCO CONTARINI and FRANCESCO SANUTO, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

On the day before yesterday the Emperor assembled the Diet of all the Princes and Prelates, whereupon the King of the Romans with his own lips demanded assistance, demonstrating the danger of all Germany should the Turk conquer Hungary. This morning they determined to give his Majesty money for 12,000 foot and 2,000 horse for three months, and more should he require it.

Ratisbon, 27th June 1541.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

267. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday, in the Diet, they made a Captain General of the troops furnished by the Empire to act against the Turks. They will amount but to 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and the commander elected was Count Frederick the Palatine; but as by reason of his age and infirmities he is expected to decline the office, they appointed in his stead, in the event of refusal, the Duke Lewis of Bavaria, subject however to the Emperor's approval.

Concerning the matter of religion, they resolved after much debate that the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and the Right Reverend Legate Contarini were first of all to state their opinion, and that the Diet would then consider what should be done. It is reported that the business will at length be referred to the Council.

We contrived to see one of these books of the acts of the conference (*colloquio*) together with the additions and articles of the Protestants; we had it transcribed immediately by your Serenity's secretaries, and send the copy herewith, to show what has been treated hitherto both in the Diet and in the conference (*colloquio*).

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* The commander-in-chief in Buda for Queen Elizabeth, the widow of King Zapolski, was the Bishop of Varadino. The besieging troops of the King of the Romans were beaten, and Solyman entered Buda on the 30th July 1541. (*See* L'Art de Verifier les Dates.)

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Letters from England confirm the death of the mother of Cardinal Pole. The King has given leave to the Bishop of Winchester to return to his Majesty, and he will depart in 10 or 12 days.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

268. FRANCESCO CONTARINI and FRANCESCO SANUTO, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Although the Lutherans held several Diets, they have determined not to contribute to the Imperial aid (*ausilio*) of 10,000 infantry against the Turks, unless they have peace, and are certain of being able to live in their own fashion. The amount of assistance will thus be diminished. The enemy is understood to be advancing and will soon be under Buda; but from the advices received by him, the King of the Romans hopes to obtain the place.

Ratisbon, 7th July 1541.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

269. The SAME to the SAME.

On the day before yesterday it was heard from Hungary that the Turkish army was within three leagues of Buda, and that the vanguard (which was said to number 15,000 horse) had encamped at a distance of one league from the forces of the King of the Romans.

The Protestants likewise have determined to contribute to the promised aid against the Turks, namely 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse, without making any condition; and Count Frederick de Fustemburg has been appointed Captain-General of this force; the Count Palatine Frederick and Duke Lewis of Bavaria having declined the office.

It is said that the Emperor will depart for Italy on the 26th instant. The time of departure of the King of the Romans is not yet known, but he told me (Sanuto) that it would not be long delayed.

Ratisbon, 22nd July 1541.

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

270. The SAME to the SAME.

The Emperor was to have departed for Italy today, but the Princes having besought him to wait until tomorrow, they with great difficulty obtained their request. The whole of the stable department (*tutta la cavallarezza*) and the greater part of the entire Court have departed, so that his Majesty has but to mount on horseback, and will come [into Italy] with all speed and without stopping anywhere. The Cardinal of Mantua will meet him at Trent, and the Duke of Florence, and perhaps the Duke of Ferrara likewise, will do the like at Peschiera. Should the Pope have quitted Rome and be gone to Piacenza, the Emperor will take that road; if not, his Majesty will proceed straight on his way [to Genoa].

It is heard from Buda that the entire Turkish army having lately

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arrived under that city, part halted in front of King Ferdinand's forces, and the rest beneath the walls, the Turks going in and out daily, but in small numbers. King Ferdinand told me (Sanuto) that the Turks demanded of Queen Elizabeth * that she should let them all enter the town, which she refused to do until the arrival of Sultan Solyman in person.

We enclose a declaration (*declaration*) made by the Cardinal Legate Contarini, touching the reply given by him concerning the affairs of the religion; and also the Emperor's resolution "*de recessu*," some words of which have, however, been modified by the Princes, but nothing of much importance, and it will be published on the "recess" of the Diet, whether his Majesty be present or absent. With regard to the perpetual subsidy to be given annually by the Princes as aid against the Turks, it has been fixed (when needed) at 20,000 foot, and 4,000 horse, but the Protestants insist on certain explanations.

Ratisbon, 26th July 1541.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

271. FRANCESCO CONTARINI and FRANCESCO SANUTO, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

This morning, all the Princes and the King of the Romans having been summoned to the Diet, the Emperor proclaimed the "recess," the session having lasted from 12 till 3 p.m. The "recess" being long, and in German, I have as yet been unable to obtain it, but it is in accordance, for the most part, with what we wrote on the 26th.

The Emperor departed at this hour—4 p.m.—and is travelling with all speed, to make up for the three additional days during which he remained here against his will.

Ratisbon, 29th July 1541.

[*Italian.*]

August 1. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Without date. Printed in v. iii. pp. 35–37. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Dated as above.

272. CARDINAL POLE to JUAN ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, Cardinal Archbishop of Burgos.

The less consolation can be hoped from nature, the more it may be expected from God. Has experienced this truth on the death of his mother,† who perished, not by the law of nature, but by a violent death, inflicted on her by one from whom it was the last due, as he was her cousin, and by reason of her piety she had been hitherto received by him as a parent. With regard to the form of death, to few it will appear ignominious, and to none of those who even by report were acquainted with the tenour of her life, so that they will attribute all the ignominy to him, who on so virtuous a person inflicted such a death. To suffer as Christ, his Apostles, and so many martyrs and virgins suffered, is not ignominious, though most

* Elizabeth daughter of Sigismund, King of Poland, and widow of John Zapolski, King of Hungary, who died A.D. 1540, leaving her pregnant. She gave birth to John Sigismund, in whose name Hungary and Transylvania were ceded to King Ferdinand A.D. 1551.

† Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, was beheaded in the Tower, by order of Henry VIII., on the 27th May 1541.

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ignominious to act after the manner of Herod, Nero, and Caligula; but their cruelty is far surpassed by the iniquity of this man, who, with much less semblance of justice, put to death a most innocent woman, who was of his own kin, of advanced age, and who had grown old with a reputation for virtue. Considers this form of death an exceptional honour, as henceforth he will not hesitate to style himself the son of a martyr, which is certainly grander than to be born of any royal race. These reflections comfort him, and they are very strongly confirmed by the letter of the Cardinal of Burgos.

Capranica, 1st August? 1541.

[*Latin*, 35 *lines*.]

August?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. iii. pp. 74–76. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," Date Capranica.

273. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MARCELLO [CERVINI].*

Is comforted by the Cardinal's great affection demonstrated towards him in his grievous distress. With regard to the Cardinal's advice that he should pray God for the conversion of the doer of such nefarious iniquity; the counsel is worthy of the Grand Penitentiary (the office held by his right reverend lordship), but hopes that this man's sins are not such as to deny their perpetrator the benefit of prayer, according to St. John; they having been accumulated against the Church for so many years, always increasing in iniquity. Does not reject the Penitentiary's admonition, and to complete the measure of this man's iniquity should it merely be necessary to shed his (Pole's) blood, and if he would then be converted, desires nothing more than that the deed be done forthwith, and that God ordain what may be most for the glory of his name.

A few days ago at Bagnarea saw the Marchioness of Pescara, in whom God has resuscitated the spirit of his departed mother.

Capranica, August? 1541.

[*Latin*, 54 *lines*.]

Aug. 6.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

274. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

I have arrived here at Inspruck.

The Emperor stayed a day a Munich and two days here, having understood that the 6,000 infantry had not marched forward because they were not ready, and had not got their pikes.

His Majesty means to depart tomorrow, and at any rate, if possible, purposes being at Milan on the day of the Assumption, though I scarcely think he can get to Trent by that time.

Inspruck, 6th August.

[*Italian*.]

* Cardella (vol. iv. p. 226) writes that Marcello Cervini was created cardinal on the 12th December 1539, with the title of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and this is confirmed by Panvinio in his life of Pope Marcello II., but I believe that the person to whom Cardinal Pole addressed this letter was Marcello Cervini.

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Aug. 11.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

275. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor arrived here last evening having been met, first by his son-in-law, the Signor Ottaviano,* and then by the Bishop of this city, both one and the other being accompanied by very handsome retinues.

The Emperor will depart tomorrow, and persists in saying that he will at any rate embark in the course of the present month, being firmly resolved to command the attack on Algiers in person. Should he see the Pope, it will be at Spezia or Lerici, but on no account will he lose time, and had the infantry been ready sooner, he likewise would have been farther on his way.

Trent, 11th August 1541.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

276. The SAME to the SAME.

The Emperor will not move today as he intended, because all the foot soldiers have not yet arrived, and the pikes and some ammunition waggons are yet farther off; nor will he depart even tomorrow.

Trent, 12th August 1541.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
Original Letter Book of Francesco Contarini in St. Mark's Library.

276. The SAME to the SAME.

Although the infantry has not arrived here, the Emperor determined to depart to day and will be at Roveredo this evening, and then go to Dolce and Peschiera, and the infantry will follow him. His Majesty comes as tranquilly through your Serenity's territory, as if it were his own, and is sending Don Diego to acquaint you with his good will towards the Republic.†

Trent, 13th August 1541.

[*Italian.*]

August 15.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date. Printed in v. ii. pp. 181–188. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Dated 15th August, 1539.

278. CARDINAL POLE to VITTORIA COLONNA, MARCHIONESS of PESCARA.

Amongst the few consolations received by him at present was the Marchioness's letter, not because elegantly written, but because dictated throughout by the consoling Spirit. If he labours to the utmost in the cause of Christ, the difficulties which he encounters on the part of man require him to take comfort in Christ, who has more care of the souls, for whom he (Pole) exerts himself, than man has for himself. Of this he is reminded by the Marchioness's letter, and is grateful for her promised prayers and those of the nuns, her companions. If any hope remains to him of avoiding the plots laid against him by Pharaoh, it is assuredly placed in those sacred cohorts, whose prayers in many places constitute his defence against the enemies of God. In conclusion, therefore, it merely remains for

* Octavian Farnese, son of Pier Luigi, and Duke of Parma, married Margaret of Austria (the natural daughter of Charles V. and widow of Alessandro de Medici) in the year 1538.

† After quitting Trent, the Emperor was met on the confines of the Veronese by four Venetian Ambassadors, who remained with him for two days, until he left Peschiera for Mantua and Posto Venere, where he embarked on his expedition against Algiers.

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him to beseech her Excellency and her nuns to watch over his safety, as it becomes her to do so, he having always revered her ever since he knew that she was endowed with those virtues which are God's choicest gifts; and then recently, when the rage of Pharaoh (*Pharaonis furor*) severed him from his mother, he adopted the Marchioness in her stead, not after the manner of Moses, who subsequently denied being her son because she was Pharaoh's daughter. Trusts she will now undertake his protection, for without her, he would be no less destitute than Moses in infancy, exposed not only to the dangers of the river as he was, but to those of land and sea, and more than all, of false brethren; and therefore he is not less worthy to be adopted by the daughter of a great King, and of that King who overthrew Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, especially as he suffers on account of Pharaoh's wrath, and for the cause of that same great King.

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[*Latin*, 77 *lines.*]

1541.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. iii. pp. 80–84. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." With the mere date of Rome.

279. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF [LAVAUR?] (Episcopo Vaurensi).

Is acquainted with the Bishop's wish to relinquish the political business intrusted to him, and to return to his diocese for the performance of his pastoral duties. Is much gratified by the proof of his affection, and also by the ardour of his piety towards God and the Church. His diocesans wish for him, and Pole's prayers are in unison with theirs, provided the Bishop be not charged with some more important commission, which may benefit the Mother Church.

With regard to the projects for the release of his mother, as also concerning that friend of theirs who laboured to effect this and was subsequently imprisoned, owing to the outrageously impudent letters of the enemy making this demand—although the Bishop says he was subsequently set at liberty—he re-opens deep wounds, which he (Pole) would were merely his, rather than those of the commonwealth, or to speak more plainly, of the Church; which, so far as he knows, can suffer nothing more grievous than that such heinous impiety should not only remain so long unpunished but reign so authoritatively, that from those whom it ought to fear as avengers, it dares demand opportunity for the exercise of its impiety and cruelty. The Bishop perceives the object of that demand, which implies that the scarcity of victims at home made him seek whom he might exterminate abroad. The times are iniquitous, but the Church recovered from greater tribulations, which finally redounded to her honour, and with this recollection consoles himself for public and private sorrows. Although nature cannot but grieve for so violent a separation from parents, brothers, and friends, yet he rejoices in their death as God considered them worthy—in imitation of his Son—to inscribe with their blood the divine will for the preservation of the unity of his Church. This is written in the books of their adversaries vituperating them, as their difference of opinion in religious matters was the first cause of hatred given to the spoilers of the Church for their extermination. They are therefore not subject to the dominion

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of death, but having tasted death (*sed post mortem gustatam*) have life eternal, and reign with Him who destroyed death; being now more joined in love with him (Pole), and less separated from him than when they lived with him in the flesh. This is his firm belief. What greater comfort can there be with regard to those so ardently loved by him, than to know that by death they have been transported to a better life, and added to the company of that kingdom where there is no more toil nor sorrow. They now advocate his cause more than ever with the King of Kings, in whose favour they live in security, and by vows and prayers strive to render him the partaker of their bliss; this being his firm conviction, what sorrow would it not allay? Has also the consolation of loving those whom he loved in the flesh, parents, brothers, and friends, gained through Christ (because for the cause of Christ they were torn from him), with a greater love than he felt for them through the mere ties of nature. What cause has nature to complain of this? (*Quid hic natura queri potest?*).

As Pole places the Bishop amongst his chief friends he has perhaps prolonged his letter unbecomingly, but knows he will be readily pardoned.

Rome, 1541?

[*Latin*, 135 *lines*.]

A.D. 1542.

1542.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x No date. Printed in v. iii. pp. 73, 74. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," without any date.

280. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MARCELLO [CERVINI].

Complimentary letter, thanking him for his congratulations on his (Pole's) appointment as Legate, and for his favourable opinion of his writings.*

[*Latin*, 24 *lines*.]

Jan. 2.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 17.

281. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIROLAMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

As they have some idea of sending a squadron (*una muda*) of merchant galleys on the Flanders voyage, desire him to endeavour to ascertain, adroitly and amicably, whether this would or would not be, to the satisfaction of his Majesty without showing that he (Zuccato) had any order from them about this matter, but acting throughout, as of his own accord; and he is to give them immediate notice by letter of what he shall hear.

Ayes, 17. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian*.]

March 15.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xv. p. 6.

282. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That to the Magnifico Dom. Sigismund Harvel, ambassador from the most serene King of England, there be conceded a license for the 13 under-written individuals, his servants, to wear weapons, the

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secretary making oath that they all reside in his house and at his cost; there being included in this list the four to whom the arms' license was conceded heretofore, so that they be 13 in all.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

Names of the English Ambassadors' familiars (*familiari*):

Raphael Vith [White ?], Englishman.
John Deni [Denny ?], Englishman.
John Hobbi [Hoby ?], Englishman.
Baldisara Attieri, Secretary.
Agustino Strata, of Turin.
Prascildo Robbolino, of Pesaro.
Giovanni of Venice.
Lorenzo of Modena.
Richard, an Englishman.
Bortholamio of Pavia.
Francesco of Uderzo.
Domenego of Asolo.
Giovanni of Uderzo.

[*Italian.*]

June 17.
Senato Terra, v. xxxii. p. 40.

283. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the Venetian Secretary in England.

By many letters from their most faithful secretary, Hieronimo Zuccato, who has resided in England during the last 12 years, the Senate is informed of the exorbitant costs which it behoves him to incur, by reason of the great scarcity over there, and for the honour and dignity of the Signory; wherefore as it is fitting to grant his just demand;

It will be put to the ballot, that to the monthly salary of 60 golden ducats received by said secretary, there be added ten golden ducats per month for his said expenses, so long as he shall remain in the Signory's service there.

Ayes, 144. Noes, 27. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xv. p. 50.

284. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That the Duke of Norfolk's nephew,* Mr. Charles Howard, an Englishman, with five servants, who live in his house and at his cost, so long as they remain in this city, be allowed to wear lawful weapons (*arme honeste*) during the usual hours; he being bound to give a list of the names of the servants at the office of the Lords of the night watch.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxii. p. 67, tergo.

285. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard lately by advices from England that the King has declared war against Scotland, both armies being in readiness and

* In Collins' Peerage (vol. 1, pp. 80–100) there is no mention of any Charles Howard, amongst the kinsfolk of the Duke of Norfolk in 1542.

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having a great number of troops. The English number 140,000 men in various places, and 25 ships in good trim; the Scots being 50,000 men in two armies. These advices the "Bailo" is to communicate to the Magnificoes the Bashaws, in proof of the Signory's goodwill towards the Sublime Porte (*quella excelsa porta*).

Ayes, 162. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

286. HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

On the 2nd instant, received their letters of the 24th August, through the Signory's ambassador in France, who also sent him copies of other papers relating to the strange outrages (*novità*) perpetrated at Venice, and the abominable acts of treason discovered there.*

On the morrow, communicated the whole to the King, who at that very moment, besides the first advices from Venice, had received precisely the same account from his ambassador in France, to whom it was given by the Venetian ambassador there.

As mentioned in despatch of the 23rd September, the King had already discussed these events with many other persons, so [he † merely added that the French ambassador in Venice, having behaved so ill, was but too well treated by the Signory, and said smiling, "To whom did these traitors of yours reveal the Signory's secrets?" Replied that this was not written in his despatch, but that the King might easily guess the truth (*lo poteva ben saper*). He rejoined, "I know it but too well; but see what great things we hear of the French this year! It might indeed be said—as I am assured by my agents in every quarter—that owing to them, Napoli and Romania are in the hands of the Turks;" and expressing surprise both by gesture and language, he continued—"See also what reason they have now to wage so great a war, and cause so much disturbance in Christendom: but they will perhaps repent them; and I understand that they have already retreated more than a league from Perpignan."

As the King's discourse showed that he was so unusually irritated against the French, Zuccato, that he might unbosom himself farther, replied, that he attributed all this turmoil to Milan, and that perhaps the French, perceiving their inability to make any progress in the direction of Spain, many of their designs elsewhere being frustrated, would now possibly not be averse to make some fresh peace or truce with the Emperor, as urged by the Pope. The King rejoined, that if Milan was really the cause of so much mischief, he still did not think that the Emperor would ever cede it, and that therefore those two Princes can never be well agreed.

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* Namely, the treasonable practices of two Venetian Secretaries in the pay of France, who revealed the secrets of the state to Pellicier, the French ambassador in Venice, by whom they were transmitted to the Porte, and caused the loss of Napoli-di-Romania and of Malvasia. On the 19th August 1542 the Council of Ten issued an order for the arrest of the traitors, amongst whom was one Abondio, who took refuge in the French embassy; Pellicier refused to surrender him, so the Ten sent an armed force of 600 men, who effected the capture without further negotiation. (*See* Romanin, Venetian History, vol. 6, p. 59, and following. Ed. Venezia, 1857.)

† In cipher between the brackets.

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In fact, so far as Zuccato can learn from several quarters, and from what he could elicit from certain phrases used by his Majesty, the King seems firmly to believe, or else astutely and with great skill pretends to believe, that no other means can ever be devised for making a good peace between the Emperor and the most Christian King, save by renouncing the Milanese to the French, which on the other hand (as already stated) the King cannot believe will ever come to pass, but that on the contrary the Emperor would rather renounce one half of the rest of his dominions. The secretary then said, "Sire, speaking with due submission, it might therefore be argued, that these two princes could thus more easily come to terms, as the most Christian King, being acquainted with this the Emperor's firm resolve, and seeing how powerful he is, might perhaps find some other and surer mode of agreement with him."] To this argument the King made no further rejoinder, save by nodding his head, and remained very thoughtful, as he was when Zuccato entered his presence. At length he said, "We will wait and see;" and he then dismissed the secretary, who was unable to learn anything else more worthy of being communicated to the Chiefs.

London, 21st October.

Endorsed,—

21 *Octobris* 1541. *R.* 14 *Novembris.*

Secretarius in Angliâ scribit communicasse illi Ser^mo Regi successum revelationis secretorum per secretarios damnatos, et quæ M^tas eius dixit in eo proposito.

Lectæ Consiglio X. cum additione.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxii. p. 71.

287. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard nothing more of the occurrences between England and Scotland, than what they wrote to him in their last.

It is also understood that the marriage of the English King's daughter to the Emperor advances; and concerning the affairs of Flanders, it is confirmed that the troops of Queen Maria [Dowager of Hungary, Governess of the Low Countries], have recovered the places taken from her by the French. To acquaint the Magnificoes the Bashaws with these advices, in such becoming mode and form as to convince them of the goodwill which the Republic bears the Sublime Porte.

Ayes, 173. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

288. HIRONIMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Has been told, under promise of great secrecy, by a person who obtains very early intelligence, that Lord Maxwell (*quel Signor Mariel*), commander of the Scots, mentioned by him in his other letters, being of the new Lutheran and heretical sect, and disagreeing with Cardinal Beaton, who at present (as has been the case for many years) rules the King and realm of Scotland in his own fashion, was the sole cause of this rout of the Scots,

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and of his own capture and that of the others, because being in the vanguard, on perceiving the English, he immediately called some other noblemen, with whom he galloped to the rear, for the purpose, he said, of warning and encouraging the troops and placing them in order of battle. The rear-guard, who could also distinguish the enemy, on seeing Maxwell and the others make their retreat, attributing it to fear, ran away; whereupon, to make a part of them rally and face the English, or possibly for the better concealment of his deceit and treachery, he with his own hand killed three or four of the fugitives, and immediately advanced with his few followers, as already stated.*

At any rate, be this as it may, his turning back and galloping to the rear, in such a way, and at such a moment, should it not be attributed to malice (*malizia*) or treachery, cannot but cause persons skilled in military matters to consider him a very inexperienced and inefficient commander (*uno mal prattico et un molto da poco capitaneo*).

As this business may serve as a warning to others, and is momentous (*perchè è et di essemplo et di momento*), will not fail to give the Chiefs a detailed account should he learn anything farther about it.

London, 16th December 1542.†

[*Original despatch in cipher, with contemporary decipher, Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X. v. xv. p. 89.

289. English Loan Contractors.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, by the chiefs of the Ten, Stefano Tiepolo and Francesco Venier.

The Signory having been informed that certain Englishmen would fain lend the Signory 50,000 ducats, on the following terms;

That during thirty consecutive years, five thousand ducats be paid them annually, and that on the expiration of the thirty years it be understood that both capital and interest are thus repaid, the Signory not remaining debtor for anything. As it is desirable that the State should make use of this sum, most especially as it is derived from aliens, it will be put to the ballot, that to those who made this offer it be answered that the State is willing to accept it, but with this condition, that they will give them annually 4,000 ducats; and whereas the demand is for thirty years, the Signory will pay them the annuity during 37½ years, so that they will obtain the sum asked by them, but in rather a longer period.

Ayes,	14	15	*Pendet* ¾.
Noes,	11	11	
Neutrals	2	1	

[*Italian.*]

* Query: In the letters to the Senate, which no longer exist.

† Mary Stuart was born on the 5th December 1542, and her father James V. died on the 8th, which events were probably recorded by Zuccato in his despatches to the Senate; but, as already mentioned, they no longer exist, having probably perished in the fires of the 16th century.

A.D. 1543.

1543.
Jan. 26.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxii. p. 107, tergo.

290. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Are advised from England that the English have routed some of the Scottish troops, and subsequent letters state that the King of Scotland has died a natural death.

Ayes, 163. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 17.

291. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIROLAMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

On the 11th instant, received his letters of the 16th ult. informing them that the English troops had routed the Scottish army, capturing its commander [Lord Maxwell] and many other noblemen, who were to be taken to England in proof of the victory. His Majesty's agent [Sigismund Harvel] came to them subsequently and gave the same account in detail; and although from the very commencement of those dissensions they were of opinion that by reason of the power and valour of the English forces, the result would be such as it has been, they nevertheless, owing to the ancient and perpetual friendship and goodwill which have constantly prevailed between his Majesty and the Republic, rejoiced greatly that not only will the King's enemies, who had crossed his borders intending to molest him, have seen the vanity of their thoughts and designs, but, being thus checked and repulsed, their loss and defeat will cause hesitation to such as may at any time attempt anything prejudicial to his Majesty, whom he is therefore to congratulate in their name on this victory and his successes.

Ayes, 17. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 4.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 17, tergo.

292. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard lately of the departure from Genoa of the Emperor's fleet under the command of Prince Doria, his Majesty having ordered him to Barcelona, from which city their ambassador wrote to them on the 12th April, that the Emperor arrived there on the 10th, and was expected to come into Italy with his fleet. He also writes (and they have moreover heard it through another channel) that a league has been concluded between his Imperial Majesty and the King of England, but as yet they know no particulars.

Ayes, 185. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 36.

293. The SAME to the VENETIAN SECRETARY (ZUCCATO) in ENGLAND.

Have remarked in his letters of the 19th ultimo that the mission to Scotland by the Pope of the reverend Patriarch of

1543.

Aquileia*, may possibly be interpreted in such wise as to prejudice our subjects and affairs. Tell him in reply that they knew nothing whatever of the Patriarch's coming, nor was there even the slightest understanding with them about sending him; but the Pope, to whom, and not to our Signory, prelates render obedience, makes use of them to suit his purpose, as in the present instance, the Patriarch Grimani being at the Court with his Holiness. Have chosen to tell him this for his instruction, so that if spoken to on the subject, or should he think fit to say anything about it, he may be able to do so in confirmation of the truth. It is their intention to proceed in such a manner that no one, and most especially crowned heads, may have this cause to complain of them.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

July 28.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 44, tergo.

294. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor went to Trent, where he did not remain, but proceeded towards Spires, and according to the advices received by us he is going to Flanders to join his army in those parts. It is said that the King of England has made an agreement with him, and that some English troops have already crossed the Channel to unite with the Imperial forces against the King of France; and by letters from our ambassador at the French Court, dated the 26th ultimo, we understand that his most Christian Majesty and his two sons, with his army, are towards Picardy, on their march against the Emperor's territories.†

Ayes, 176. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 17.

295. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIROLAMO ZUCCATO, Venetian Secretary in England.

Having heard by his last letters, dated the 13th and 14th ultimo, and by the statement made to them by the Magnifico the King's ambassador [Sigismund Harvel], that his royal Majesty has contracted marriage and espoused that most illustrious Madam (*quella Ill^ma Madama*), creating her Queen, they rejoiced as became their ancient, good, and natural friendship, and the goodwill which the Republic bears his Majesty. To congratulate the King in such acceptable form as to convince him they share his Majesty's joy and satisfaction.

He is subsequently to do the like by the most Serene Queen, and by such of the nobility as shall seem fit to him, so that their goodwill towards his Majesty may be manifest; and should he not think fit to perform this congratulatory office, for the reason written by him, that it might displease the King, they leave its breach or observance optional with him as he shall deem opportune.‡

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* Marco Grimani, a Venetian nobleman. For the date of his arrival in Scotland, see Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, vol. i. p. 44.

† In the Senate's Register, the foregoing paragraph is bracketed, thus indicating that it was to be put into cipher when transmitted to the "Bailo."

‡ The portion, bracketed in the draft, commencing with the words, "*and should he not*," and ending "*deem opportune*," was ciphered in the letter.

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In his preceding letter he inquired about an order for requesting of the King a fresh [export] permit for wool, the term of the one granted them having expired; so, being well satisfied with his care for the Republic's interests, they charge him diligently to solicit the wool permit, speaking about it to the King if necessary, and with such persons as he shall think fitting, so that it may be conceded for as long a period as possible; and he is to acquaint them with the execution of this order.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 49, tergo.

296. Doge Pietro Lando to Sultan Solyman (*Serenissimo Turcarum Imperatori*).

The King of France with his army is on the borders of Flanders, where he has taken a place called Landrecy, and the Dauphin having attempted to take another town was repulsed with some loss. King Francis was intent on providing funds, and on fortifying and garrisoning his frontiers, the English having already crossed over to Calais to wage war on him, according to the confederacy made by the King of England with the Emperor, who at the end of June went over to Germany on his way to Flanders. On the 20th of last month he was at Ulm, with the intention of departing on the 21st, and encamping outside Spires with his army in the course of July, when he would march in such direction as should seem most advantageous for him.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 55, tergo.

297. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian "Bailo" at Constantinople.

Are certain that the Turkish ministry will have heard of the success of the Grand Signor's army [in Hungary against Ferdinand King of the Romans]; will therefore merely mention the last news received by them of the conquest of Strido (*Strigonia*), which town, after being severely battered, and having resisted two assaults, surrendered to his Imperial Majesty [Sultan Solyman], who was going with the army to besiege Stuhk Weissenburg (*Alba regal*). To congratulate the ministry on these successes, telling them also that according to the Signory's last advices, the Emperor had made a league with the King of England, and is proceeding with his army in Flanders against the Duke of Cleves.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 10.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xv. p. 204, tergo.

298. Motion made in the Council of Ten.

That to gratify the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, license to wear weapons in Venice and throughout the Signory's towns and places be conceded to Mr. William Cobham [William Brooke, eldest son of George Lord Cobham ?] and Mr. John

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Schiere [John Squyer?], with their English servants, John Pasqual and Martin.

Ayes	-	8 - 7	Negatived.
Noes	-	8 - 9	
Neutrals	-	0 - 0	

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xv. p. 214.

299. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That the Governors of Padua be written to, to reply about the petition now read from the Magnifico the English ambassador, in favour of the son of Lord Cobham, one of the chief personages of England, that he, with another gentleman and two servants, may have a license to wear weapons in Padua, whither he went to study.

The Governors to give their opinion under oath, according to the statute.

Ayes, 12. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.
Lettere Capi, Consiglio X., File no. 39.

300. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN GOVERNORS of PADUA.

Grant of arms-license to Mr. William Cobham, one of the chief personages in England, come thence to study at Padua, together with D. John Schier.

Vigore partis captæ, in Consº X., die 9 Octobris 1543.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xv. p. 217.

301. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That to Mr. William Cobham [Brooke?] and to Dom. John Schier [Squyer?], license be conceded to wear weapons in Venice, and in the Signory's towns and places, and to two servants for each of them, as by their petition. The license to be valid for the next two years, with this condition, that they notify the names of the said servants both to the office of the lords of the night-watch in this city, and also to the public offices (*cancellarie*) of the other cities where they may choose to reside.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 75.

302. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard from France that the French and Imperial cavalry encountered each other near Guise, a French town on the frontiers. Some were killed on both sides, but the French had the advantage, and captured several Imperialists, including Don Francesco da Este, brother of the Duke of Ferrara, and the Signor Alessandro Gonzaga, kinsman of the Duke of Mantua. The French and Imperial armies were both very powerful, and distant some thirty Italian miles from each other in the direction of Landrecy, a place which belonged at first to the Emperor and was taken by the French, who kept and

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fortified it, siege being laid by the troops of the Emperor and the King of England. The Signory's letters from Flanders, dated the 1st instant, now state that the Imperialists have raised the siege of Landrecy, in order to unite their whole army, so that the King of France is at liberty to victual and re-enforce the place; and the hostile armies were within six miles of each other, and a battle was expected.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

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April 8.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. lxiii. p. 22, tergo.

303. MAPHIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

That the sales made by the proveditors of the salt office, of the property of Ser Maphio Bernardo, be suspended for one month, during which interval he and the proveditors to be heard in the College in the presence of the chiefs of this Council.

Ayes, 20. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

May 7.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. lxiii. p. 28, tergo.

304. MAPHIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

Put to the ballot, that the nobleman Maphio Bernardo repay the 1,500 ducats received by him for the building of a ship (to replace one which was burnt) within the next six years by yearly instalments.

Ayes	- 17 -	18	¾ *pendet primo.*
Noes	- 1 -	0	
Neutrals	- 7 -	7	(*Exierunt affines et interessati.*)

[*Italian.*]

May 12.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. lxiii. p. 28.

305. REPETITION of the foregoing MOTION.

Ayes, 22. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

Expulsis affinibus, et illis qui se expellunt a Capello cum Provisoribus Salis.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 141, tergo.

306. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor was to leave Spires between the 8th and 12th instant, on the way to his army. It is also confirmed that the King of England is sending a large army, which will soon cross the Channel, and join the Imperial forces against France. The English King accompanies his army in person, and will have an interview with the Emperor.

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To communicate these news to the Bashaws in confirmation of the Signory's goodwill towards the sublime Porte.

Ayes, 185. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 141, tergo.

307. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have letters from Spires, dated the 30th ult., informing them that the French were concentrating their forces towards Luxemburg, and the Emperor's army was daily receiving re-enforcements of horse and foot. It is doubted whether the town of Luxemburg can be held by the French, as it is insufficiently furnished.

It is also understood by these letters that 5,000 Spanish infantry, for whom the Emperor sent from Spain, have crossed in 16 ships, and landed at Calais, a place in France belonging to the King of England.

At Spires the Emperor received a secretary sent by the King of England, in whose name he announced that the English troops had gained a victory in Scotland, and confirmed the news of the passage of a powerful English army, and of the King in person, to invade France.

The letters also corroborate the departure of the Emperor from Spires, between the 10th and 15th, on his way to his army; and the King of the Romans was to quit Spires on the 9th instant.

To communicate these advices to the Bashaws.

Ayes, 150. Noes, 21. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Senato Terra, v. xxxiii. p. 94.

308. The SAME to the GOVERNORS of BRESCIA.

The ambassador from the King of England has requested the Signory in his Majesty's name, to allow an agent of his at Brescia to export 1,500 harquebuses of various sorts, and 1,050 suits of armour, part for foot soldiers and part for cavalry; so the Doge and Senate charge them should any person present himself with the present letter to allow him to export the said amount of harquebuses and suits of armour from Brescia and the Brescian territory, paying the usual duties and fees; the governors however taking due care that the city and territory remain well provided.

Ayes, 124. Noes, 7. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

June 16.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 155.

309. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Letters received by the Signory from England, dated the 26th ult., state that the English troops sent against Scotland, after entering Edinburgh, which they found empty of troops and valuables, burned and plundered it, doing the like by some other Scottish towns, and having met with no opposition returned to England, the greater part of them being destined to cross over to France. Rejoicings were made in England for this victory, the warlike preparations

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continuing; and in the middle of next month the English will cross the Channel to invade France. It is not yet known for certain whether the King of England will go in person.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

310. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA concerning Despatches received from the Secretary ZUCCATO in England.

That there be communicated to the Council of the Senate the letters written to the Chiefs of the Council on the 11th and 26th May last by the Secretary Zuccato from England, with the usual injunction to secrecy.*

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 155.

311. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Letters from England, dated the 8th instant, inform us that the captain of the vanguard of the English army was already on the march with 15,000 men, and was to cross the sea in six days, and to be followed by the rear-guard a week later; the entire force mustering at Calais to go against France with sundry great warlike preparations (*diversi grandi apparati bellici*). With regard to the passage of the King of England, although it continued to be delayed and was not considered certain, he is nevertheless expected to cross about the 10th of July, with an additional 15,000 men for the attack on France. This to be communicated to the Magnificoes the Bashaws.

Ayes, 193. Noes, 10. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 17.

312. NEWS-LETTER from ENGLAND transmitted by the DOGE and COLLEGE, on the 26th July 1544, to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in Rome, for communication to the POPE.

On the 24th of June the Lord Privy Seal [John Lord Russell], having mustered his troops on this side the Channel, joined the Duke of Norfolk [at Calais], and the forces of these two commanders, the one of the van-guard, the other of the rear-guard, already amounted to 20,000 infantry, with some few horse. They were not understood to have done anything of importance, merely scattering themselves at some little distance from Calais, and in their own places, to give more convenient quarters for the other 15,000 men mustered by the King or by his lieutenant the Duke of Suffolk, who commands the main body of the army, and who with well nigh all the rest of the appointed leaders (*signori deputati*), and these 15,000 men, have already for the most part quitted London on their march towards Dover and Calais, with such great diligence that to complete the expedition little else remains for departure save the King in person, with some noblemen and his body guard. On the 10th or 12th of July his Majesty was to depart for Greenwich, and at the end of

* These letters, which probably gave details of the circumstance alluded to in the footnote at p. 12, no longer exist.

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the month to be at Dover, which place many persons think he will not quit until he hear of some victory gained by the English and Imperial forces.

The two German captains from Mastricht, who were on the other side of the Channel, have been taken into the King's service, together with their troops, amounting to 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse; and there having been some difference, the Emperor agreed to engage on his own account such part of these troops as are rejected by the King. These forces, together with others, including cavalry from Friesland and Spain under the Count de Buren, are supposed to have already joined the English army, which numbers 35,000 men, very fine troops, in good order and very richly clad (*bellissima gente et ben ad ordine et adornata molto ricamente*).*

It is said that they purpose leaving garrisons in the French fortresses, and proceeding straight to Paris, and endeavouring to take it (at which the Emperor is reported to aspire), marching through Champagne.

Off Falmouth harbour, four French ships excellently armed are said to have attacked eleven Spanish, Flemish, and Portuguese vessels, loaded with wine, sugar, and other merchandise; and after fighting for many hours, the French were at length victorious, many men being killed on both sides. The value of the prizes is said to exceed 200,000 crowns. And subsequently, three other French ships in those seas took two English merchantmen, and it is feared that they have also captured two men-of-war.

His Majesty has taken 80,000 golden ducats on loan from the city of London (*dalla camera di Londra*), giving landed security to that amount at the rate of 5 per cent. interest. He has also asked certain Florentine, Genoese, and Lucchese merchants to draw bills on Antwerp, and to open credits for him in several other places to the amount of 200,000 crowns, promising to repay, with interest and costs, within six months, the sum being destined (according to report) for the pay of the German and Friesland troops; but all the merchants decline assuming this charge.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. 63, p. 161, tergo.

313. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Signory's ambassador writes from France, in date of the 17th and 23rd ult., that the Emperor's army, having obtained Ligni by capitulation, went under Saint Dizier, and after battering it briskly, made two assaults, which those inside repulsed; upwards of 2,000 of the Imperialists, including the Prince of Orange, having been killed.

The besieged lost a valiant captain and many others; the Imperialists purposed battering the town from another quarter, and the Emperor in person had removed to a distance of six miles from the town.

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* "Also, on the King's advance to Boulogne, he" [the Duke of Norfolk] "led the vanguard of his army, which was clad in blue coats guarded with red, having cape and hose parti-coloured and suitable." (*State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. i. p. 107.)

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The English have divided their army, leaving one half, numbering from 16,000 to 18,000 men, under Montreuil, and sending the other half to besiege Boulogne. The King of France is re-enforcing his army, and hastening the march of the Switzers, of whom thirty-six companies have reached Dijon; and he is doing the like by the troops on their way from Italy, under the command of the Count of San Secondo, instead of which there will remain in Piedmont Dom Pietro Strozzi, with the 10,000 infantry which he is now raising at La Mirandola. Besides these forces, his most Christian Majesty is mustering a good number of Gascons, and men from other parts of France, besides some 8,000 or 10,000 picked cavalry.

Ayes, 110. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10–13. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

314. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Last evening, after supping with the most illustrious De Granvelle,* had a long conversation apart with his son the Bishop of Arras,† who is very well acquainted with the secrets of the Imperial Court. He said the King of France would find himself in a bad way, having lost so much this year, and expecting to lose yet more;‡ adding that neither could he hope for much from Turkish assistance. Observed that the King might adjust all his difficulties by a peace, but the Bishop rejoined that the Emperor does not see how he could rely on it, and that whatever the King might negotiate, would be for the purpose of deceiving them, according to his invariable custom.

[Had on that day conferred with the English ambassador, who, after telling him that he had no news from his King, added, "Yesterday the Emperor sent one of his gentlemen to my master, but I do not know for what purpose, or I would tell you freely." Thinks it right to acquaint the Signory with this, as it was perhaps for the purpose of giving account of the surrender of St. Dizier. The gentleman sent by the Emperor is "*Gentilhomo della bocca*" of his Majesty, and the same who went heretofore to meet the Duke of Lorraine when he came to speak to his Majesty at Valenciennes.]§

From the Imperial army under St. Dizier, 10th–13th August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. 63, p. 170, tergo.

315. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from the Signory's secretary [Zuccato] in England, dated the 22nd ult., understand that on the 16th July the King crossed over to Calais, accompanied by some hundred sail, with the rest of his army, and went straight to Montreuil to the besieging

* Nicole Perrenot, Seigneur de Granvelle, Imperial Chancellor and Prime Minister of Charles V.

† Antoine Perrenot, son of the Chancellor (and whom he succeeded in the post of Prime Minister), obtained the Bishopric of Arras in 1538, and was created Cardinal on the 26th February 1561. (*See* Cardella, vol. v. p. 28.)

‡ Boulogne was taken by Henry VIII. on the 14th September 1544.

§ Cipher between the brackets.

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force, which after having battered the town briskly, and made two assaults, was repulsed with considerable loss.

Ayes, 132. Noes, 24. Neutrals, 22.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. 63, p. 171, tergo.

316. COMMISSION from DOGE PIETRO LANDO to the circumspect Secretary GIACOMO ZAMBON, on his way to the Most Serene King of England.

Having long kept as secretary with the most Serene King of England, Hieronymo Zuccato, lately determined to recall him, and elected Jacomo Zambon as successor to the secretary aforesaid.*

To proceed immediately to England, and on his way should he meet any prince or personage whom he may think fit to visit in the Signory's name, to perform such discreet and suitable office as indicative of the love and affection borne by them towards the most excellent or right reverend person in question.

If in passing through any place it be possible for him so to do, is to visit and pay his respects to the most Serene Queen Maria, sister of the Emperor and the King of the Romans, presenting credentials from the Doge, and assuring her of his reverence for the aforesaid most Serene Emperor and King of the Romans, her brothers, and of his observance towards her Majesty by reason of the *good* peace and friendship subsisting between them; adding such things as may seem fit to him according to the course of events, so that the office may be agreeable and acceptable to her.

On arriving in England, should the King have come back from the army, or immediately on his return, after demanding audience, is to present himself to his Majesty, giving him the Doge's credentials, in virtue of which, is to state that his predecessor is recalled most especially for the satisfaction of his Serenity (*maxime in sattisfattione di sua Serenità*), with whom it being the Doge's firm intention to continue in his natural and ancient good friendship, he has appointed Zambon to reside with his Serenity, for the daily performance of such mutual good offices as afforded by circumstances, in accordance with his Majesty's great goodwill towards the State and the Signory's affairs, which they hold in very great account. To congratulate the King on his personal prosperity, which is as dear to the Doge as his own, addressing him generally in such loving and impressive terms as usual *in similibus*, and according to the events of the army, as he (Zambon) may think calculated to win his Majesty.

Should the King not have returned from the army, Zambon is to remain in London, or where he may think most fitting, for the performance of this office on his Majesty's return.

To visit in the Signory's name the lords and personages [of the Court], paying them suitable compliments according to their quality, to convince them of the esteem in which their lordships

* In State Papers, vol. ix., part v. continued, pp. 665, 696, date London, 25th April, and Venice, 8th June, 1544, it is stated that Zuccato was recalled for having offended the King, "using indiscrete language of his Majeste and his counsaillours;" but I am unable to find any notice of this in the Venetian archives.

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are held by the Doge, so that he may find them ready to do what may be for the honour and convenience of the State.

All his actions are to have for object to confirm the King's good disposition towards the Signory, and from time to time he is to keep them advised, with all caution and assiduity, of such matters as he shall deem worthy of their knowledge; nor will they fail letting him know, in like manner, their intentions, and what he is to do.

After his first audience of the King, he is to visit the most Serene Queen,* and the most illustrious Princess [Mary], the King's daughter, presenting the Doge's letters of credence, and acquainting them in such general and loving terms as he shall think fit with the Signory's observance and affection for the King and their Serenities (*soe Serenità*).

Is constantly to favour, as becoming, the interests of the Signory's merchants and subjects, in such form as he shall think suitable, always with due regard for the post held by him, and as he shall consider becoming the honour and dignity of the State. As the term of the export permit for the wools is (the Doge understands) about to expire, he will in due course endeavour to obtain the prorogation of the permit, as conceded from time to time to the Signory, and about which the Venetian merchants will give him particulars.

For his expenses, sixty ducats per month have been assigned him, at the rate of 6 livres and 4 soldi per ducat, of which he is not bound to show any account to the Signory, and they have caused him to receive the subsidy of four months *la soventione de mesi quatro,* four months salary in advance); also 60 ducats for the purchase of four horses, namely, one for himself at the cost of 30 ducats; and three for the servants at 10 ducats each, he being bound to keep four servants. Twenty ducats are also given him for trunks and coverings, and twenty ducats for a courier; and that he may have the means of clothing and putting himself in order to serve the Signory well, they give him a gratuity of 60 ducats.

Ayes, 167. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

317. COMMISSION from the CHIEFS OF THE TEN to JACOMO ZAMBON, Secretary appointed to reside at the Court of the Most Serene King of England.

After we caused the arrest of Hieronymo Bucchia, of Cataro, we thought fit, on account of certain letters of recommendation which he brought to us heretofore from the Dukes of Bavaria, to write to their Excellencies about this arrest, and to acquaint them with its causes. Enclose a copy of their letter. The Dukes, in reply, demanded account of Bucchia's crime, and the Ten wrote back that they should be acquainted with it by the secretary whom the State was sending to the Most Serene King of England.

* Katharine Parr.

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The Council of Ten and Junta therefore charge him (Zambon) to go first into Bavaria to the Dukes William and Ludovic, and *especially to William*; and after presenting the Signory's credentials, to tell them he was ordered to deviate from his straight road for the purpose of visiting them in the Republic's name, and that the Ten having seen by their letters that they wished for particulars of Bucchia's crimes, he was to inform them, that besides the letters written by Bucchia to Gio. Alvise da Parma, certain other papers were found which Bucchia confessed to having written with his own hand, whereby he evinced the worst possible will towards the Ten, endeavouring by many calumnies and indirect means to alienate the Emperor from them. All these operations proceeded from Bucchia himself without any connexion whatever with Parma, as may be seen by his own writings, the summary of which they give him that he may read it in secret to their Excellencies, requesting them to impart it to no one. Not to leave this summary or any copy of it with their Excellencies or anyone else by any means; nor is he to keep it in his own possession, but to burn it after having negotiated the matter.

To take leave of their Excellencies, acquainting the Chiefs of the Ten with the offices performed by him, and with the Dukes' reply. Then to continue his journey as commissioned by the Senate. But should the Dukes remain dissatisfied, he will not depart from Bavaria, but remain, and give advice to the Chiefs by the courier who accompanies him, awaiting further orders.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

318. SUMMARY of BUCCHIA'S writings addressed to the EMPEROR.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xvi. p. 65.

319. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That from the monies destined for the ambassadors, there be given to their secretary Giacomo Zambon, appointed to the King of England, 240 ducats, at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, for four months salary, at the rate of 60 ducats per month.

Also 60 ducats for trunks and coverings, 20 ducats for a courier to accompany him, and 60 ducats as a gift for his outfit (*per vestirsi*), in execution of the commission given him by the Senate on the 29th ult., and of the mandate carried in the College on the last of said month.

Moreover be the present treasurer of this Council and his successor desired, out of the reserved fund appointed for the ambassadors, to give said secretary's agents, on the expiration of three months after his departure hence, 120 ducats for two months; so that he may have money in hand for his expenses; this advance to be continued from time to time.

Ayes, 26. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1544.
Sept. 27.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 178, tergo.

320. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

This morning, immediately after receiving letters from our ambassador in Paris, dated the 14th and 17th, announcing the conclusion of the peace between the Emperor and the most Christian King, his Majesty's Rev. ambassador Dom Alessandro Rosseto came with letters from the King, dated the 19th. He departs this evening on his way to the Pope, and by order of his most Christian Majesty acquainted us with the following particulars. The Emperor is at liberty to give his daughter in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, her dower being Flanders and the States adjoining the Low Countries, now held by his Imperial Majesty; who, should he not give the Duke his daughter, will give him his niece, the daughter of the King of the Romans, with the Milanese for dower. This peace had been made without including the King of England. These details he will certainly communicate to his Holiness. Understand from their own ambassador that the most Christian King is to restore the whole of Savoy on both sides the Alps, and to marry his niece (the daughter of his sister, the Princess of Navarre,) to the son of the Duke of Savoy. He also writes to the State, that news had been received in Paris of the English having taken Boulogne, for which reason the most Christian King was sending his army into those parts against them; and that the Emperor had recalled his troops who were with the King of England, and gave his army leave to enter the service of the most Christian King, and to receive pay from him.

To communicate what is aforesaid to the Pope.
Ayes, 186. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.
(Papalists expelled.)
[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18.
Deilberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 185, tergo.

321. The SAME to the AMBASSADOR and BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor and the King of France have made peace, the conditions of which are as follow. That they will attend to the affairs of the Religion, to find a suitable form for it (*Che si attenderà alle cose della Religione per ritrovar in quella, forma conveniente*). That they will make a marriage between the Emperor's daughter, or his niece, the daughter of the King of the Romans, and the Duke of Orleans, the most Christian King's son; and to decide within the term of four months. Should the Emperor give his daughter, the Duke is to have Flanders as dower, the Emperor remaining in possession of it during his life. Should he give his niece, her dower is to be the Milanese, which will be consigned to her one month after consummation of the marriage. After the celebration of one of these two marriages, the King of France will restore to the Duke of Savoy the territory taken from him in war on either side of the Alps, the King being at liberty to raze the fortresses erected by him in the State of Savoy. That both sides will restore immediately the conquests made by them since

1544.

the ten years truce stipulated at Nice. That they are to meet together on next St. Martin's day at Cambrai to quiet all possible disputes between France and the Low Countries. That Madame de Vendôme is to have the county St. Pol, and the Duke of Lorraine Estenai [Stenay?], and the King of France will retain the fortress of Hesdin until a suitable mode be found for restoring it. That they have specified as the friends of both sides, the Pope, the Kings of the Romans and of Portugal, the Signory of Venice, and the other potentates of Italy, and have excluded the Neapolitan emigrants (*fuorusciti*). The Emperor on his part has comprised the King of England, with the condition stipulated on the part of the King of France, that should King Francis and King Henry not agree together, the Emperor is to adjust their disputes. That the King of France will assist Germany and the Emperor with 600 spears and 10,000 infantry, or by payment of troops to that amount, for the affairs of the King of the Romans.

The Signory's ambassador with the King of the Romans informs them, that during the negotiations for peace, the King of England laid siege to Boulogne and obtained it by capitulation, and that the French troops were marching in that direction, it being said that the Emperor would therefore mediate, to reconcile France and England. This likewise is to be communicated to the Bashaws.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 188, tergo.

322. Doge Pietro Lando to King Francis I.

His most Christian Majesty's fleet has seized two Venetian ships on their voyage to England with Malmsies, which are their own merchandise, without which, Venetian vessels never make that voyage. On their departure the Signory gave the owners assurance, in virtue of the promise made at Rheims (*Rens*) by the Cardinal de Tournon and the Vice-Chancellor, in the King's name, when he published his edict (*la pragmatica soa*), to the Doge's ambassador Venier, that provided the Doge's subjects did not embark their effects on board the ships of the enemies of his most Christian Majesty, or of persons suspected by him, they might make their usual voyages in safety. Has therefore with extreme regret heard of the aforesaid seizure, as although the vessels belong to his private noblemen and citizens, he holds them in more account than if they were the Signory's. Requests the King to take to himself the judgment of this matter, and to order the free release of the vessels and their crews, and their entire cargoes. Trusts he will do so, by reason of the love always evinced by him for the Signory; they likewise, on their part, having at all time shown all friendship, and had all possible regard for the ships and subjects of his most Christian Majesty, as becoming the Republic's natural observance towards him, which they cannot but hope is graciously reciprocated.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 5.

[*Original draft, Italian.*]

1544.
Nov. 13.
Senato Terra, v. xxxiii. p. 147.

323. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE, about the release of Venetian Merchantmen bound to England.

Have heard with great regret from the owners and merchants of the Venetian ships "*Contarina and Regazzona,*" Philippo Mauricio, master, and "*Foscarina,*" Manoli da Paris, master, that both those vessels, having been sent by them on the voyage to England with malmsies from Candia, after leaving Hampton for Margate, were fallen in with by his Majesty's fleet, which captured and took them into Havre de Grace, with the entire cargoes and crews.

The ambassador will comprehend how much the Signory has been disturbed by this, being constantly on the watch, above all other things, to defend the interests of their nobles and citizens. Not knowing therefore from what accident this capture arose, as these ships on two former occasions when making this same voyage met the French fleet (the first encounter being with the galleys of Majorca, and the other with the gallions at the Gut of Cadiz), and were always treated in a friendly manner, and allowed to pass. Have therefore chosen to give him immediate orders to present himself to his most Christian Majesty, and tell him how much they are troubled by the detention of the said ships, which, although (as above mentioned) the property of their noblemen and citizens, and freighted solely with property belonging to the subjects of the Signory, which is so devoted to his Majesty, and although bound on private business to England and for no other purpose, nevertheless for their greater security, in consequence of the hostilities in those seas, had also a patent with them from the Reverend French ambassador resident in Venice.

To request the King to order their immediate release, and that of the crews and cargoes, as also compensation, in case they have incurred loss.

To perform every possible office to this effect, with the Dauphin and the Dauphiness [Catherine de' Medici], the Admiral, and the other Lords of the Council.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta) v. lxiii. p. 192, tergo.

324. The SAME to the AMBASSADOR at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The King of England has taken Boulogne by capitulation, and the most Christian King sent his army to recover it, but found the place furnished with troops, ammunition, and victuals, so they blockaded it by land and by sea. The King of England, having thus garrisoned Bulogne and his other places beyond sea, returned home with the rest of his forces. At Calais, peace is being negotiated between the Kings of France and England, and the Emperor is said to favour it.

To communicate these advices to the Bashaws.

Ayes, 137. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1545.

1545.
Jan. 23.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), vol. lxiii. p. 208.

325. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Commissioners by whom peace was being negotiated at Calais between the Kings of France and England, had departed the English not having chosen to consent to the restitution of Boulogne, which they keep so well garrisoned and provisioned that the French troops who went to recapture it were compelled to withdraw from the town.

King Henry's fleet lately captured some thirty Flemish ships laden with salt fish, on their way to France, they were taken up the Thames near to London. The Scots, who are allied with the French, continue the war with the English, and the Scottish troops lately retreated somewhat (*alquanto*), and both Scots and English are negotiating with the King of Denmark to have him on their side.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Feb.?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. iv. pp. 33-34. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." No date of time or place.

326. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL III.

The Cardinal of Mantua [Ercole Gonzaga] received him most kindly on his passage through that city, and now performs the same good offices in favour of the Pope's Legate at Trent.

Trent? February? 1545.

[*Latin*, 18 *lines.*]

Feb. 3.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

327. MARINO CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

This declaration of war against England was made from shame rather than for any other reason, it seeming to them that they could not allow Boulogne to remain to their face (*in fazza sua*) in the hands of the English, now that France is no longer molested by the Emperor. The Queen of Navarre and Madame d'Etampes would not agree to it by any means, while the Dauphin and the others countenanced it; at length Madame d'Etampes, knowing that the whole burthen will rest on the shoulders of the Admiral [d'Annebaut], whom she wishes to crush completely, likewise concurred with them, hoping, through the many difficulties and obstacles to which the undertaking is liable, to effect his ruin.

All this he heard through a good channel, so the Signory may judge the motives whereby French statesmen (*questi cervelli*) are induced to favour or declare either war or peace.

Melun, 3rd February 1545.

[*Italian. In cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

1545.
Feb. 6.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 210, tergo.

328. The DOGE and SENATE to their AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR of the OTTOMANS.

(*Ad Seren. Imperat. Othoman.*)

The most Christian King is intent on making preparations for the war against the King of England, the English doing the like on their side; and it is said that King Henry consents to release all the ships and effects of the Emperor's subjects seized by the English, as notified to him in their last.

To communicate what is aforesaid to the Bashaws.

Ayes, 133.

[*Italian.*]

March 13.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 9.

329. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the LORD TURK.

According to letters from England and France the preparations for war continue, both sides arming at sea. By advices from Milan, ships are being fitted out at Genoa in the name of the most Christian King, and are to pass into the ocean against the King of England. Contracts have been already made for six large vessels, the French agents continuing to give money for the outfit of as many as they can get. It is also understood that the King of England on his side has 100 armed ships, which cruise to and fro conveying provisions into Boulogne; and they have lately taken some French ships.

The most Christian King was in good health, and going to Blois.

The Legates destined by the Pope to attend the Council have quitted Rome on their way to Trent.

Ayes, 208. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 8.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

330. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN concerning the Correspondence of the VENETIAN SECRETARY in ENGLAND.

That the letters of the secretary Zambon, in England, be read in our Council of the Senate.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 20.

331. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR of the TURKS.

The hostile preparations of France against the English continue, the like being done on the part of the King of England. 7,000 infantry and 500 horse of the English army in Scotland having advanced into the interior to ravage the country, the Scots killed and captured them. Although France and England continue at war, peace is nevertheless being negotiated between them.

To communicate all these advices as usual.

Ayes, 194. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

1545.
April 18.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 23, tergo.

332. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the most serene EMPEROR of the OTTOMANS.

The most Christian King has received the Emperor's decision about the marriage, thus, that his Imperial Majesty will give his niece for wife to the Duke of Orleans, with the Milanese for dower; and King Francis has sent one of his secretaries to inform the Emperor that he accepts this resolution. The secretary is also ordered to speak about having the Emperor's daughter, in lieu of his niece, but always with the Milanese, and his most Christian Majesty has hopes of obtaining her, though he would be satisfied even with the niece. The Duke of Orleans, on hearing the decision, quitted France in great glee (*molto allegro*) to go to the Emperor.

There were hopes in France that peace would be made between his most Christian Majesty and the King of England, especially because it was said the Emperor offered to conclude at least a truce, if not peace.

To communicate what is aforesaid to the Bashaws as usual.

Ayes, 118.

[*Italian.*]

May 1.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 30.

333. The SAME to the SAME.

The negotiations for peace between the Kings of France and England continue, although the preparations for the war likewise continue on both sides, and the French are intent on reinforcing their troops in Picardy for the purpose of again besieging Boulogne. Letters from England, dated the 6th ultimo, state that as the whole difficulty about reconciling the Kings of England and France consists in Boulogne, which King Henry chooses to keep, whilst King Francis insists on its surrender, the Emperor advises the King of England to place Boulogne in his hands, in order that after hearing the claims of either side, he may consign it to whom he shall think it in justice belongs.

To communicate these advices to the Bashaws as usual.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

334. FRANCESCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

A few days ago Cardinal Ardinghelli* sent word that he wished to see me, and said, in his Holiness's name, that it being understood that the King of England kept a number of persons in his pay in divers places, for some purpose, which could not but be considered sinister, his character being such as it is, and that amongst them is Lodovico da l'Armi,† domiciled at Venice; it seemed to his Holiness that this was not in accordance with the good understanding between him and the Signory, nor for the respect and honour of the Apostolic

* From 1545, until his death in 1547, Cardinal Ardinghelli conducted all the secret affairs of the Papal Government. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 269.)

† The first mention of Da l'Armi and his comrades in the service of Henry VIII. is dated 30th March and 20th April 1545. (*See* State Papers, vol. x. pp. 399–401.)

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See ought it to be tolerated. He therefore requested me to write to the Signory not to allow said Lodovico to reside at Venice, nor in other places of the Venetian territory, but to dismiss him immediately, lest it appear that he enjoys your Serenity's favour. Answered I would willingly write, but must tell him that as the Signory has many subjects in England, you are compelled to proceed somewhat moderately with that King. The Cardinal rejoined, "His Holiness does not require the Signory to do as he would do, could he get hold of Da l'Armi, who is his rebel, and has committed so many crimes; but demands his dismissal, lest through the Signory's protection, and by remaining in Venice or in the Republic's territory, he may find an opportunity for perpetrating some enormous outrage (*qualche enorme inconveniente*)." In truth, here at this Court, they complain greatly of this Lodovico's sojourn at Venice, and fear that he is plotting some mischief, and that amongst other things he has some treacherous design against Cardinal Pole, who is now at Trent (*et tra gli altri che'l non insidij alla persona del Revmo. Cardinal Polo.*)* It is said that Da l'Armi has a monthly pension of 50 crowns in time of peace and 200 in time of war, and that he has eight captains, each of whom receive 25 crowns; and that some others also have stipends in like manner, amongst whom is a Veronese, one of the Counts of S. Bonifacio, he also having four captains.† The King of England, by detaining them in Italy without obtaining any immediate profit thence, induces a suspicion of some mischievous design. Cardinal Ardinghelli also said to me, repeating it several times, that besides the Pope's wish to know that you had formed some good resolve, he is also anxious for a speedy reply.

Rome, 5th May 1545.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

335. FRANCESCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Yesterday when I went to the Pope he discussed the matter of Lodovico da l'Armi, speaking to me at great length, and strongly showing that he had it much at heart, repeating what had been told me in his name by Ardinghelli, that this Da l'Armi and his accomplices were to make all possible preparation, but not to stir until the arrival of a gentleman of the King's chamber despatched to Da l'Armi with the commission to be executed by him. His Holiness then said, "We see this villain near at hand; he is our

* In Gratiano's biography of Cardinal Pole (De Casibus Virorum Illustrium. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1680, p. 215), this is confirmed by the following paragraph, " . . . . Et Bononiensis quidam, insignis sicarius, quanquam perhonestâ familiâ natus, qui Venetiis ob spoliatum apud Ravennam, cæsumque Venetum civem patricii generis, supplicio est affectus, in quæstione confessus est, diu se Tridenti, ubi Polus cum duobus collegis Concilio præsidebat, eum ut ex insidiis adoriretur observasse, pecuniamque ob eam rem a Rege accepisse." Cardella in his Lives of the Cardinals (vol. iv. p. 191), supposes this passage to signify that Da l'Armi confessed to having been sent by Henry VIII. to Trent, for the purpose of *murdering* Cardinal Pole, " ad oggetto *di togliere la vita* al Cardinale Polo."

† That the Court of Rome had good information about the dealings of Henry VIII. with Italian mercenaries at this period, is proved by documents in vol. x. State Papers, dated 29th March 1545 (p. 368), 30th March 1545 (p. 399), 3rd May 1545 (p. 414), &c.

1545.

rebel, and on many accounts would deserve a thousand deaths; we perceive that the King of England, who is a heretic, has no other enmity in Italy than ours, and he has also that of France, and in several quarters he is plotting I know not what mischief. This fellow (*costui*) is in Venice, as also that Count of Bonafacio, a Veronese,* and other captains. An agent of the King of England resident with the Signory supplies them with considerable sums of money.† We also hear that at Vercelli and in other places of Piedmont and Savoy, angels (*angellotti*), which are a sort of English coin, have commenced circulating. Everything threatens mischief in those parts, and if possible it would be well to avert the causes. Should any disturbance arise it would in truth be unfitting for it to have originated in Venice; those fellows (*costoro*) reside there, they make their bargains there, and there the money is paid them. It would be a great satisfaction to me if the Signory would take precautions at least by sending them away. We have written to our Nuncio not to await the ordinary post, but to send us the reply express." Answered that by reason of your devotion to his Holiness whatever disquieted him was most irksome to the State; that you forbad the Strozzis to reside in Venice or your territory because they busied themselves with raising troops, and State affairs; still less would you tolerate such acts on the part of this man. The Pope rejoined, "We who have these evil conjectures (*male conjetture*) about him, cause his proceedings to be watched. We were desirous that for the preservation of Italy an understanding should be formed between you and us, and should be manifest. This heretical King is now the enemy of the Apostolic See, and we tell you for certain that he has already concluded an agreement with the Lutherans.‡ The Council is sitting [at Trent]; we know not what direction his thoughts may take. There is the incident (*il particolar*) of Cardinal Pole, whom these ruffians may have been ordered to entrap (*che questi scelerati potriano havere ordine de insidie contra lui*). It is well that the Signory should show us their goodwill. By tolerating an outrage out of respect for the King of England it does not follow that the Signory will gain with him, as were he to succeed he would boast of his own address (*industria*), and such it would certainly have been; for where he to ask favour of the Signory to enable him to execute his evil designs, we know the goodness of the State to be such that they would not grant it him; but to permit the act is tantamount to concession, without gaining the merit of an obligation with anyone. It also occurs to us that, now that the King of France has withdrawn his fleet and other defences from Provence, the King of England may purpose making a diversion

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* In date 30th March 1545, the King's Council authorised Harvel to engage Count Bernard de San Bonifacio of Verona. (*See* State Papers, vol. x. p. 399, footnote.)

† In a letter dated Venice, 20th April 1545, Harvel wrote to Henry VIII. that he had received letters of exchange for 4,138 Italian crowns, and "that it was passing comfortable to Lodovico da l'Armi and to the other captains which wer in like expectacion and nede to percayve the most gracious liberalite of your Majeste." (*See* State Papers, vol. x. p. 400.)

‡ In May 1545 the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes proposed a league with England to resist the Council. (*See* letter from Bucler and Mont to Henry VIII., date Worms, 6th May. State Papers, vol. x. p. 420.)

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and invading that territory with the troops which are apparently destined for Piedmont; and it has come to our knowledge that he has also certain negotiations on foot with the Duke of Savoy, though we do not comprehend *quo spiritu* the Duke can entertain them, he being a ruined man (*essendo le cose sua per concie*). The Signory will greatly oblige us by making such demonstration, at least by expelling this fellow and the others, his accomplices, as to prove that they will not tolerate these proceedings."

I said I would willingly write, and that I knew the respect borne by your Sublimity towards his Holiness, and also how much you disapproved of misdeeds.

Rome, 8th May 1545.

Postscript.—Cardinal Ardinghelli inquired of me whether I had *written to* your Excellencies about Lodovico da l'Armi. I said I was transmitting a full account of all that he and his Holiness had said to me, and he returned thanks, adding, "Do so, for our Lord constantly receives fresh intelligence on the subject. By letters of the 23rd [April], he heard that the King was sending that gentleman of his chamber, and now through an authentic channel this is confirmed by a letter dated the 2nd [May], and he is expected at Venice within twelve days at the latest."

I rejoined that I would notify the whole.

[*Italian.*]

May 11.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 37.

336. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the most serene EMPEROR of the OTTOMANS.

By their last letters from France, the negotiations for peace with the English had rather cooled, and both sides were making preparations for war. It is said that the English fleet lately captured a number of French vessels which were conveying victuals and ammunition to the French fleet now fitting out in Normandy. By letters dated the 25th, their ambassador, Navaier, writes to them that the Emperor arrived at Antwerp on the 20th, and the Duke of Orleans on the 24th, many personages having been sent to meet him, and he was greatly honoured by the Emperor. It was said that after a few days the Duke would return to France, it being also said that the will remain? (*si firmerà*) with the Emperor.

Ayes, 134.

[*Italian.*]

May 15.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

337. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the GOVERNORS of VERONA.

Understand that in Verona there is a certain Bernardo da S. Bonifacio,* and one Angelo Mariano, and perhaps other commanders, engaged by Ludovico da l'Armi, they having men with them, and endeavouring to raise troops. This intelligence is displeasing to them; so with the Council of Ten and Junta, charge the governors to use all possible diligence to ascertain whether any of the aforesaid or other commanders are in Verona for this purpose. Should they find any alien amongst them, to dismiss him the Signory's territory

* In the year 1547, Bernardo da S. Bonifacio was the pensioner of Edward VI. (*See* Camden Publication, Trevelyan Papers, p. 196.)

1545.

immediately under such heavy penalties as they shall think fit; and if there be any Venetian subject [concerned in this matter] they are to admonish him becomingly, and command him in the name of this Council, not to dare to make any levy of troops, under pain of said Council's indignation.

They are also to use diligence in prohibiting similar musters, and to keep well on the watch to learn whether any stir be made, punishing those who disobey the orders of the Ten, and giving immediate and detailed notice of the fact to them, the Chiefs.

Similar letter to Vicenza, and such other places as requisite.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 15.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

338. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADORS at ROME.

Have understood by their letters, dated the 5th and 8th instant, addressed to the Chiefs of the Council of Ten, what his Holiness announced by Cardinal Ardinghelli, and said subsequently himself, about the affair of Ludovico da l'Armi. The like office was also performed here this morning with great warmth by the Papal Nuncio. So having heard lately that said Ludovico was engaging certain military commanders (*intertenindo certi capi*), a summons was issued for him to appear before the Chiefs of this Council; and he was not found, but in his stead the secretary of the English ambassador * (*dell' ambasciator d'Inghilterra*) came. He told us that said Ludovico had departed to do certain business for his King, and that when he returned, he [the secretary] would send him to the Chiefs. The Nuncio told them this morning he understood Da l'Armi was gone to Trent, and intends to pass through that city, and go perhaps to the Diet.† Hearing from the Nuncio that some of his said military commanders are at Verona and Vicenza, have written to the Signory's governors in those towns, should they find any aliens there, to dismiss them, and if Venetian subjects, to be admonished, and desired not to raise any levies in the Venetian territory, under very heavy penalties.

Did this in compliance with the Pope's request, although they have not had notice [from their governors?] that such levies were being made; and will do the like for the future, should any stir be announced to them.

To announce this to the Pope, that he may know the reverence and devotion which they bear him, and their wish to do what is agreeable to him, by reason of the paternal good will which he bears their Republic.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

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* The so-called English Ambassador, was Edmund *alias* Sigismund Harvel; and Andrea Morosini (vol. ii. p. 163), gives his Secretary the name of *Baldassare Alcherio*, query Balthasar Alterips. He was still at Venice (according to Mr. Turnbull's calendar) on the 11th and 26th August 1548. In the Deliberazioni Senato, 7th August 1546, the name is written *Baldissera Alchieri.*

† Then being held at Worms. (*See* Sarpi, Council of Trent; and Mosheim.)

1545.
May 23.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

339. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Knight, and FRANCESCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassadors at Rome, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

By the letter addressed to them on the 15th by the Council of Ten and Junta, understood what they were to tell the Pope about Lodovico da l'Armi and the others. Yesterday at audience, they made the communication accordingly, and as his Holiness has the matter much at heart, he repeated his earnest wish for the Signory to act in such wise that nothing sinister may befall either him or Cardinal Pole, and he also alluded to the interests of the most Christian King.

Assured the Pope that independently of any regret felt on hearing things of this sort, the Signory will certainly not tolerate them, for the sake especially of doing what is agreeable to his Holiness, with whom the State will always remain most closely allied.

The Pope evinced extreme pleasure at this, and said he promised himself much from their Excellencies' goodwill.

Rome, 23rd May 1545.

[*Italian.*]

June 17.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xvii. p. 37.

340. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That the armoury-halls of this Council, and the jewels of our Sanctuary, be shown to the son of Lord Cobham, Governor of Calais, together with 15 English gentlemen, his companions, and to the Spanish Doctor of Laws who is come on his way to the Council of Trent.

Ayes, 14. Unanimous.

[*Italian.*]

June 22.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 50.

341. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Touching France and England, the preparations for war on both sides are continued briskly both by sea and land.

To communicate these advices to the Bashaws as usual.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 5. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

July 7.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 51, tergo.

342. The SAME to the SAME.

We hear from France and England that the war continues as usual. The French commander, Monsr. de Lorges, has gone to Scotland, and the English Admiral is at sea with a powerful fleet.

Ayes, 118. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

July 29.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

343. LODOVICO DA MONTE to JERONIMO MARTELOSSO in Murano.

The ambassador of the King of England [Sigismund Harvel] has negotiated with the Lord Aloviso di Gonzaga to become general of all his Majesty's Italian troops; and the King's colonel,

1545.

Lodovico da l'Armi,* was to have come hither between the 20th and the 24th, but he has not yet arrived. Does not know the cause of the delay, but should the business be concluded, will give immediate notice to Martelosso.

So far as he can judge, and from a few words uttered by the English at Verona, they purpose making an agreement with the Duke of Savoy [Charles III.], and sending him to recover his territory of Piedmont, the King giving him 10,000 foot and 600 horse. They are treating for the Signor Alovise [Luigi Gonzaga] to be general of these forces (*de la qual gente si maneggia che'l Sig. Alovise sia Generalle*), but he is acting very cautiously (*va multo circhunspecto*), and until the arrival of Da l'Armi nothing more can be known, although letters pass to and fro.

No good can be done if the expedition have not the Emperor's consent, the force being insufficient, and the Duke of Savoy a bankrupt, without the means for paying troops. The King's assistance is, moreover, too remote; for in warfare circumstances occur requiring immediate remedy, and when the opportunity is lost, everything goes to ruin. It remains to be seen what will take place, but the King has certainly some design in Italy, for eighty "*homeni bravi*" have been sent to England, and not one of the colonels went. These men were sent by Da l'Armi, but he would not send him (Da Monte), nor Da Monte's brother, nor any of his other captains, saying that he wished to have them in Italy.

As he (Da Monte) wishes to be free, requests Martelosso to obtain permission from the Signory for him to go wherever opportunity may offer,† as he will not fail to give faithful account of all that happens from day to day to the Signory.

Your Lordship's as a brother,

Verona, 29th July 1545. (*Signed*) Lodovico da Monte.

Addressed without—

To the very magnificent (*Al multo magco*),
Messer Jeronimo Martelosso,
My very revered Lord,
In Venice, at Murano.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 82 tergo.

344. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

The captains of this Council and their companies forthwith to surround the house entered by the armed men, who last night assaulted Zuan dalla Moneda, captain of the boats of this Council. To enter the house and arrest all persons found there, both men

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* Mention is made of Da l'Armi's being in the service of Henry VIII. in March 1545, by the English envoys, Paget, Wotton, and Harvel. (*See* State Papers, vol. x. pp. 368–374.)

† From this paragraph, and what follows, it appears that Martelosso was one of the secret agents in the service of the Chiefs of the Ten, who on the present occasion employed him to detect the machinations of Da l'Armi and his accomplices. In 1542, this same Martelosso was the person who detected the treasonable practices of the Cavazzas and Abondio, concerning which see entry dated 21st October 1542.

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and women, and should they find Lodovico da l'Armi, to summon him to present himself to-morrow morning to the Chiefs of this Council.*

Ayes, 10. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 82, tergo.

345. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Whereas Lodovico da l'Armi is accused of disobedience and insolence towards Zuan dalla Moneda, captain of the boats of this Council, drawing weapons and wounding one of said captain's men; and also of having sent Francesco Mancino, Domenego of Naples, *alias* Moreto, and another, name hitherto unknown, to murder Curio Bua, at Treviso; and Mancino is accused of having, with Domenego and another person unknown, on receiving such mandate, proceeded to Treviso, in which city, after conversing twice or thrice with said Curio, they on the evening of another day again went to Curio, and Francesco, whilst talking with him, inflicted three or four wounds on him with a naked weapon, the aforesaid Moreto and the other accomplice standing by; after which, they scaled the city walls, and made their escape on horses posted by them at a hostel about a mile from Treviso.†

Put to the ballot, that these persons be arrested, and that Domenego Moreto, already arrested, remain in custody; that they be examined by the ordinary committee (*collegio*), even at the rack (*cum turturâ*), if necessary; they [the committee] to announce the result to this Council, and justice to be done. If impossible to apprehend the individuals sought for, they are to be summoned from the edict steps at Rialto, to present themselves in person at the prisons within the next eight days, to defend themselves against the aforesaid charge; on the expiration of which term, should they not appear, be they proceeded against, although absent.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

Proclaimed from the edict steps on the 12th.

[*Latin.*]

Aug. 11. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 83.

346. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

As Bartolomeo Bardolino, knight, of Bologna; Count Hironimo della Noce, a Bolognese; Count Hanibal Delz (*sic*), a Sienese; Giovanni Battista Politi, of Bologna; Raphael de' Scarlati, a Florentine; Francesco from Modena; Alexander from Mirandola; Antonio Bolognese; Jacomo from San Felice; Alexander of

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* An account of this assault and its sequel was given by Harvel to Henry VIII. in a letter dated Venice, 13th August 1545. (*See* State Papers, vol. x. pp. 563–565.)

† On the 28th September 1545, the Privy Council wrote to Harvel that, "as for hurting of the man in Treviso, allbeit his Majeste cowde nott altogeder allow thatt doing, yet his Highnes was credibly informid that the man, which is hurt, hadd made promise to Lodovico to sarve his Majeste, and receyved money for the same purpose, and after the recept thereof dyd both refuse to sarve and doo that he hadd promesed, and also use certain onfitting language towardes his Majeste, who trusted thatt the sayd state wold somewhat temper thexecution of any extreme justice, un to such time as His Highnes may eftsones be more fully informed of thes maters." (*See* State Papers, vol. x. p. 604.)

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Ferrara; Nicolo of Modena; Daniel of Portogruer; Perino, a Florentine; and Sigismund of San Felice, who usually reside and assemble in the house of Lodovico da l'Armi, have been accused of disobedience and insolence towards Zuan dalla Moneda, captain of the boats of this Council, against whom they drew their weapons, and wounded one of his men, committing these acts contrary to the dignity of this Council; by its authority, therefore, all the aforesaid to be arrested, and examined by the usual committee (*collegio*), even at the rack (*etiam cum tortura*) if necessary, &c.,* [as in the foregoing proclamation]; and as some of the aforesaid are under charge and custody (*reperiuntur custoditi et sequestrati*) of the Signory's officials in the Churches of St. Nicholas at Lido, and of St. Helena, the said officials to be relieved from their custody.

Ayes, 22. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

Proclaimed on the 12th as above.

[*Latin.*]

Aug. 11.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 83.

347. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That Don Bertoldo, Chaplain of the Church of St. John at Rialto; Daniel de Friul, cook; Antonio de Modena; Nicolo da Venetia, boatman; Jacomo Cesaruol; Piero da Ferrara; and Baptista Neapolitan, arrested in the house of Lodovico da l'Armi, be released from prison; and as an individual, name unknown, has been arrested at Mestre, after examination by the Chiefs of this Council, he is to be released by them, if not guilty.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

348. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Many months ago a Bolognese gentleman, outlawed from Bologna [Ludovico da l'Armi], came to this city, and to other towns of our territory. He has engaged (*tenuto*) captains and soldiers, contrary to the custom of our Republic, where we have never suffered musters (*adunanze*) nor stir (*moto*) to be made. Having been told by the aforesaid Ludovico, whose statement was confirmed by the English ambassador, that he was here for the service of his King, for whom he had engaged those commanders, the Signory, although they have not suffered such things within their jurisdiction, remembering the ancient friendship which the Republic maintains with England and his Majesty, was content that the men should remain in the Venetian territory under promise of living quietly; and Ludovico was particularly admonished by the Council of Ten to act with becoming decorum, and as he knew was also the will of the most Serene King. He promised to do so, and therefore has been hitherto well looked on in this city.

* By the letter from the Privy Council already quoted, it is seen that the King was of opinion that Da l'Armi and his men might justly draw their swords in self-defence; and "His Highnes trustyth the state will nether banish Da l'Armi, nor non of his gentlemen, nor yet use the extremite against hym whom they now deteyne in prison; for that the same may touche his Majestes honour for diverse respectes."

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But lately the captains of the Council of Ten, when patrolling the city by night, encountered eight or ten men wearing offensive and defensive arms, amongst whom was the aforesaid Ludovico. The captain asked who they were, demanding their weapons in the name of the said Council. They not only would neither surrender them nor say who they were, but assailed the captain and the guard, shouting "Arms! arms!" for which disobedience the laws of Venice have enacted the penalty of death. After fighting some time the guard compelled them to retreat into a house, one of the Signory's officials remaining wounded. On hearing of this, with such displeasure as may be imagined, they sent next evening to the house of said Ludovico to arrest such men as should be found there, and to desire him to come to the Chiefs on the following morning.

The culprits were not found in the house, but when said Ludovico came to the Chiefs he was desired to use all diligence for their discovery and surrender; and although he confessed to having come to blows with the captain of the guard, they nevertheless, allowed him to depart out of respect for his Majesty. But on the morning before last, fresh intelligence arrived from Treviso that three armed men entered that city and treacherously, in the evening, inflicted mortal wounds on Count Curio Bua, who was near his own house, after which they scaled the city wall and escaped. The Chiefs caused such diligence to be used that one of the three has been found in Venice, in the house of said Ludovico, and has confessed that he and his comrades were sent by said Ludovico to commit this outrage (*eccesso*). On hearing this the Signory could not in justice both as an example to others, and for the safety and quiet of their subjects, omit proceeding according to law in the ordinary form, and issued the order to arrest said Ludovico and the others who were with him; not having found them, they this morning had them proclaimed [outlaws], as customary in similar cases.

The Chiefs and Council of Ten charge the secretary to acquaint the King with these things in the best way he can, giving him to understand that so long as said Ludovico was at Venice on his Majesty's service without committing misdemeanours against the Signory and their subjects, not only was he permitted to remain without any remark (*senza alcun rispetto*), but was also well treated by everybody; but when he chose to act in this manner against their officials, perpetrating such treasonable offences, and causing the walls of their cities to be scaled, they could not fail doing what every Sovereign ought for the maintenance of justice and of his honour. Are certain that the like would have been done by his Majesty, who will much regret it, and, should they be unable to capture said Ludovico, and he arrive in England, will make such demonstration against him that the world shall know that what he has done was against the will of his Majesty, who chooses to maintain the ancient friendship which has always subsisted between him and the Republic, they on their part doing the like to their utmost, as the King may have already known, and will always know by the facts themselves.

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Having communicated the whole to the English ambassador [Sigismund Harvel], he replied that it would greatly displease his Majesty, and that the Signory could not proceed otherwise. Answered that the King's friendship could not suffer hurt (*pater lesione*) from the misdemeanours of such scoundrels (*simil tristi*), and that he [Harvel] and his Majesty's other ministers would always be treated by the Signory as hitherto.

Jacomo Bragadin
Alvise Contarini
Francesco Barbaro } Chiefs of the Ten.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 61, tergo.

349. The DOGE and **SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at** CONSTANTINOPLE.

The French fleet is at sea in great force, bound to Dover, Calais, and Boulogne to prevent the passage of the English into Picardy; and the English fleet is at Portsmouth awaiting a fair wind to engage that of France.

To communicate this intelligence as usual to the Sublime Porte.

Ayes, 163. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 83, tergo.

350. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Lodovico da l'Armi having petitioned that, as he wishes to come and present himself at the prisons, the term assigned, according to the proclamation against him, may be prolonged. Put to the ballot, that the period for his presenting himself, which expires this day, be prolonged in his favour until the close of the present month.

Ayes, 4.

Amendment.

That the prorogation be extended until the 10th of September next.

—— - 9 - 12 - 12
—— - 11 - 13 - 13 } *Pendet.*
—— - 2 - 1 - 1

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 84.

351. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The motion pending on the 20th instant was made yesterday for the prorogation, until the 10th of September, of the proclamation and term [assigned] to Lodoviço da l'Armi for presenting himself.

—— - 13 - 10.
—— - 12 - 16.
—— - 2 - 1.

[*Italian.*]

1545.
Aug. 26. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 84.

352. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Whether it seems fit to you, by reason of what has been said and read, to proceed against the Bolognese Lodovico da l'Armi, absent, but legally summoned?

Ayes, 22. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Latin.*]

Aug. 26. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 84, tergo.

353. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the aforesaid Lodovico be banished (*bannitus*) for ever from Venice and all the towns and places of the Signory, and from vessels, armed and unarmed; and should he at any time hereafter be captured, be placed "*in carcere clauso*," with a reward of 2,000 livres for his captor; and should he escape from prison and be taken, his captor to receive the above written reward (*taleam*), he [Da l'Armi] having his head severed from his shoulders between the two columns on a lofty scaffold, and proclamation to be made, etc.

—— - 12 - 12 - 12.

Amendment.

Sentence as above-written, but should he disobey the sentence of banishment, and be captured, to be forthwith beheaded between the columns as aforesaid.

—— - 12 - 12.

—— - 2 - 2.

As nothing was carried, and the movers being at liberty to change their motion, the three Councillors above written not choosing to do so, repeated their motion *ut supra*, and the ballots were,

—— - 11 - 11.

But two Councillors, the Chiefs, and the State Attornies, changed their motion solely with regard to the reward for the captors, increasing it from 2,000 livres to 3,000.

—— - 13 - 14.

—— - 2 - 1.

Aug. 26. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 84, tergo.

Is the Council of opinion that for the things said and read proceedings be instituted against the Bolognese Francesco Mancino, usually domiciled in the house of Lodovico da l'Armi, absent but legitimately summoned?

Ayes, 23. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

The Council decrees that said Francesco Mancino be condemned to the same sentence as Lodovico, save that the reward for his captor be 2,000 livres.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 2.

Aug. 26. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 85.

Is the Council of opinion that for the things said and read proceedings be instituted against Domenego Moreto?

Ayes, 23. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

The Council decrees that said Domenego do end his days (*finire habeat vitam*) in a dungeon, from which should he escape and be

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captured, he is to be beheaded between the columns, etc., his captor receiving 2,000 livres.

—— - 10 - 13 - 13.

1st. Amendment.

That he be sent under good custody to Treviso, and beheaded there next Tuesday morning, on the market place.

—— - 9 - 8 - 9.

2nd Amendment.

That he be sent as above to Treviso, and that next Tuesday morning, on the artillery ground there which he crossed when making his escape, both his eyes be taken out, so that he remain deprived of their sight (*sic quod privatus lumine eorum remaneat*); and be he then banished Venice and the district, and from all towns and places of the Signory, and from their ships, armed and unarmed; and should he at any time break bounds (*contrafecerit banno*) and be captured, to be beheaded between the columns, etc., his captor receiving a reward of 2,000 livres.

—— - 4.

—— - 3 - 5 - 4.

The neutrals were not counted.

Aug.26. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 85.

Is the Council of opinion that proceedings be instituted against Count Hironimo della Nuce, Hironimo de' Scarlati, Florentine, Francesco of Modena, Alessandro from Mirandola, Antonio Bolognese, Jacomo from San Felice, Alessandro Ferrarese, Nicolo of Modena, Paulo of Reggio, Daniel of Portogruer, and Perino, Florentine, who usually reside and assemble in the house of Lodovico da l'Armi, they being absent, but legitimately summoned?

Ayes, 17. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 5.

The Council decrees that for four years they be banished Venice and from all towns and places of the Signory, and from its ships, armed and unarmed; and should any one of them at any time be captured, he to remain in close confinement for six months, and then return to his banishment, which is then to re-commence, and this *toties quoties*, with 1,000 livres reward for his captor.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 5.

Aug. 26. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vi. p. 85.

Is the Council of opinion that proceedings be instituted against Bartolomeo Bardolino of Bologna, Count Hanibal Delz, Sienese, Giovanni Battista Politi of Bologna, Hironimo Venuci, and Sigismund of San Felice?

The Council decrees that, considering the promise of immunity given them by the Signory's officials, they are to be set at liberty, and during the whole of tomorrow they may go in safety where they please, and then have three days time for presenting themselves; and should they not present themselves they are to be again proclaimed, with the term of eight days, on the expiration of which term, should they not appear, they will be proceeded against notwithstanding their absence.

Ayes, 17. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin and Italian.*]

1545.
Aug. 29.
Senato Terra, v. xxxiv. p. 62.

354. MOTION made in the SENATE to exempt the English Ambassador from Taxation.

Dom. Sigismund Harvel, ambassador from the King of England, has been a long while in this city, during part of which time he negotiated as a private individual, being subsequently commissioned to act in a public capacity. Whilst in his former situation the taxers imposed taxes on him, which were duly paid, and are still inscribed in his name. As he is compelled to pay them, the supervisors noting him as debtor, he insists that since he commenced negotiating with the Signory in the name of the most Serene King he ought not to be compelled to pay any tax, according to universal law. His Majesty aforesaid also has written strongly on the subject, and it being just to satisfy him:

Put to the ballot,—

That from the time when the said Dom. Sigismund commenced negotiating with the Signory for his most Serene King as a public person, and so long as he shall remain in this office, he be not compelled to pay any tax; any debt contracted by him on this account since the above written period to be cancelled, most especially as he paid his taxes in full whilst in a private capacity.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31.
Lettere Secrete, Capi ConsiglioX., File no. 4.

355. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

In case it be necessary to speak about Ludovico da l'Armi with his Majesty and the Ministry, to assure them that the Signory greatly regretted the necessity for punishing him; and that whenever it may be in their power to do what is agreeable to the King and his government (*et alli sui*), they will not fail to act in accordance with their ancient friendship and respect for his Majesty, who will know they could not act otherwise than they have done in this matter.

Before the condemnation of Ludovico, the King's ambassador [Harvel] requested them to prolong the term assigned to said Ludovico for presenting himself, which expired on the 20th instant, until the 10th September. To this they could not assent by reason of the laws. Should he be spoken to on this point, to declare that this prolongation could not be made, especially as said Ludovico has had a sufficient term, and because it is known that on the morning of the day when they determined to arrest him he was in Venice, and had notice of the seizure of one of those who went to Treviso to commit the outrage. To advise the Chiefs of what he does, and of what happens in this matter.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

356. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Lodovico da l'Armi arrived in this city yesterday, having ridden post. At the second hour of the night he came to my house, and when alone with me commenced a long and circumstantial account

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of the two cases on account of which he had incurred the displeasure (*essere incorso incontumacia*) of your Excellencies, the one, that he had not obeyed your Excellencies' officials, having fought and wounded one of them; the other, the scar inflicted by his order on the son of Count Mercurio Bua,* and the flight of his followers by letting themselves down from the walls of Treviso. In conclusion he stated he had written to the English ambassador at Venice to have the period for his presenting himself postponed until the 10th instant, but that subsequently fresh commands from his King (*dil Re suo*) compelled him to go to England, where he might possibly find that powerful King, who has always been the Republic's friend, offended by reason of the wrong done to him [Da l'Armi], who was at Venice on his service, and although he had no letters of credence, the utmost credence might have been given him on account of his writings (*scritture*) and the business negotiated by him at Venice. He said he would use his good offices with the King to augment the good understanding between the Signory and England, and if unsuccessful in this matter would never make mischief, adding, that being unable to tell your Excellencies what he had intended, he would tell your representative. Answered that the Doge in his city enforces nothing more severely than obedience [to the law?] and obedience to the officials in the service of the greatest and most important magistracy of the Republic; that many noblemen of their own blood had been seriously punished for a much slighter cause than the one narrated to him by Da l'Armi; that in the next place the State detests nothing more than the taking revenge, either with or without cause, by thus sending hired ruffians to a place on purpose to effect it, and that the Signory had also to take into consideration the fact of their escape by the walls of Treviso, an outrage well nigh tantamount to violation of that fortress, for which the State has the most jealous care; being of opinion that both these cases were very serious, and had greatly offended the public majesty of Venice; nor would the Doge ever believe that the King of England, when acquainted with the truth, could for this cause swerve in the least from his friendship, but rather increase his love for a Republic whom he saw so intent on the quiet and security of everybody. Da. l'Armi rejoined, that the first case of Canaregio, with regard to himself individually, ought not to be deemed important, because having many enemies and very powerful ones, and mistaking the Signory's officials for them, he could not do otherwise than he did; and on hearing that they were public officials, he retreated, nor was it possible to show any greater mark of respect, so that if any disorder occurred, it was owing to the night. With regard to the second offence, he said that a person who had taken money to

* In the 15th century at Venice, the crime of "face scarring," (as a mark of infamy) was very prevalent, and long continued to be so, as was probably the case all over Europe. Amongst the criminal statutes of Venice is one dated 29th June 1443, headed thus: "Della pena delli Percussori nella faccia," and commencing thus: "Cum nobilior pars corporis hominis sit species (quoniam ornat totum corpus, et habet in se omnem speciem honestatis,) et ea facie devastata, totum corpus est deformatum, et quidam mali homines per propriam malignitatem, et vindictam iræ, et odii sui, cœperunt in hac nostra civitate percutere homines super facie, quod est in vilipendium totius civitatis habere cives cum vultibus incisis," etc.

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come and serve the King of England, and then failed to do so, deserved greater punishment than what he had received, and that for this, the Signory ought not to evince resentment, both out of respect for the King, and for the Doge himself, who being a sovereign, should dissemble this case, to prove how much it displeased him that Princes should be wronged by private individuals.

Navagero answered briefly, that the Signory sought solely to preserve obedience, tranquillity, peace, and security in their dominions; and Da l'Armi then took leave, saying he should depart early on the following morning for England, and requesting Navagero to write the whole of this conversation to the Signory. Da l'Armi is accompanied by a gentleman of the Tresseno family, who introduced himself to Navagero when he quitted his chamber, saying he was the brother of another Tresseno here at the Imperial Court, in the service of the Signor Sforza Palavicino.

Brussels, 1st September 1545.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 67.

357. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Advices from England, and by the last letters from France down to the 19th August, state that the two hostile fleets were so near each other on two occasions that all expected a sea fight, but as the weather was calm, each endeavouring to get to windward, the English went into port at Hampton, and the French at Havre-de-Grace, where it will remain some days to ship provisions. An agreement is being negotiated between Scotland and England, it having been proposed to marry the daughter of the Queen of Scotland to the son of the King of England. The adjustment about Boulogne is considered difficult without the Emperor's mediation, as the place is well garrisoned and victualled, the French army being under the walls, and the enemy going out to skirmish with them daily.

Ayes, 190. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17.
Senato Terra, v. xxxiv. p. 71, tergo.

358. IMPORTATION of ENGLISH LEATHER.

The shoemakers of this city have petitioned the Signory, (as the hides from the slaughter-houses, which are tanned at the "Zudecha," do not suffice for the numerous population of Venice, and for their trade,) to obtain a sufficient supply of tanned hides for the use of this population; and the Signory having heard this matter debated by the shoemakers and the tanners, and perceiving that in fact, as there is a scarcity of said hides, it is necessary to adopt such measures as may possibly regulate this matter beneficially for the city:

Put to the ballot, that henceforth tanned hides be imported into this city from abroad, namely, those tanned in England and in Turkey, which are understood to be of the best sort tanned abroad; said tanned hides to pay the usual duties and city dues, and to be

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are sold, with this condition, that the shoemakers be bound first of all, to take from our slaughterhouses all such hides as are well tanned according to our orders; and so long as there shall be hides of this sort in the warehouse, those tanned abroad may not be purchased, nor any other sort. The English hides are to be sold for one "*soldo*" less per lb., and the Turkish hides two "*soldi*" less per lb., than those tanned here.

Ayes, 114. Noes, 51. Neutrals, 25.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18.
Senato Terra, v. xxxiv. p. 73, tergo.

359. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Maritime Rights.

It is reported here, that certain smacks (*scute*) and other English vessels, bound lately to Flanders with the goods of various persons, and amongst the rest of Venetian noblemen, citizens, and others, have been captured by the French fleet. This matter being one of much importance to their subjects, charge him, in case he have any information, or if any Venetians be interested in the cargoes of these smacks, to make an application to the most Christian King, to the Admiral, or any other commander or justiciary in his Majesty's service, for recovery of their plundered property; he is not to fail giving them all possible assistance, so that they may recover what may have been taken. Hope that by reason of the good friendship and peace between his most Christian Majesty and the Signory, and because of the respect which they have, and always have had, for all his subjects and affairs in the Venetian territory, there will be no difficulty as to this restitution, which, therefore, the ambassador's diligent and strenuous endeavours, and the many arguments which he can adduce to this purpose, will, they believe, be assuredly effected, and their merchants receive compensation for their losses.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 73, tergo.

360. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Nothing has taken place between the French and English fleets.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 14. Neutrals, 13.

P.S.—After writing as above, received letters from their ambassador in France, dated Amiens the 12th, confirming the news of the death by plague of the Duke of Orleans. The disease seized him on the 4th, and he died on the 9th. To communicate this in like manner to the Magnificoes the Bashaws.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 76.

361. The SAME to the SAME.

The King of England is raising infantry in the territory of the Landgrave of Hesse, to succour Boulogne, which was besieged by

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the French, whose army, having been long before the place, at length retired, leaving a strong force in a fortress raised by them near Boulogne, and it is said that this garrison will give battle to the Hessians on their march to succour the English.

Ayes, 155. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 84, tergo.

362. The DOGE and SENATE to the **VENETIAN AMBASSADOR** at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have letters from their ambassador in France, dated Troyes, the 2nd instant, stating that on the preceding day, the most Christian King sent the Admiral, the Lord Chancellor, and Mons. Bayard to the Emperor with a very honourable retinue to negotiate truce or peace with the King of England by means of his Imperial Majesty, to whom King Henry was also sending the Bishop of Winchester, who arrived at Calais some days ago.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

363. MOTION made and lost in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA for a safe-conduct demanded by HENRY VIII.

That at the suit made by the King of England, both by letter, and also through his ambassador, a safe-conduct be conceded to Ludovico da l'Armi for five years, during which he may come into this city, and into our territory, notwithstanding the sentence passed against him; and his Majesty's ambassador be told, that notwithstanding the enormity of his crimes, and the strictness of our laws, we have chosen to do this for his Majesty's gratification by reason of our ancient friendship with him.

And that our secretary in England be written to in accordance with the present decree.

Noes, 21.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

364. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA for a letter to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

By his letter of the 3rd October learn the conversation held with him by the Lord Chancellor in the matter of Ludovico da l'Armi.

To thank the Chancellor for his goodwill towards the Republic, making him understand that the offices performed by him with the King have been most agreeable to them; they will always hold them in excellent account, and request him to continue them in like manner for the future, both in this present matter and on other occasions.

Ayes, 6. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

Nothing carried, as a majority of ¾ is required.

Reballoted	-	22	-	22
„	-	6	-	6
„	-	2	-	2 ¾ *pendet.*

[*Italian.*]

1545.
Dec. 4.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

365. MOTION made by the Councillor FRANCESCO VENIER in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA, concerning the reply to be given to the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR [Sigismund Harvel] assigning the reasons for refusing the safe-conduct demanded by HENRY VIII.

That in such form of speech as shall seem fit to his Sublimity, the Doge do answer the ambassador from England, that the crimes perpretated by Ludovico da l'Arıni have been enormous, as he both assaulted the Republic's nightwatch and wounded the officials, and moreover sent men on purpose to Treviso, treacherously to murder Count Curio Bua, scaling the walls of the city; and that although the wish of the Signory is to gratify his Majesty, yet the State is compelled to have regard for justice, and for the peace of the inhabitants of Venice and of their other subjects, and to avoid disturbing the quiet of their towns.

And that our Secretary in England be written to as follows:—

To the Secretary in England.

They lately received letters from his Majesty [of England], dated 28th September, urging them to release Ludovico da l'Armi, and others, arrested and condemned with him. They have also received those written by the Secretary himself on the 3rd, 10th, and 19th of said month, and finally what he wrote to the Chiefs of the Ten on the 29th, whereby and by those of the 3rd, are acquainted with the offices performed by him in this matter with the Chancellor [Thomas Lord Wriothesley.] Commend him greatly. To negotiate further with the Lord Chancellor, and request his Excellency to use his influence with the King, who will understand that the misconduct of said Ludovico compelled the Signory to proceed against him according to law.

Then to demand audience of the King, to whom, after presenting the aforesaid credentials, he is to say that from the desire of the Signory to do what is agreeable to his Majesty, they have at all times graciously admitted into their territory his Majesty's agents and servants, and particularly Ludovico da l'Armi, who, so long as he attended to the King's service, was conceded every possible facility, which the State would have continued, but as he assaulted the Repub ic's nightwatch, and wounded one of their officials, and shortly afterwards sent armed men to Treviso to kill Count Curio Bua, scaling the city walls, the Signory was unable to do otherwise than prosecute him.

To assure the King that they do not fail to continue in their good friendship with his Majesty, which is dear to them.

To perform this office in the best and most agreeable form of language he can, and with every demonstration of the observance and goodwill which they bear his Majesty; informing the Chiefs how he has negetiated in this matter.

[*Italian.*]

1545.
Dec. 9.
Parti Secrete, Register. v. v. p. 152.

366. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA, concerning the safe-conduct for LUDOVICO DA L'ARMI.

The Chiefs of the Ten repeat the motion made on the 4th December, for the grant of a safe-conduct for Ludovico da l'Armi.

Noes, 22.

Amendment proposed by the Councillor Francesco Venier.

That as a person is expected here from England on this account, as heard this morning by letters from our Secretary, the grant of the safe-conduct be delayed.

Ayes, 7. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

Nothing having been carried, as the first motion required three-fourths of the ballots, the first motion alone for granting the safe-conduct was re-balloted, and the ballots were—

Ayes, 23. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10.
Lettere Secrete, CapiConsiglioX. File, no. 4.

367. DOGE FRANCESCO DONATO to KING HENRY VIII.

Has received his Majesty's letter urging him (the Doge) to recall Ludovico da l'Armi from exile, concerning which matter the King's ambassador discoursed very prudently. Would have certainly answered the missive earlier had not the death of the most Serene Prince, his predecessor, and the Republic's meetings * (*nostraque comitia*), delayed his decree; but at length, out of regard for his Majesty, he permits said Ludovico to return to Venice, and remain there and in other cities of his dominions, for five years.

Has desired his secretary, Giacomo Zambon, to acquaint the King with some particulars in this matter, and to assure his Majesty, first of all, that it is the constant wish of the Republic, not only that their ancient and mutual friendship, and their extreme observance towards his Majesty should be maintained, but also that the same may increase.

Requests the King, therefore, to give the same credence to his Secretary's words, as he would to his own.

Hieronimus Priulus, C.C.X.
Marco Antonio Venier, D.C.X.
Francesco Mauroceno, C.C.X.
Lectæ Clarissimis D. Sap. utr. manus.†

[*Original draft. Latin.*]

Dec. 10.
Lettere Secrete, CapiConsiglioX. File no. 4.

368. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Some days ago, letters were delivered to them from his Majesty [of England], making urgent demand for the release (*liberatione*) of Ludovico da l'Armi, and they also received those written by him (Zambon) on the 1st, 3rd, 10th, 19th, and 31st October, addressed to the Chiefs of the Ten, whereby perceive the offices performed by him in this matter with the Lord Chancellor [Thomas Lord Wriothesley], and what was said to him by Secretary Paget [Sir

* Meetings of the Grand Council for the scrutiny of the new Doge.

1545.

William Paget, Knt.] Commend him for what he did with the Chancellor, and for his reply to the Secretary. Having with the Council of Ten and Junta, resolved yesterday, for the gratification of his Majesty, to approve a safe-conduct for the aforesaid Ludovico for five years, they send this despatch with a letter addressed to the King, which he is to present. After apologizing for the delay of the reply, which was caused by the death of the Doge's predecessor, and his own occupations owing to his election, to inform his Majesty that the Signory, by reason of their ancient friendship with his Majesty, and from their great respect for him, although the misdemeanours of said Ludovico were grievous, and their laws very strict in this matter, have nevertheless granted the said safe-conduct for him for five years, authorising him to reside in Venice and their other towns, notwithstanding the sentence passed against him. To perform the same office with the Lord Chancellor, and to thank him for the affection which he bears the State.

In case his Majesty or the others should tell him (Zaffbon) that the term of five years is too short, he is to reply that by the Republic's laws, similar safe-conducts cannot be granted for a longer period, especially with regard to offenders sentenced by the Council of Ten.

Hieronimus Priulus, C.C.X.
Marco Antonio Venier, D.C.X.
Franciscus Mauroceno, C.C.X.
Lectæ Clarissimis D. Sap. utr. manus.

[*Original draft. Latin.*]

Dec. 14?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. X. No date. Printed in v. iv. pp. 34–35. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." No date of time or place.

369. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL III.

Congratulates the Pope privately on his having at length opened the Council,* a door whereby he hopes the sterility of the Church will be removed, and prove as fruitful of comfort as the womb of Rachel.

Trent, 14th December? 1545.

[*Latin*, 19 *lines.*]

Dec. 16.
Lettere Secrete, CapiConsiglioX. File no. 4.

370. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

The King of England having most earnestly requested the Signory by letter, as also through his ambassador and their Secretary resident with him, for his especial satisfaction to release (*liberar*) Ludovico da l'Armi from his sentence of banishment from their towns and places, did not think they could decline granting the demand in part, and, with the Council of Ten and Junta, have made a safe-conduct for said Ludovico for five years.

Of this they give the ambassador notice for his instruction, and that should he be spoken to on the subject by his Holiness or any other personage, he may assure them that this was done for the gratification of his Majesty, and because the Republic has always

* The Council was opened on the 13th December 1545. (*See* Sarpi.)

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(*anticamente*) had good friendship with him on account of trade, and also because at present many of their subjects are in those parts with considerable capital (*con grosso cavedale*), and well treated by his Majesty, to whom they did not think fit to refuse this mutual office of reciprocity (*questo officio di corrispondenza*) and demonstration of goodwill. But should nothing more be said to him, he is not to perform any office about it.

Hieronimus Priulus, C.C.X.
Marco Antonio Venier, D.C.X.
Franciscus Mauroceno, C.C.X.
Lectæ Clarñis. D. Sap. utr. manus.

[*Original draft. Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 89, tergo.

371. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their ambassador with the Emperor wrote to them from Antwerp in date of the 1st and 2nd, that the French ambassadors, the Admiral, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Bayard, who went to his Imperial Majesty to negotiate through him an agreement with the King of England, had gone back to France without any conclusion, and the Emperor was to depart for Ratisbon.

By letters from France, dated the 26th ultimo, are informed that the most Christian King has in like manner sent other ambassadors to Calais, to treat an adjustment with England by means of certain ambassadors from the German Princes who are in that city.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1546.

1546.
Feb. 16.
Mantuan Archives.

372. HENRY VIII. to FRANCESCO GONZAGA, DUKE of MANTUA.*

Having had frequent proof heretofore of the good will and friendship borne him by all the Duke's ancestors, and how cordially they sought on all occasions to do what was agreeable to him, and trusting that the Duke is equally well disposed towards him, will not lose the opportunity for amicably saluting his Excellency, and declaring in like manner his affection for him and all his generous and illustrious family by the present letter, and by means of his noble and beloved familiar Lodovico da l'Armi,† whom he is now sending into Italy on business, and earnestly requests the Duke to assist him with his favour, patronage, and authority, in such matters as will be treated by him there in the King's name, granting him

* Francesco Gonzaga born A.D. 1533, succeeded to the Duchy of Mantua on the 28th June 1540, and during sixteen years, his uncle, the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, was Regent of Mantua. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 87.)

1546.

such aid as the Duke will understand is required by him, which will be most agreeable and acceptable to the King.

Ex Regia nostra Westmonasterii die XVI. Februarij 1546.

Signed: Vester Bonus Amicus,
HENRICUS.

Countersigned: Petrus Vannes.

[*Latin. Original.*]

Feb. 20. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiv. p. 96.

373. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from the Imperial Court, dated the 29th ultimo, understand that the Emperor, having recovered from a slight attack of gout, was in good health, and purposed going to the Diet of Ratisbon towards the end of March. He has much intercourse with the English, and seems also to wish to maintain the peace with the most Christian King, notwithstanding which it is reported that he said he purposed inspecting and adjusting his frontiers in that direction.

Letters from France, written in like manner last month, inform them that on the French attempting to succour their fortress of (*sic*) [near ?] Boulogne, the English gave them battle with a strong force, and although superior in number were nevertheless routed with a loss of some 1,500 men, including killed and drowned, and the French succeeded in putting succour into their fort. The negotiations at Calais for an agreement between France and England came to an end without the stipulation of either peace or truce.

By another set of letters received this morning, dated the 2nd and 5th instant, receive news that between the Emperor and the King of England a fresh agreement has been formed and concluded, the particulars of which are not yet known, so that the most Christian King is more intent than ever on making preparations for the war against the English both by land and sea, and has determined on sending the Prince of Melphi (*sic*) [Amalfi ?] into Piedmont with military commanders, and orders to do what may seem to him necessary.

Ayes, 137. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

March ? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. X. No date. Printed in v. iv. p. 17, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," without date of time or place.

374. CARDINAL POLE to STANISLAS OSIO.*

Letter of recommendation of Vincenzo Bansio.

Rome ? March, 1546 ?

[*Latin*, 23 *lines.*]

April 6. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 10, tergo.

375. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

In date of Paris the 17th ultimo, their ambassador writes to them that the most Christian King was intent on making powerful preparations for the recovery of Boulogne, and to fortify himself against the English. Captain Polin, after putting succour into his fortress

* Stanislas Osio was the Chancellor of King Sigismund of Poland, and in 1561 (26 February) was created Cardinal by Pope Pius IV.

1546.

opposite Boulogne, went with some twenty ships towards the "*Pas de Calais,*" where he captured seven vessels laden with grain, ammunition, spades, and other things destined by the English for Boulogne.

King Francis is raising funds, and has sent into Italy as his lieutenant the Prince of Melphi [Amalfi?], who will inspect and repair the fortresses in Piedmont, and for the present has left his company north of the Alps. The most Christian King's commander, Mons. de Lorges, who was in Scotland, has returned to France with the French troops, accompanied by a Scottish ambassador, to demand pecuniary assistance against England.

Mons. d'Enghien, heretofore his most Christian Majesty's lieutenant in Italy, died lately in France, and on the 30th ultimo the Marquis del Guasto, late Governor in Milan, also died.

By letters from England, dated the 7th ultimo, it is stated that the King was collecting money and preparing a large number of troops for Picardy, and purposed sending the Earl of Hertford as their commander.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

April 14.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no 6.

376. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the GOVERNORS of BRESCIA.

Understands that Ludovico da l'Armi has arrived at Castel Goffredo,* or in those environs, to raise troops for the service of the most Serene King of England; so, with the Council of Ten and Junta, charge them to use diligence to ascertain in detail, adroitly and secretly, all his proceedings, giving notice of the whole to the chiefs of this Council, and executing the orders contained in their other letters about prohibiting the Republic's subjects from entering the service of foreign powers.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.†

[*Italian.*]

April 15.
Mantuan Archives.

377. CARDINAL ERCOLE GONZAGA, REGENT of MANTUA, to MONSIGNOR CAMILLO CAPILUPO, Mantuan Envoy with the Emperor.‡

Lodovico da l'Armi has come into these parts, as he (Capilupo) may have heard; and according to report, of which there is some confirmation, he is ordered to raise troops for England, some say to march them to Boulogne against France, others, that he is going to Piedmont, to undertake an expedition there, in the name of the Prince of Savoy, which last opinion is the most general. Has been unable hitherto to ascertain the truth; but at any rate this stir disturbs him, both on account of the Mantuan territory, and of that

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* In the Mantuan territory, 5 leagues N.W. of Mantua.

† At this period the Protestant League, headed by the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, was raising troops and holding a Diet at Ulm; and their forces at Donavert numbered 80,000 infantry and 10,000 horse. (*See* Andrea Morosini, vol. ii. p. 62.)

‡ Camillo Capilupo combined authorship with diplomacy, and wrote an account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which was printed at Rome in the year 1571.

1546.

of Montferrat, where Da l'Armi resides, at Castelgiffredo (*come del Monferrato, di questo essendo il luogo di Castelgiffredo*), saying that he is in the service of England), that place being in the Duchy of Mantua and connected with it; whilst in the opposite direction there is La Mirandola, which in this case, could not but make a similar movement on behalf of France, to impede the intended levies at Castelgiffredo. The Mantuan territory would thus be in the midst of the disturbance, and they would subsequently be in yet greater trouble with regard to the affairs of Montferrat, should these troops be marched to Piedmont, as besides the inconvenience and damage caused by their passage through that State—already so exhausted—the Government of Mantua could not allow them to go freely through the territory, nor act by them as by the Imperialists. It would be dangerous for the interests of the Duke his nephew [Francesco Gonzaga], and for his own, that these troops should remain in the Montferrat territory on their way to undertake an expedition in the name of Savoy, by reason of the claims on Montferrat of that Duke, who, although he has been excluded by right, has not acceded to his Majesty's sentence, and on the contrary, made an appeal, which, although he did not prosecute, he did his utmost to enforce. In addition, is of opinion, that when the Emperor's service is not concerned, it is undesirable for Mantua to evince hostility to France by harbouring in the Mantuan territory troops destined to act against that country, which is now at peace with the Emperor.*

In order to know how to act, sends this express, desiring him to request the most illustrious Monsr. de Granvelle [Nicole Perrenot, Seigneur de Granvelle, Imperial Chancellor], in the Cardinal's name, to give him advice with regard to the course to be pursued, as he thinks it necessary to be cautious on account of the Emperor's service, because being so devoted to his Majesty, as known to France, any demonstration made by him in favour of England against King Francis might easily be attributed, if not to an order from the Emperor, at least to the conviction that he would approve it. Should the matter rest between England and France alone, and if there be no other consideration, he might act in such wise with the French agents as not to offend King Francis, and should those of England make demands, which he anticipates (from a letter addressed to him by Da l'Armi and which he encloses), he might let them know that as the interests of the Emperor his Lord are not concerned, Mantua would not lean more towards France than towards England. Least of all could the Cardinal favour England, by reason of the enmity professed by King Henry for the Apostolic See; on which account, last year, when the Signor Luigi [Gonzaga] was about to enter the service of England, the Pope wrote to the Cardinal of Mantua to prevent this, and not to allow troops on that service to pass through his territory.

To acquaint the most illustrious De Granvelle with these particulars, and ascertain his opinion on the subject, sending the reply

* Peace was made between the Emperor and France on the 17th September 1544. (*See* L'Art de vérifier les Dates.)

1546.

by express, as should Da l'Armi and his comrades (*costoro*) do anything, it may be supposed that they will not long delay. To beware, above all, of speaking in such a way as to have it suspected that he wishes to hear anything about this most important political business (*questo importantissimo negotio politico*),* as the Cardinal has no such desire, and merely cares to know what can affect the common weal; and should he be unable to obtain a single word, as the Cardinal foresees, he will do the best he can, bearing always in mind the Emperor's service. Is not to allow anything to escape him about the possibility of a demand from France to have an agent (*ci ricercasse uno*) at Castel Giffredo (in order still better to inconvenience his Imperial Majesty), nor of his inability to refuse; nor yet of La Mirandola's being much inclined to arm and cross the Po; as it would seem as if—being unable to withstand such turmoil—the Cardinal were asking for assistance.

Is to send information on this subject with all possible speed, and not to omit giving his own opinion.

Mantua, 15th April.

[*Italian. Original draft.*]

April 15. Mantuan Archives.

378. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI to ERCOLE GONZAGA, CARDINAL REGENT of MANTUA.

Having commissions and letters of credence for the Duke of Mantua, &c., from the King of England, my master, I acquaint your Lordship with the fact, in order to know whether it be your pleasure I should execute his Majesty's commission.

From Castello Giuffredo, 14th April 1546.

Your most illustrious and most esteemed Lordship's

Very obedient servant,

(*Signed:*) Lodovico da l'Armi.†

[*Original. Italian.*]

April 16. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

379. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Enclose summary of advices for communication to the King and Ministers as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

380. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

That the proclamation sent for publication to the Signory's cities, prohibiting our subjects from entering the service of foreign powers, be also published from the "Edict Steps" at St. Mark's and Rialto.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 16. Neutrals, 3.

Carried in the negative.

[*Italian.*]

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* The League between the Emperor and the Pope against the Protestants was still a secret, and the ratification is dated 26th June 1546.

† This signature being spelled as above, I print the name thus throughout, although in

1546.
April 20.
Mantuan Archives.

381. CAMILLO CAPILUPO, Mantuan Envoy with the Emperor, to ERCOLE GONZAGA, CARDINAL REGENT of MANTUA.

Having deciphered the letter relating to Lodovico da l'Armi, went at 3 p.m. to Mons. de Granvelle, and after having read to him Da l'Armi's letter to your Lordship, expressed my apprehensions about him. His Excellency interrupted me, and well nigh laughing, said, "Do you not know Da l'Armi? He is a frivolous man (*egli è vano*). I will tell you something, but do not talk or write about it, save to the Cardinal. It will all end in smoke. What means have they for harassing France?" He then added, "I had already heard of this affair and complained greatly about it; nothing will be done." I continued, "Should my master be asked for facilities by England, what can they reply, for the Cardinal, being a churchman, would be loth to consent?" Granvelle rejoined, "He must not allow Lodovico to speak to him, but send an excuse saying that the Duke is a minor, and that he, the Regent, being a Cardinal, cannot lawfully listen to him, nor could he do so without offending the Pope; and let him issue an edict forbidding anyone to enter into the pay (*che vadi al soldo*) of other governments." Rejoined, "Should the French, in order more surely to prevent the English from making this stir, demand some fortress (*luogo*) [in the Mantuan territory], what is to be done then?" He [Granvelle] replied, "Give them the answer made to the English, and say that the Duke is a minor." I then said that there were places which could not be defended, and that it would perhaps be better policy to cede what could not be kept, rather than let it be taken; whereupon Granvelle, being irritated, answered, "If they do not choose to be neutral, it is another affair." I rejoined that you had sent an express solely from fear of doing what might displease the Emperor, and therefore asked counsel of his Excellency. Granvelle replied that his Majesty would not interfere in this business; that he wished to be friends with all parties, and that the Emperor would say nothing more to me. I continued that I had no commission to speak to anybody but his Excellency, as they intended abiding by his advice; and as at that moment the Secretary Rios entered, and as Mons. de Granvelle was talking loud, I closed the conversation by saying that I would write what his Excellency had said to me, but that the best remedy would be not to give the General Luigi [Gonzaga]* permission to engage himself to England, as without a license he would not be allowed to raise levies. I said this, because the General sent me the enclosed memorial† for the Emperor, which I had first received at Spires from the Cardinal of Trent, but would not deliver it, as it was not couched in its present form; and I wrote to the Cardinal of Trent that General Luigi had better send an envoy of his own, but subsequently he returned the document modified (*honestato*), as it stands. I had also urged Mons. de Granvelle to have the General taken into the Imperial service, and he said he would speak about it to the Emperor, and gave fair hopes either of refusing the license

* The title of "*General*" of the Italian forces of Henry VIII., as expected by Luigi Gonzaga, is mentioned in the letter dated Verona, 29th July 1545.

† Not found.

1546.

or of engaging him. Therefore I now reminded Mons. de Granvelle of this, and the answer was that the license would not be given, and that [General] Gonzaga would be told that the Emperor does not interfere in the matter. I will, however, endeavour to do better, should a fair opportunity present itself. So your Excellencies [the Cardinal and the Duchess of Mantua, co-regents] may be certain that as yet nothing is concluded.

Ratisbon ? 20th April 1546.

[*Original. Italian.*]

April 21. Mantuan Archives.

382. CAMILLO CAPILUPO, Mantuan Envoy with the Emperor, to ERCOLE GONZAGA, CARDINAL REGENT of MANTUA.

In the foregoing did not reply to the last paragraph in the Cardinal's ciphered letter of the 15th concerning England, whereby their Excellencies [the Cardinal and the Duchess] desire him to write them his opinion either apart or together with that of Granvelle. Had not time to do so, nor did it seem necessary to him, as Granvelle spoke very plainly. At present, out of obedience to their Excellencies rather than from presuming to accept so great a favour, informs him that he thinks it would be well, in conformity with what Granvelle said, to issue a general order [against enlistment], but to give the French agents tacitly to understand that this has not been done with reference to his most Christian Majesty, to whom he also thinks that, as it would not injure the Emperor (*da chè non ci ha il desservitio dello Imperatore*), it would be well to make many concessions, and give what cannot be sold, as besides obliging the French, the places would be better treated than if they were taken by force,—endeavouring to obtain a promise that they shall not be fortified. Should England complain of the favours granted to the French rather than to her, which would be undeniable, the Cardinal might apologize on account of his ecclesiastical grade, as England cannot injure him.

Ratisbon ? 21st April 1546.

[*Original. Italian.*]

April 24. Mantuan Archives.

383. The SAME to the SAME.

The General Luigi [Gonzaga] has no decision (*risolutione*) either from England or the Emperor; Granvelle assures me that no expedition will be made in Piedmont, and thinks the whole affair will vanish into smoke. Granvelle recommends the Cardinal to apologize for not giving audience to Da l'Armi, on account of his [the Cardinal's] ecclesiastical grade, and that Mantua should remain neutral.

Ratisbon ? 24th April 1546.

[*Original. Italian.*]

April 30. Mantuan Archives.

384. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI to ERCOLE GONZAGA, CARDINAL REGENT of MANTUA.

Understanding that from personal considerations it does not please you I should come to Mantua, and as it is not my office to argue what is "*comodo*" or honourable for your Excellency, I merely say that for your satisfaction, and knowing that the King, my Lord, desires the

1546.

utmost welfare of all the illustrious family of Gonzaga, I have sent you his Majesty's letters accrediting me, and also a paper containing part of my commissions from the King for his Excellency the Duke, by the hands of the Vicentine Christiano Dressino,* my gentleman, referring myself for the rest to what will be told you by said Marquis Christiano, to whom your Lordship will vouchsafe to give such credence as you would to myself in virtue of his Majesty's credentials.

Therefore I say that his Majesty determined some weeks ago to send me to Italy for the performance of various commissions, and after detaining me many days in England, at length despatched me at the end of March. Amongst the chief commissions given me, one was to visit the Duke, and to remind him of the goodwill which had subsisted between his Majesty's predecessors and those of his Excellency, and of that which had prevailed between his Majesty and the Duke's predecessor. The King also wishes that not only may the same last between himself and his Excellency, but increase and augment, and continue with their posterity; offering him his favour, authority, and all his forces, the importance of which may well be comprehended, considering that the power of England is not inferior to that of any other King in Christendom. His immense wealth is much greater than that of many other princes, and the valour and dignity of his well proportioned frame (*et il valor, et dignità della persona sua proporzionata*) may vie with any other sovereign. In addition to this, the perfect understanding and brotherhood at present existing between him and the Emperor has also bound to his service "*quell' altro Signore d' Italia tra state et verno, più che mediocre*" [Charles III., Duke of Savoy], through whom for the future he will have much more power and opportunity for obliging and profiting his friends and harassing and injuring his enemies, a thing to be held in very great account. Therefore, as a person most attached to his Excellency, and obliged to your Lordship, and being his Majesty's most faithful servant, I would wish your Lordship and his Excellency to reply to my offers and demands made in the King's name, by addressing such a letter to me as would enable me, for the benefit of his Excellency, not only to maintain the King in his high opinion (*honorata opinione*) and goodwill with regard to the Duke and all the Gonzaga family, but to increase it, so that his Excellency may on all occasions avail himself of the various and abundant resources of England, and of his Majesty's forces and inestimable treasure, for the conservation and exaltation of his territory and person, and also of those ranks of which your Lordship is truly worthy. So together with your letter to the King, you should send a copy, that I may know what report to make to his Majesty of the Duke's mind, besides the testimony of your letter.

Most affectionate servant,
(Signed) Lodovico da l'Armi.

Venice, last day of April 1546.

[*Original. Italian.*]

* The name of this Vicentine family is generally written Trissino.

1546.
May 1.
Mantuan Archives.

385. CARDINAL ERCOLE GONZAGA, REGENT of MANTUA, to MONSIGNOR SIGISMONDO FANZ (*sic*).

Will have heard of the arrival of Lodovico da l'Armi, who wrote from Castel-goffredo of the order given him to come to Mantua. The answer purported that if he had any statement to make there was no occasion for him to come in person. Wishing to know the Emperor's opinion, wrote to Camillo Capilupo, and received an answer as by enclosed copies. It may be hoped that the stir of this Da l'Armi will end in smoke; the Emperor has no hand in it, so it seems well to convince the French agents of this. Therefore sends Dominico dalla Concordia to Turin, to speak to the Prince and to Monsignor Hermes, as he (Fanz) will perceive by the instruction which he is to show to his Excellency. On the arrival of Dominico at Casale, is to give him the instruction, together with the letter of Lodovico da l'Armi, as the Cardinal thinks it advisable to send the packet by the post to Casale, where Dominico will receive it, instead of taking it with him [from Mantua?].

Mantua, 1st May 1546.

[*Original draft. Italian.*]

May ?
MS. St. Mark's Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time.
Printed in vol. 4. pp. 30–32. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."
No date of time.

386. CARDINAL POLE, in his own name, and that of his fellow-Legates [Cardinal del Monte, and Cardinal Cervino], to KING FRANCIS I.

Expressing their gratitude, and that of the whole Council, for the letters, both public and private, received from his Majesty. All Christendom acknowledges the King's piety, perceiving his efforts to convert remote nations to Christianity (*dum longe a nobis dissectas nationes, ac pene toto orbe separatas, Christiana Religione instituendas curat*).

Trent, May ? 1546.

[*Latin*, 38 *lines.*]

May 4.
Mantuan Archives.

387. CAMILLO CAPILUPO, Mantuan Envoy with the Emperor, to ERCOLE GONZAGA, CARDINAL REGENT of MANTUA.

The Emperor is urging Duke William of Bavaria to come to Ratisbon.

The Spaniards are causing the Emperor to suspect that the Prince Don Fernando,* is endeavouring to make himself Duke of Milan, with the assistance of Mantua, Montferrat, Ferrara, and other kinsfolk.

The messenger of the General Luigi [Gonzaga] has had the following reply from Mons. de Granvelle about taking service with England, that he is to do as he pleases, but that no potentate whatever is making an expedition for the Emperor in Piedmont. Does not know whether England is his [Savoy's?] friend, but is not sorry that he [the Duke of Savoy?] should be assisted. Touching the other matters, such as stipend and agreements, he was told that

* Query, Don Ferrante Gonzaga.

1546.

at present that they cannot be attended to, but that when possible the Emperor will show him that his obsequiousness is held in account.

Ratisbon, 4th May, at noon.

[*Ciphered letter with contemporary decipher. Italian.*]

May 6. Mantuan Archives.

388. MONSIGNOR THOMASO SANDRINO to ERCOLE GONZAGA, CARDINAL REGENT of MANTUA.

Yesterday morning arrived from Ferrara. The Cardinal of Ferrara [Ippolito d'Este] was informed that the Bolognese, Lodovico da l'Armi, and the General Luigi [Gonzaga] of Castelgoffredo, were raising troops for England at Castelgoffredo, the General Luigi, the master of that place (*priore di esso luogo*), being Captain General (*Capo Generale*) of this expedition. This intelligence disturbed the Cardinal of Ferrara. By preventing these proceedings, the Cardinal of Mantua will not only retain the good opinion of the King of France (which he has always sought), but conciliate him greatly. Should the news be true, the Cardinal of Ferrara is of opinion that the Cardinal of Mantua ought not to fail doing everything to prevent this undertaking, both because he did the like heretofore, and also to persevere in the affection demonstrated by him for the King of France ever since the time of the late Duke of Ferrara, and moreover to prevent his whole family and adherents from giving such great offence, not only to the most Christian King, but to the Pope likewise, on account of so unimportant a stir (*un movimento di si poco momento*), made by a private individual, and the more as peace is expected shortly, so that the undertaking cannot succeed. Should there be no remedy, the Cardinal of Ferrara requests the Cardinal of Mantua to give him notice in self-justification, and on the other hand, should he have acted as hoped, the Cardinal of Ferrara will have the great satisfaction of thanking him for a most signal service, his sole motive for speaking being his regard for the Cardinal of Mantua, to whom he recommends himself, &c. &c.

Milan, 6th May 1546.

[*Original. Italian.*]

May 6. Mantuan Archives.

389. FRANCESCO, DUKE of MANTUA, to HENRY VIII.

Was very much pleased to learn by his Majesty's most gracious letter, that he bears him and his family the same goodwill as that for which his ancestors were so grateful, nor can he but do his best to imitate them.

Is extremely glad that the King remembered this, and returns him hearty thanks for it, as also for having acknowledged him for his humble servant, and for having so benignly offered him his favour, than which nothing can be more dear to him, as was distinctly stated to the bearer of the King's commands. Having in a long discourse manifested his extreme observance, it is unnecessary to write more on the subject, and it only remains for him to beseech of his goodness that he will show him the same favour as to his other servants.

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Recommends himself humbly to the King, praying the Almighty long to keep his Majesty safe and prosperous.

Mantua, 6 May 1546.

Humilis et Devotiss. Servitor.

[*Latin. Original draft.*]

May 6. Mantuan Archives.

390. REPLY of the DUCHESS of MANTUA, [Margherita Paleologa, daughter and heir of William, Marquis of Montferrat,] to the demand made in virtue of the Credentials of Lodovico da l'Armi.

Madam the Duchess having seen what the Duke her son caused to be written to the most serene King, and what the ambassador Signor Lodovico da l'Armi requests in virtue of the letter of credence, her council replied—

That she thanks his Majesty as humbly as she can for his recollection of the devotion (*servitù*) towards him of the Duke, her son, and of the Gonzaga family, and for the loving office of the visit (*et dell' amorevol ufficio della visita*), as also for the courteous offers, which she accepts with the intention of availing herself of them according to opportunities.

With regard to the demand made of the Duke, in virtue of the letter of credence, the Duchess does not purpose (*non metta conto*) drawing on herself the enmity of any of the Christian Powers, but must have respect and reverence for each of them as for her father.* On this account, proclamations were issued of late years forbidding any of her subjects to enter the service of others, which proclamations are from time to time renewed and enforced, as will be done for the future, especially as the times are so troublous that she cannot tell whether they may not be required for the defence of her son's territories.

With this exception, and with that of the respect due from her to his Holiness and the Apostolic See, she together with the Duke will not fail, so far as possible, to continue that devotion (*servitu*) which the Gonzaga family professes and always has professed.

[*Original draft. No date. Italian.*]

May 6. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 14.

391. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

Have heard lately from their ambassador in France and from the secretary [Giacomo Zambon] in England, that their nobleman Francesco Bernardo (nephew of Ser Maphio Bernardo), who was in England on mercantile business, had been sent to the Court of France to negotiate a certain agreement between the two Crowns, of the particulars of which the Signory's ministers have heard nothing more than what was publicly reported at the respective Courts. But the secretary Zambon writes besides that the Imperial ambassadors in England have said that this negotiation was being treated by Bernardo through the medium of the Signory's ambassador in France; and although the secretary did not fail to tell

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them the truth, namely, that Bernardo quitted England both the first and second time without communicating anything whatever to him, and that the Venetian ambassador in France did not interfere in this matter in any way, assuring them that neither the Signory nor their ministers had any share in it, so that the Imperial ambassadors remained satisfied; the Doge and Senate have nevertheless chosen to write the whole account to him [the ambassador with the Emperor], and desire that he do notify it to his Majesty, assuring him in their name that they knew nothing of this journey of Bernardo's, nor was any communication whatever made to them about the treaty, the like having happened to their ministers, who since the fact, heard what was reported and wrote to them as aforesaid. To assure his Majesty that they acquaint him with all sincerity and truth with what has occurred in this matter, as becoming their good friendship and the reverence they bear him. To perform the like office with Mons. de Granvelle, and with such other personages as may seem fit to him.

Ayes, 183. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

May 11.

392. MOTION made in the SENATE.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 14, tergo.

That the summary from Constantinople be sent to the Signory's ambassadors, and to the Secretary [Zambon] in England, and that it be communicated here to the reverend Imperial ambassador, to the Magnifico the ambassadors from England [Sigismund Harvel] and from Florence, and to the secretary from France, as usual.

Ayes, 167. Noes, 9. Neutral, 1.

Summary in the file.

[*Italian.*]

May 22.

393. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 14, tergo.

By letters of the 30th ult. from their ambassador in France, and from the secretary in England, dated the 20th and 27th, understand that a negotiation is being treated between King Henry and King Francis, and that the Admiral of the King of England [Dudley Lord Lisle], together with the secretary, Paget, were staying in Calais, where the French Admiral and ambassadors are to confer with them, and negotiate the aforesaid agreement; notwithstanding which, both one side and the other continue to re-enforce their fleets and armies, the English having taken 4,000 Germans into their service, in order that should the adjustment not take place, they may be able to continue their undertakings; and both sides in sundry recent engagements and skirmishes, suffered loss reciprocally, but not of much importance.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

May 27.

394. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

That the statement made to-day by the English Secretary [Balthasar Alterius, *see* Turnbull's Calendar, Edward VI., pp. 25, 26], in

1546.

our College, in the presence of the chiefs of this Council, be communicated to the Senate for such reply to be made as shall be thought fit.

——— 3.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

395. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

The Doge to answer the English Secretary in such words as shall seem fit to his wisdom, that the Signory listens willingly (*gratamente*), to such as enter their presence; and that with regard to the statement made by him to them they have nothing farther to say, leaving him at liberty to do as he pleases.

Ayes, 14.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

396. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

The Doge to answer the English Secretary [Balthasar Alterius?] that the Signory most highly values the friendship of those Princes, but that as the affairs of the world are in the disturbed state manifest to everyone, the Republic is compelled to have some consideration respecting this matter, apologizing in such form as the Doge, of his wisdom, shall think fit, and requesting the secretary to assure the said Princes that the State is excellently disposed towards their most excellent Lordships, and bears them extreme affection, to which effect he is to make every attestation, and perform every good office, as they are sure he will do.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

397. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

That the statements made by the English Secretary [Balthasar Alterius?], in the name of the Protestant Princes, together with the statement in this matter of the Rev. Papal Nuncio, and the letters of the Signory's ambassadors with the Emperor, dated the 25th ult., be communicated to the Senate, for the adoption of such resolutions as that Council shall think fit.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 14.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

398. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

A few days ago the Secretary of the Ambassador of the King of England [Balthasar Alterius?] came into the presence of the Signory and of the Chiefs of the Ten, and told us he had a letter of credence from the Protestant Princes,* whereby they appointed him their agent, with orders to present it without remark, but

* John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Wurtemberg the Count Palatine, the Cities of Augsburg, Strasburg, Ulm, Frankfort, and Nuremberg. (*See* Andrea Morosini, vol. ii. p. 162.)

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subsequently, when asked, he replied that he had nothing whatever to negotiate. After this, the Papal Nuncio stated that he had heard of this affair, and urged that we should not receive this person; and this morning his Lordship told us he understood we had admitted this secretary as resident agent in this city for the Protestant Princes, alleging that this was a thing of much consideration, and would cause great displeasure to his Holiness, and requesting us to inform him whether we had decided thus, that he might write to the Pope; and should the decision not have been made, he prayed us to consider it well. Replied as above, touching the presentation of the letter, adding that it would seem discourteous not to receive a letter presented by any person, but that nothing whatever was done; that this secretary was not admitted (*admesso*) [acknowledged?], neither was any place assigned him, nor has he negotiated anything; that our proceedings had always been worthy of a Christian power, we having often during many consecutive years sustained great wars against the Turks, with loss and peril for the defence of Christendom, on whose security and preservation our Republic was and is so intent, as clearly to show the world what our disposition was towards the affairs of religion, and how anxious we were for the advantage (*augumento*) of Christendom, in such wise that his Holiness might remain well satisfied.

The Chiefs of the Ten, with the Council and Junta, have given the ambassador detailed account of these matters for him to notify them, that the Pope may know what they said to his Nuncio.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 3. Neutrals 2.

[*Italian*].

June 5.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

399. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA, concerning the reply to be given to the ENGLISH SECRETARY (Balthasar Alterius?).

That the most serene Prince do answer the English secretary, that we have seen the letter which he presented to us, and have heard his statement, and as he says he has nothing particular to negotiate with us and the affairs of the world being in their present disturbed state, we are compelled to hesitate (*haver rispetto*) as to his now residing in this city as agent, especially as we wish to be friends with all parties, apologizing in such terms as the Doge shall of his wisdom think fit; and telling him to assure the Princes that the Republic holds their friendship very dear, and is excellently disposed towards them, bearing them extreme affection; the secretary giving every assurance of this, and performing every good office, as we are sure he will do.

Letters concerning this matter to be written to the Signory's ambassadors with the Pope, with the Emperor, and with the King of the Romans.

Ayes, 12. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1546.
June 7.
Commemoriali, v. xxii. p. 82.

400. ENGLAND and FRANCE.

Copy of the treaty of peace between England and France at the camp between Ardres and Guines. [Printed by Dumont, vol. iv. part ii. p. 305–308. Edition, Amstersdam, 1726.]

[*Latin*, 9 *pages*.]

June 8.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 16, tergo.

401. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the English Secretary's message from the Protestant Princes of Germany.

[Same as the motion made in the Council of Ten, 5th June.]

Ayes, 88 - 76
„ 52 - 60 } *Pendet.*
„ 79 - 84

[*Italian*.]

June 17.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 19, tergo.

402. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the Embassy from the Protestant Princes of Germany.

The Doge to answer the English secretary that they have seen the letter presented by him and have heard his statement, and [that as he says he has nothing to negotiate with us] the affairs of the world being in their present disturbed state, the Republic, wishing to be friends with all parties, is compelled to hesitate (*haver rispetto*) about his residing in this city, &c.*

Ayes, 92–93.

Amendment.

To reply as above, the words within [ ] being cancelled.

90 - 104
6 - —
24 - 13 } *Pendet.*

[*Italian*.]

June 17.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

403. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Send him summaries of letters received from Constantinople down to the 12th ult., for communication to the King and ministry as usual.

[*Italian*.]

June 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 24.

404. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard from their ambassador at Ratisbon that the Emperor is determined to wage war against the Lutherans, and has already commenced despatching captains to raise infantry and cavalry; he has also sent the Cardinal of Trent to Rome to decide with the

* In a communication made on the 7th September 1546, by the Council in London to the Council with the King, it is stated that the Emperor's Ambassador said "that whereas by interception of letters of the Duke of Saxe to Venice, yt appeareth, howe the Secretary of his Highnes' Ambassadour at Venice desired to be Ambassadour to that Seignory for the said Duke of Saxe. And yet he said he knewe that the sollicitation of that matter proceded not from His Heighnes." (State Papers, vol. i., King Henry VIII., part I.—II. p. 859.)

1546.

Pope about the assistance promised by his Holiness for this undertaking, both in troops and money. In addition to this, it was heard that the agents of the most Christian King and of the most Serene King of England, who met to make peace between their Majesties, had agreed together, so that peace between them is considered certain. Have not received any further notice of this from their ministers resident with the two kings, but any news they may receive shall be communicated by them, together with the terms, for communication to the Sublime Porte, and the "Bailo" is to do the like with the contents of this present letter.

Ayes, 168. Noes, 34. Neutrals, 11.

[*Italian.*]

June 25.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 26.

405. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN SECRETARY [ZAMBON] in England.

Their ambassador in France wrote to them on the 10th, that the Rev. Montluc has at length returned to the most Christian King with the ratification of the peace, and this morning the French Secretary resident with them announced it to the Signory in his Majesty's name; so as they are now ordering their ambassador to congratulate his most Christian Majesty on this event, and although there has not yet been time for them to receive the advice from England, charge him to do the like, in the name of the Doge and Senate, by the most Serene King, telling his Majesty that in like manner as they most deeply regretted seeing two such powerful Princes, and so friendly to the Venetian Republic, at strife, to the detriment of Christendom and of their own personal interests, so they now rejoice to hear of their reconciliation.

Ayes, 199. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

June 25.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

406. The DOGE and COLLEGE with the CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the Venetian "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Letters from their ambassador in France, dated Melun, the 10th instant, inform them that the peace between the two Crowns had been concluded, the term of eight years being allowed to the most Christian King for payment of a certain sum of money to the King of England, who, on receiving it, is to surrender Boulogne.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 26.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

407. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Pope, with the consent of the Consistory, has stipulated (*conclusa*) the League with the Emperor against the Lutherans, the Pope binding himself to give his Majesty 22,000 infantry and 700 horse, and also pecuniary assistance. Both the contracting parties are making preparations for this war, and the Pope will send his nephews, Cardinal Farnese as Legate, and the Signor Ottavio as Captain General.

1546.

Today the Signory has heard from the Imperial Court of the confirmation of the peace between his most Christian Majesty and the most Serene King of England.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 47, tergo.

408. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from France, dated the 1st instant, are advised of the arrival at that Court of the most illustrious the Admiral of England [John Dudley, Viscount L'Isle] for the purpose of administering to the most Christian King the oath to observe the recently contracted peace, for which same purpose the most illustrious the Admiral of France is also going to England.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

409. CARDINAL POLE to VITTORIA COLONNA, MARCHIONESS of PESCARA.

Most Illustrious Lady, and most reverend mother.

Immediately on the arrival here of our Lilio (*il nostro Lilio*), he exerted himself to the utmost by dint of words at our first conversation, to make me understand how much hearty goodwill your Excellency bears me, and as if this were new to me, and hitherto unknown. I let him say what he would for a very long while, awaiting the inference to be drawn by him thence, which, had it been such as was deserved, namely a comparison between my behaviour, and love more than maternal, taxing me with ingratitude for having made no sign, either by deed or word, of responding to the slightest particle of so much love, making rather a contrary demonstration, as might easily have been proved, I should certainly have taken much pleasure in so just a reproof, administered with that ingenuousness which I have always liked in him. But as he came to no conclusion, I myself will draw it, by so much the more to my confusion, as I know I err greatly in this matter, and never set myself to correct my fault, although I cannot say that I have not tried to do what I know is my duty in the case; but finding by experience that I do not succeed according to my wish, I let it be (*io lo lasso stare*), as if God had denied me this grace of gratifying my wish in a matter I so earnestly desire, which in truth at times troubles me greatly. Seeking to console myself, I find no other sort of comfort than that of convincing myself, as I said and wrote to your Excellency heretofore, that such is the Divine will, for the sake of giving you full compensation, as promised to all who are beneficent where no requital is expected, as in the parable of those who bade the poor to their banquets; and thus am I enabled to return your courtesy proportionally as it was bestowed on me. With this hope I comfort myself, and pray God the more earnestly to make ample restitution in so much as on my own part I feel myself utterly incapable to do so, enjoying at the same time the image of the Divine love as expressed by its great charity, which, although not reciprocated by its object, does not however weary of continuing its goodness,

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this I infinitely thank the Lord who gives me this experience, asking pardon for my infinite defects of his infinite goodness in the first place, and then of you (*di Lei*).

Of my own state, there is no occasion to say anything further, as the bearer of this is our Lelio (*il nostro Lelio*), who will I hope tell your Excellency everything, and of the ease which I enjoy here in the house of Cardinal Bembo, where in the first place I enjoy as much security and mental ease as if it were my father's; and secondly, such convenience that better I at present could not desire, most especially of two things, in which I have always greatly delighted, a study and a garden, both of which I have found in such perfection here, that to my taste I should be unable to find more beautiful anywhere; and in addition to this, the civility of his agents (*ministri*), who treat me so cordially, that it exceeds every other pleasure. This I write to your Excellency, as to my mother, to give you occasion, first to thank our common Father in heaven, as he wills to be sought by us, inviting us through the prophet Amos, "*Voca me, pater meus es tu*," and to him who seeks him, he promises to be his guide in every place, inviting us to say "*Tu es dux*," etc. Your Excellency therefore will thank the first Father, and then this second, who has been the minister of the first. Your Excellency will oblige me by recommending me to the prayers of that holy company in which you at present find yourself.*

After writing thus far, I have heard with much greater distress than I ever experienced from my own infirmity, that your Excellency has been indisposed ever since the month of August, and still continues so. First of all, I have nothing to say, save to implore the heavenly physician to vouchsafe to be yours, for from the one below I dare not recommend any other remedy, except advice as to diet and air, about which I beseech you to take counsel; and to your devout orisons I recommend myself.†

Padua, 4th October 1546.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

410. Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta concerning a communication made by the English Secretary.

That the statement made yesterday in our College, in the presence of the Chiefs of this Council, by the English Secretary,‡ and by the nobleman Venier who accompanied him, be communicated to the Senate, with the strictest possible injunctions to secrecy as usually commanded, that said Council may determine as it shall think fit.

Ayes, 24. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

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* Probably some convent in Rome, where Vittoria Colonna died, at the age of 58, in February 1547.

† This is the last letter extant from Cardinal Pole to Vittoria Colonna, and dates the commencement of her last illness.

‡ "Secretario d' Inghilterra"—Balthasar Alterius? (*See* Turnbull's Calendar, Edward VI., pp. 25, 26.)

1546.
Oct. 15.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 57, tergo.

411. MOTION made in the SENATE.

By the writings now read, this Council has heard the proposals made by the English secretary [Alterius ?] in the name of the Protestant Princes, and what he said about the writing which he wished to present; so be it put to the ballot, that the said writing be accepted by our College and then read to this Council, that an answer may be given him, and such resolution formed as to this Council shall seem fit.

Ayes, 182. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 4.
[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

412. ALVISE MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

The Signor Marsilio, the Emperor's equerry (*cavalarizzo*), who professes to be the Signory's good servant, told me in secret a few ago, that he heard it had been said in the Emperor's chamber, that the most Christian King, the King of England, and your Serenity, were negotiating a league with the Protestants against his Majesty, and that the Signory had also sent an agent into Switzerland.

It was said, moreover, that at the suggestion of the Emperor all the Italian potentates, with the exception of the Signory, had prohibited trade with the Protestants of Germany; and when some one remarked that it would be too great a loss for the city of Venice to deprive itself of the German trade, the Emperor replied that they might well do it for one or two months.

Being unable to convince myself that these things had been said in the Emperor's chamber, I did not choose to write them to your Serenity at the time from fear of troubling you perhaps unnecessarily; and I said to Signor Marsilio, that it seemed to me utterly at variance with the truth, and that I could not believe it, as I knew your Serenity was excellently disposed towards his Majesty, and that for certain the Signory had never interfered in that war, either on one side or the other; and as for prohibiting the Germans to trade with Venice, I said I had no notice of it, and should the Signory have been unable to oblige the Emperor in this matter, I did not think he could reasonably take it amiss, should his Majesty consider the extreme inconvenience and infinite loss which would result to Venice, by depriving her of so important a trade.

I then requested Signor Marsilio to ascertain whether this conversation had in fact really taken place, as I would not write it to your Serenity, unless he confirmed it to me. This he promised to do, and said he would acquaint me with the whole, but subsequently, having been seized with a fit of the gout, he remained in a castle near the camp, and being unable to see him again, I delayed writing, until he corroborated his statement; but today a friend of mine, one Messer Bernardino Pavese, who is a gentleman in the service of the most Serene King of England, came to tell me that he had heard for certain, and from a great personage, that the Signor Alvise Gonzaga, of Castel Zuffrè, has written to the Emperor, that the Kings of France and England, your Serenity and the Switzers have formed a defensive league; said Gonzaga writing

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that he has this intelligence by letters from the King of England himself.

Having received this intelligence through a fresh channel, although differing in part from what was told me by the Signor Marsilio, I acquaint your Excellencies with the reports now current here.

The Rev. Ambassador from Ferrara has told me in confidence that he heard from a secretary of Don Francesco da Este, that said Don Francesco wrote to his brother, the Duke of Ferrara, that the Emperor has ordered one Annibal Calavrese, in whom he places great trust, to make his escape from this camp, and go over to the Protestants; and Don Francesco believes him to have been sent for the purpose of trying, as of himself, adroitly to drop a word about agreement. His Majesty has also allowed two Germans to pass into the enemy's camp, they having offered to kill the Landgrave. These things having reached me from such a source, I have thought fit to represent them to your Excellencies, with this in addition, that I subsequently ascertained that said Annibal is now in the Protestant camp, and that on his passage he was wounded in the arm by a harquebuse shot; a very trustworthy person assuring me also, that within the last month, he has been frequently seen speaking in secret with the Emperor.

25th October. From the Imperial camp, distant three leagues from Ulm.

[*Italian. In cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

Nov. 3.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 22, tergo.

413. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the nobleman, Mafio Bernardo, accused of negotiations with the ambassador, ministers, and agents of the most Christian King, and especially with the late Rincono (*sic*), his Majesty's ambassador,* having written matters relating to the State secrets, and to the Signory's detriment, and having also obtained letters from said most Christian King in favour of himself and his affairs, without the leave and knowledge of the State, contrary to their laws, be arrested and by the ordinary council, with the intervention of the inquisitors † and the usual committee, examined, even by torture. Should the search for him prove vain, be he summoned from the edict steps at Rialto, to present himself in person within the next eight days, to defend himself from the aforesaid charge, on the expiration of which term, should he not appear, he will be proceeded against although absent. The committee (*collegium*) to have authority to arrest, examine, torture, and summon all other persons who shall appear implicated in the present case.

Ayes, 18. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 4.

[*Latin.*]

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* De Rincon, French ambassador at Constantinople, assassinated 3rd July 1541.

† In the Preface to vol. i. Venetian Calendar it is shown that the first appointment of State Inquisitors was made in the year 1539; and the following entries relating to Bernardo and Da l'Armi contain the earliest notices I have met with of inquisitorial jurisdiction in any matter connected with England.

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Nov. 3.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 23.

414. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the person charged with the arrest of Ser Mafio Bernardo do obtain his registers of letters and all other writings obtainable, and place them in a closet* sealing it carefully, leaving two of his men for its custody; the committee and the inquisitors, or the majority of them, doing with the papers as they will decree hereafter.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 23.

415. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

It not having been possible to obtain possession of the nobleman Mafio Bernardo when they sent to arrest him, and as he is to be summoned on the edict steps at Rialto, it is necessary to draw up (*dar forma al*) the proclamation to be made, be it therefore carried to summon him, thus, "That the nobleman Mafio Bernardo, son of the late Ser Francesco, accused of divers detestable malpractices, perpetrated to the damage and detriment of our State, do within eight days present himself in person at the prisons, to defend himself against the aforesaid charge, on the expiration of which term he will be proceeded against, notwithstanding his absence."

Ayes, 27. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

Proclaimed on the 5th instant.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 67.

416. MOTION made in the SENATE.

That the summaries from Constantinople be sent to the Signory's ambassadors at Rome, etc., to the secretary in England, etc., and communicated here to the Papal Legate, etc., and to the English ambassador, etc.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 67.

417. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

Concerning the coming to this city of Strozzi [Pietro Strozzi?] they heard of his arrival and departure at the same time, as he came privately, and with great secrecy, departing in like manner, knowing that he could not remain here without their permission. But as his Holiness has also asked the ambassador about Baldissera Alchieri (*sic*), will repeat that he continues to perform his office of English secretary, and occasionally acquaints them with such news and advices as reach him according to the custom of the other secretaries. To notify this to the Pope, telling him that from the Signory's proceedings, past and present, he may be very certain of their devotion and respect towards the Apostolic See.

Ayes, 148. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

* "*Uno studio*"—an apartment appropriated to literary employment.

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Nov. 10.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xvii. p. 201.

418. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

By reason of misdeeds perpetrated to the detriment of the State by their nobleman Maphio Bernardo, it was lately determined to arrest him, and having been unable to effect his seizure, as he immediately absented himself, they have outlawed him. As he may go to England, or this circumstance be talked of there, the Council of Ten and Junta send this present letter to him (Zambon) for his instruction, so that if spoken to about the matter, and not otherwise he may know how to reply. Have discovered Maphio Bernardo to be a man who for many years has been guilty of detestable acts, to the injury and mischief of the Republic; and as a ship of his is in some English harbour, commanded by (*patronizata da*) Zuan Maria Zucharino, they desire him (Zambon) to send to him by a trusty messenger express, the accompanying letter, if unable on account of distance to deliver it himself. Thereby give Zuccharino certain commands as by the enclosed copy; if able to confer with him, to repeat them by word of mouth, contriving that he depart thence without the slightest delay. To keep this order a very close secret.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xvii. p. 201.

419. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to ZUAN MARIA ZUCHARIN, Sailing Master (*Patron*) of a [Venetian] ship in England.

Charge him, immediately on receipt of the present letter, without saying a word to any one about this order, which he is to keep a very close secret, to come away from England without any noise, together with the ship and the cargo already on board, without lading whatever else may remain for shipment, under penalty of the indignation of the Council of Ten. To depart as soon as possible and come straight to Venice; but in case he should have goods of Venetian subjects, or of aliens, to deliver at Leghorn, he is to unlade them according to the bills of lading made out by him, retaining the [freight] money.

To complete as much of the ship's cargo as may be wanting, he is to load salt at Ivica, and proceed thence straight to Venice, as aforesaid.

Rely on his obedience and diligence for execution of the whole, and thus will he find favour with them. Should any difficulty be made to him by the other officials on board the ship about this his departure from England, he is to call them one by one separately, the pilot (*nochiero*), the purser (*parcenevole*), and the supercargo (*paron*),* and to tell them that he has received this command from the Council of Ten, showing them the original letter, and charging

* As the term "paron" or "patron" is repeated twice, being applied to two distinct persons, I believe one to have been the captain or sailing-master of the ship, and the other its supercargo.

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them to keep the whole a most profound secret, and to obey in like manner under pain of capital punishment.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xvii. p. 202.

420. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Wrote to him on the 10th what was necessary with regard to their nobleman Maphio Bernardo; and as after absenting himself, as written by them, he was murdered in the territory of Ravenna, therefore send this notice to him that he may be fully acquainted with the circumstance, and know how to reply and speak to such persons as may discuss it with him, but not otherwise.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 23.

421. MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

On arriving at the truth, by means of our nobleman Ser Francesco Mocenigo, son of the late Ser Leonardo, about the accomplices of the late Mafio Bernardo, and the revelation being of importance to the State as acknowledged by this Council, Count Lunardo di Megi, his [Mocenigo's] son-in-law, to be absolved.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 24.

422. MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The inquisitors and the ordinary committee (*collegio*) together to summon Zuanfrancesco Mocenigo, and tell him he must know that in so great a crime as this committed by the nobleman Mafio Bernardo and his accomplices, those who have knowledge of it and do not divulge it are liable to the penalty incurred by the principals; and therefore, as Ser Zan Francesco has every day of late told their lordships that if the Council of Ten would promise him pardon he would bring the individual guilty into their presence; and as the Council of Ten has decreed that should he give such evidence that "*questo mandante della morte de Maphio Bernardo*" be the person who revealed the secrets of the State, and if the truth be obtained, his [Mocenigo's] son-in-law, Count Lunardo di Megi, shall be absolved from his sentence of banishment, and an annuity for life of 200 ducats from the chest of this Council shall be given to said Ser Zan Francesco Mocenigo; should he not be moved by this offer, and persist in his obstinacy (*persevererà in star pertinace*), be he taken to the rack,* and deprived of the benefits aforesaid, and compelled by torture this evening, before the Council adjourn, to reveal the truth.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

* "Al luogo della tortura." The place of torture is still visible in the Ducal Palace, the pulley through which the strappado cord passed being riveted in one of the highest beams of the building.

1546.
Nov. 20.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 24, tergo.

423. MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the nobleman Ser Zanfrancesco Mocenigo be dismissed with an admonition, to be given him by the inquisitors, that under penalty of death he is not to say anything about what was asked of him, or what was said to him.

— 12 — 13
— 10 — 10 } *Pendet primo.*
— 5 — 4

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 24.

424. MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That Lodovico da l'Armi, accused of having been an accomplice and privy to the death of Ser Mafio Bernardo, be arrested and examined by the inquisitors and usual committee, even by torture should it seem fit to the majority.

On search being made should it not be possible to arrest him, be he publicly summoned on the edict steps at Rialto, to present himself in person at the prisons within eight days, to defend himself from the aforesaid imputation, after which period, should he not appear, he will be proceeded against, notwithstanding his absence.

— 10 — 13
— 8 — 8 } *Pendet primo.*
— 8 — 5

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 25.

425. MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Put to the ballot that, should any person accuse any of the murderers to the Chiefs of this Council, and the truth be ascertained, the informer be rewarded with 2,000 livres from the chest of this Council, and be authorised to free [from his sentence] any person banished from any Venetian town or place, for mere homicide (*homicidio puro*);* and that the revelation to be kept a profound secret.

Should the "*mandante o mandanti*" of this murder be accused by any one, the said *mandante* or *mandanti* to be rewarded with 3,000 livres, and to have two exemptions from banishment *ut supra*, and his name to be kept a profound secret; and should any of those who killed Bernardo come to reveal the case, and the truth of it be obtained, and also of the person or persons who caused the murder to be committed, the informer to receive the aforesaid benefit of 3,000 livres and exemptions from banishment, and [his name] be kept secret, he, together with his comrade or comrades who shall have been present at the murder, being freed from any penalty which may have been incurred by them in this case. Should it come to light that the mandate (*mandate*) for the murder aforesaid was given for a State affair (*per causa di Stato*), in that case the

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accuser, besides the aforesaid benefit, may also exempt any individual banished for whatever cause, save for peculation and rebellion, and shall receive an annuity of one hundred ducats from this Council; and the same benefit may also be obtained by the second mandator on his coming to reveal the aforesaid case.

Ayes, 18.

They again made the motion, pending on the 24th instant, for the arrest of Lodovico da l'Armi, *in omnibus ut supra.*

Ayes, 5. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2.

And as the period for presenting himself was omitted, they moved that it be fifteen days.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 25.

426. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Put to the ballot, that if any one shall accuse any of the murderers to the Chiefs of this Council, and the truth be ascertained, he is to gain 2,000 livres from the chest of this Council, and moreover be allowed to release an individual banished for mere murder (*homicidio puro*) from the Signory's towns and places, &c.

Ayes, 18.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 25.

427. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Repetition by the inquisitors of a motion, pending on the 24th instant, for the arrest of Lodovico da l'Armi, *in omnibus ut supra.*

Ayes, 5. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 4.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 26.

428. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That to ascertain the meaning of the words in the writing of the late Ser Mafio Bernardo about the letters of the late Cesare Fregoso,* and that Pietro Pomaro was mediator between the ambassador† and the Bashaws for the cession of the two towns‡ to the Porte; the committee appointed for this case do send also for said Pomaro, and question him closely about the aforesaid matters as shall seem fit to them; and should said Pomaro not choose to tell the truth *de plano*, the majority on the committee to be at liberty to arrest and detain him, and to send immediately to his house to seize his papers, and then come forthwith to this Council with the result of their investigation, to consult about what is to be done.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

* French agent, murdered in Lombardy A.D. 1541. The Republic confiscated his property on discovering that he had revealed the secrets of the State to France.

† Badoer ambassador at Constantinople A.D. 1540.

‡ Napoli di Romania and Malvasia.

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Dec. 4.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 26.

429. MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That to ascertain what became of the letters sent hither by the late Mafio Bernardo addressed to the most Serene Prince [Doge Francesco Donado], the committee appointed for this case do examine *de plano* Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi, and such other persons as shall seem fit to said committee; said Dom. Lodovico to be also examined about such other matters as shall seem fit to the majority of said committee.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

430. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the BAILIFF and CAPTAIN at TREVISO.

A few days ago, one William, an Englishman, with four companions, was at Treviso, and went round the city walls and beyond, to inspect and sound the streams (*le aque*), and ascertain their sources, and also to examine the moats of the city. Wishing to have good information, desire him to give them particular account of all that has reached his knowledge in this matter, that they may know every detail as minutely as possible.

Nicolò de Prioli, C. di X.
Bernardo Soranzo, C.X.
Aloysius Contarini, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 26.

431. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That Lodovico da l'Armi, accused of having been an accomplice in the death of the Ser Mafio Bernardo, and also of having knowledge of the person or persons who did evil and detestable deeds to the injury and detriment of our State,* be arrested and examined by the inquisitors and ordinary committee, and even by torture should it thus seem fit to the majority of the committee; and with the result they are to come to this Council, and justice will be done.

Should the search for him prove inefficient, be he summoned from the edict steps of Rialto to present himself in person at the prisons within eight days, to defend himself against the aforesaid imputation, on the expiration of which term, should he not appear, he will be proceeded against, notwithstanding his absence; and after his arrest he be told that, although arrested, if he will declare (*manifestarà*) who killed Ser Mafio Bernardo, and by whose order, and if the truth be ascertained, in that case he will be absolved

* In State Papers, vol. viii. p. 607, it is stated that in September 1541, Da l'Armi was suspected of intending to give Sienna to King Francis, and from the acts of the Council of Ten it may be surmised that in 1545, when employed by Henry VIII. to act hostilely against France in Piedmont, Da l'Armi betrayed him to Francis I.; though possibly after the deaths of Fregoso and Rincon in 1541, he changed his politics, and renounced France utterly; but at any rate we learn that he combined political conspiracy with murder. At least such was the opinion of the Council of Ten, who probably understood his merits and character better than Harvel, or writers of the present day.

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from any penalty he may have incurred, and have all the benefits contained in the proclamation made lately concerning this matter.

— 7 — 4 — 0 } *Error defectu unius ballotæ.*
— 5 — } *Ideo ter ballotarum.*
— 6 — 10 — 9 }

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. **432.** MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 26, tergo.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The committee appointed for the case of the death of the late Ser Mafio Bernardo, together with the inquisitors, to send for Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi, and tell him that if he will declare who killed Ser Mafio Bernardo, and by whose order, and if the truth be elicited, in that case he will be absolved from any penalty incurred by him, and have all the benefits contained in the proclamation made lately in this matter. Should he not choose to say, he, and also Ser Zanfrancesco Mocenigo, to be again examined face to face about the matters in which they have contradicted or shall hereafter contradict each other* ; and after examination thus, the majority of the committee to be at liberty to detain said D. Lodovico until they come to this Council to determine what shall be done.

— 10 — 13 + 18.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8. **433.** LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 26, tergo.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That Lodovico da l'Armi detained (*sequestratum*) today in the office by the members of the committee and the inquisitors, be arrested (*retineatur*) and examined by the committee and inquisitors about the present case, even by torture, should it seem fit to the majority ; they to come to this Council with what they shall have elicited, and justice to be done.

That the committee and inquisitors be authorised to arrest, examine, torture, and summon all other persons who shall appear culpable in the present case.

—— 3.†

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 8. **434.** AMENDMENT to the foregoing motion.

Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 27.

That the aforesaid D. Lodovico da l'Armi be arrested solely until this Council decide further. For the rest, as in the motion.

——11 - 12 - 11 }
—— 7 - 11 + 16 } Carried in the negative.
—— 6 - 4 - 0‡ }

[*Latin.*]

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* In Harvel's letter to Henry VIII., date Venice, 23rd December 1546, it is said that Da l'Armi and Mocenigo "both were so contrarious and variable in ther wordes, that no certaintye cowde be knowen by them." (*See* State Papers, vol. xi. p. 383.)

† The ballots seem to have been insufficient, and the following ballotation shows that Da l'Armi was dismissed.

‡ During this debate Da l'Armi was waiting for audience in the anteroom of the College hall ; and to gain time, and lull his suspicions, the Council of Ten gave him a dinner whilst discussing his arrest. (*See* letter from the Chiefs to Giacomo Zambon date 16 December.)

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Dec. 8.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

435. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Send him summaries of their last letters from Constantinople, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 27.

436. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That Ser Marco Antonio Erizzo, son of the late Ser Francesco, as "*mandante*" and accomplice in the death of the late Ser Mafio Bernardo, be arrested and examined by the ordinary committee and the inquisitors, even with torture, should it seem fit to the majority of them. Should the search for him prove inefficient, he be publicly summoned from the edict steps at Rialto, to present himself at the prisons within the next eight days, to defend himself from the imputation aforesaid, on the expiration of which term, should he not appear, he will be proceeded against, notwithstanding his absence. The committee to have authority and liberty to arrest, examine, torture, and summon any other person who may appear culpable in this case.

—— 10 - 10
—— 7 - 8 } Pendet p.
—— 11 - 10

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 27.

437. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Re-ballotation of the foregoing motion.

Ayes, 17. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 4.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xvii. p. 212.

438. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That to gratify the magnifico Ambassador from the King of England, who has made the demand of the Signory with great earnestness, a license be conceded to the Doctor of Physic (*Dr. Phisico*), Dom. Agustin di Agustini,† authorising him and two servants to wear weapons in Venice, he giving a note of said servants' names to the office of the State Attornies.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

439. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

After having written to him the account of the death of Maphio Bernardo, have ascertained that Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi was

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* The historian Andrea Morosini (vol. ii. pp. 168, 169) writes that Lodovico and Marc Antonio Erizzo, nephew of Maphio Bernardo, plotted his assassination for the sake of inheriting his wealth. For this crime Lodovico Erizzo was beheaded, his brother being banished for life. No mention is made by Morosini of any revelation of State secrets either by the Erizzos or by Da l'Armi.

† Agustin de Agustini had been physician to Cardinal Wolsey. (*See* Venetian Calendar, vol. iv., date London, 15th November 1530.)

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the person who had him put to death, so that, had we chosen to proceed according to law, we should have arrested him; but as this individual brought letters from the King of England, and resided here as his agent, and moreover lately told us he was to go on certain business for his Majesty, we did not act as the law required. To tell the King as above, adding that said Dom. Lodovico, not content with the outrages committed by him some two years ago, for which the State outlawed him, and afterwards at his Majesty's request having been granted a safe-conduct, has now perpetrated this other enormity. Although they might have proceeded against him, nevertheless, out of respect for the King of England, have chosen first to notify this case to his Majesty, who, being most just, will be as much vexed by the announcement as they are; and truly in like manner as they have never had any remonstrance to make against the magnifico the King's resident Ambassador [Sigismund Harvel], whose offices on the contrary have always been discreet and prudent, so has this individual [Da l'Armi] perpetrated such acts as can by no means be tolerated.

To perform this office with the King strenuously (*efficacemente*), and as becoming the importance of the case; and should his Majesty evince satisfaction and assent to their proceeding according to the law (as they expect he will do), to perform no farther office with his Majesty; but if the King disapproves of the prosecution, in that case to add that this man (*quest' uomo*) being of such a sort as his Majesty may comprehend, and therefore as odious to the State as words can express, they request the King to recall him from Venice, as fitting for any sovereign to do, so that all cause of scandal and disturbance may be removed; and of the result Zambon is to give notice to the Chiefs.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

440. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

In addition to what they write to him by the accompanying letter about D. Lodovico da l'Armi, write apart to inform him of all that took place in this matter, so that in case the King or other personages make any inquiry of him he may be able to reply, according to the truth.

Some days ago, after the death of Bernardo, the Ten obtained a clue to the murderers, who were the intimate comrades (*familiari*) of Lodovico da l'Armi. The Chiefs therefore summoned their nobleman Giovanni Francesco Mocenigo, who had at that time been in close communication with said Dom. Lodovico; and having arrested and examined Mocenigo, to hear from him the particulars of this case, Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi subsequently came into the College and spontaneously offered to give what satisfaction they pleased concerning this matter; so the Chiefs and Inquisitors appointed for this purpose sent for him, and inquired "*de plano*" what he knew about it. After this, perceiving that Mocenigo said he had heard one thing from Dom. Lodovico, whose statement

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contradicted the assertion, they were brought face to face, to see whether the truth could be ascertained. Had heard that Dom. Lodovico (as he himself confirmed to them) had in his hands a letter from Bernardo, addressed to the Signory, which he gave to Mocenigo; the latter denied having ever seen it, but it was found in the sleeve of the deceased Bernardo's doublet. Amongst other evidence obtained by them against Dom. Lodovico, this is very important, that he gave said letter—addressed to the State—to the individuals whom he sent to murder Bernardo, so that by exhibiting it to him, he might be induced to let them take him out of Ravenna, and give them the opportunity of murdering him, as they did. So it being necessary for the Council of Ten to know the circumstances he was made to wait in the Chamber of the Chiefs, where dinner was prepared for him, and he remained there in the company of a secretary until the Council assembled. After the whole process had been read to them, the Chiefs and the Inquisitors went and dismissed him immediately, by reason of the respect had by them for the King [of England]. Subsequently Dom. Lodovico complained to us somewhat of this proceeding, although he at length seemed satisfied, and on the morrow, the magnifico the English Ambassador [Harvel] came into the Signory's presence, and told them that having heard a confused account of this business, he was come to know what official account he should write to his Majesty.

They, in reply, answered as aforesaid, telling him moreover that in this matter they had evinced all possible respect for his most Serene King, as otherwise, having arrested Mocenigo, they would have done the like by Dom. Lodovico aforesaid; and what they did, was solely to learn the truth, as any government would have done in such a case.

The ambassador was greatly pleased with the Signory's statement, and acknowledged that they had done nothing contrary to their good friendship with his Majesty, who, under similar circumstances, would have acted in like manner.

The Chiefs acquaint him (Zambon) with these particulars, so that, if necessary, he may know how to answer, in accordance with the truth.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 77.

441. MOTION made in the SENATE for the appointment of an Ambassador to England.

At the time when the peace was being negotiated between his most Christian Majesty and the most Serene King of England, the Signory's secretary at the English Court wrote to them that his Majesty wished greatly to have a Venetian Ambassador with him, as of yore. Subsequently, when the peace was made and concluded, there came into the College the Magnifico Ambassador of that most Serene King, together with Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi, to announce it to them in his Majesty's name, and congratulate himself thereon with the Signory. This office being performed, Dom. Lodovico then presented credentials, and commenced talking at great length,

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discoursing very earnestly about this extreme desire on the part of his Majesty; and from that time to this, he has come very frequently into the Signory's presence to make this request, always in the name of that most Serene King. Shortly before the arrival of the secretary's letters, dated the 29th of October last, (full of this wish, owing to the conference held by him with Ser Francesco Bernardo,) the aforesaid ambassador [Sigismund Harvel?] came into the College and repeated the same suit. So it is evident through this channel, and through that of the Signory's secretary, that the King of England wishes much for this ambassador. It is highly advantageous for the Signory to be on good terms with his Majesty, and to exhibit towards him such marks of affection and esteem as he desires, and as become so great a King, whose repute and power have increased since the aforesaid conclusion of peace; and this embassy cannot but prove to the dignity of the Republic, and profitable to many private individuals who frequent that country, not a little to the advantage of this entire city.

Put to the ballot, that an ambassador be elected to reside with the King; receiving for his expenses one hundred and fifty golden ducats per month, of which he is not required to give any account to the Signory. Is to keep eleven horses and as many servants (including his Secretary's servant), and two running footmen. Is to be eligible from all places and offices, and the person elected may not refuse, under all the penalties decreed by the act of 1536 against those who refuse missions to crowned heads. Besides the four months salary, which will be paid him here in advance, as usual, by the cashier of the Council of Ten, out of the monies appointed for that purpose, be there given to the agents left here by said ambassador, 150 golden ducats from month to month, so that the Signory may not lose any money by exchange on this account. And that he depart when and with such commission as shall be given him by this Council.

Ayes, 168. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Elected on the 28th December 1546, Ser Bernardo Navagero, son of the late Ser Giovanni Alvise.

See in Libro scrutinorum, p. 89.

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 18. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

442. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Will perceive the underwritten advices in their letters from Constantinople, dated the 11th November, and is to communicate them as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

443. The SAME to the SAME.

Having understood by his letters, and by the statements made to them repeatedly by the magnifico the English ambassador

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[Sigismundo Harvel], and by Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi, in the name of the King, his Majesty's great wish to have an ambassador from the Signory resident with him as heretofore; they, by reason of the good friendship which they have always maintained and wish to preserve with his Majesty, and on account of the respect they bear him, are content to gratify this his desire, and so on the day before yesterday, they, with the Senate, determined to elect one of their noblemen to reside with his Majesty as usual. The election will be made one of these days, and they will also attend to the ambassador's despatch, so that he may betake himself to his legation in the spring.

To acquaint his Majesty with this resolve, assuring him that they will never fail to perform such offices as become good friends, or to gratify him in whatever they can; and requesting him to acknowledge the reasonable impediments which have hitherto delayed their mission of this ambassador, as they are sure that of his wisdom he will do. Of the execution of this order, Zambon is to give them notice.

In reply to his last letters of the 22nd November, they have merely to commend his keeping them advised of the events in those parts.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 27.

444. MARC' ANTONIO ERIZZO.

Motion made in the Council and Ten and Junta.

Does it seem fit to the Council, from what has been now said and read, that by reason of the impediments at present declared, Ser Marco Antonio Erizzo be tortured by cord (*fune*)?

Ayes, 3.

Amendment—

That the decision aforesaid be made by the members of the committee and inquisitors, according to the liberty given by this Council, as usual.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 29.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 27, tergo.

445. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Does it seem fit to the Council, from what has been now said and read, that Captain Giovanni Battista Campana, and Isepo of Trent, absent, but legitimately summoned from the edict steps, be proceeded against?

Ayes, 27. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

The Council decrees that said Giovanni Battista Campana and Isepo of Trent, absent, but legitimately summoned, be banished for life; and should any of them at any time break bounds and be captured, to be beheaded between the columns on a lofty scaffold, and their bodies quartered in four parts, and suspended on the usual gibbets; and the captor of any of them placing them "*in forcias nostras*," or killing them, on producing a certificate of the death,

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to receive for each of them 3,000 light livres from the chest of this Council. Should any person capture them in foreign parts, and place them in the Signory's power, or kill them, on producing a certificate of the death *ut supra*, to receive for each of them from the aforesaid chest 5,000 livres; and moreover, should "*ille talis capiens aut occidens*" be banished from Venice and from all the Republic's towns and places, even by this Council, for any crime whatever, except rebellion or peculation, be he free and absolved from his ban, and further have a pardon for another [culprit] banished from all towns and places *ut supra*. Should said captor or slayer not be a banished man, he may release two [culprits] banished *ut supra*. But if within thirty days from the publication of this present motion, the aforesaid Giovanni Battista Campana and Isepo of Trent, or either of them, the one who shall come first and notify, in the case of the murder committed on the person of the late Ser Mafio Bernardo, its "*mandantem sive mandantes*," and their accomplices, so that the truth be obtained, in that case both or one of them to remain free and absolved from the aforesaid condemnation and have the benefits, mentioned in the motion, about rewards concerning this matter, passed by this Council on the 27th inst.

Ayes, 20.

Amendment.

Motion as above, save that should both or either of them come and manifest *ut supra*, they do receive such benefits as shall seem fit to this Council.

—— 5. —— 4.

[*Latin.*]

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Jan. 5. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

446. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Since they wrote to him on the 19th ultimo, announcing their intention of electing an ambassador to the King of England, they have made choice for this purpose of their well-beloved noble Bernardo Navager. To inform his Majesty of this, and also that Dom. Lodovico Da l'Armi, who some days ago quitted Venice, having informed the Signory that he was going on the King's business, has now returned and remains here, to the dissatisfaction of the State, and in contempt of the law.

In making this statement, to regulate himself with regard to proceeding against Da l'Armi, or removing him from Venice, according to the reply received from his Majesty when executing the commands contained in their letter to him of the 16th ultimo, of which they enclose a copy, and repeat to him their intention and desire to proceed against Da l'Armi as the law requires, or else that he do by no means reside in the Signory's territory.

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To acquaint the Chiefs with the reply obtained by him concerning this matter.

Ayes, 28. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

447. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Send him summaries of advices from Constantinople, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

448. PROTESTANT LEAGUE of SMALCALD.*

The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to [FRANCESCO] GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

His predecessor [Matteo Dandolo?] wrote to them heretofore that the Admiral of France spoke to him about a defensive League between his most Christian Majesty and the Signory. To this the ambassador replied, that it was unnecessary, by reason of the great goodwill between the parties, and that it would cause suspicion to the other powers, the more so as a defensive League between princes whose territories are wide asunder is useless.

Subsequently on the 24th ultimo, the ambassador wrote to the Signory saying that when speaking with the Admiral about the ambassadors from the Protestants, and the war in Germany, in order to make the Admiral unbosom himself, he praised the valour of the Protestants, and said he thought that had they any ray (*lume*) of assistance, they would be much more active.

This is not to the satisfaction of the Signory; and simultaneously the Chiefs received a letter from him concerning the League. Dandolo's first office satisfied them, but in this last they dislike the arguments adduced by Giustinian when speaking of the Emperor's opinions and intentions, of his [present] embarrassments with the Germans, of those which he will have with the Turks, and of his agreement with the Protestants. Therefore warn Giustinian not to encourage this matter, and to abstain from using such arguments, and saying anything to offend the Emperor or any potentate, speaking in general terms as his predecessor did on the first occasion; and should his predecessor be still at the French Court, he is to communicate these letters to him.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 28, tergo.

449. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

As the Captain Campana and Isepo of Trent are coming hither within the term appointed them, should they reveal the "*caso*" of the death of the late Mafio Bernardo, so that the truth be ascertained, both of them to be absolved from the banishment and

* On the 22nd April 1547, the Emperor gave battle to the League of Smalcald at Mulberg, and captured its leaders the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. The Venetians foresaw coming events, and disapproved of their ambassador's tribute to the valour of the Protestants.

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condemnation passed on them by this Council, 2,000 ducats given them from the chest of this Council, and they to be authorised to exempt two individuals from their banishment for any cause except rebellion or peculation; and be they, and a servant for each of them, allowed for life to carry weapons in Venice and in all the Republic's towns and places, to which benefit either of them to be eligible, even should the other not choose to come.

Ayes, 17. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

450. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

To communicate as usual the under-written advices, contained in their last letters from Constantinople.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 36.

451. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That Lodovico da l'Armi, accused of having caused the death of the late Ser Mafio Bernardo, be arrested and examined by the inquisitors and the ordinary committee, they to come to this Council, with what they shall elicit, and be justice done; but should the search for him prove vain, the Signory's governors on the mainland to be written to, to arrest and send him hither.

Ayes, 18. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

452. GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Has daily requested audience of the King, to execute the order contained in their Lordships' letters of the 16th ult. and 5th instant, *about Lodovico da l'Armi,** received by him the day before yesterday.

He is told that his Majesty cannot see him by reason of indisposition and business, but he has been promised an interview as soon as possible, nor will he fail to urge it.

London, 30th January 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxix. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. iv. p. 38. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," without any date.

453. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL III.

Considering the state of affairs on the death of King Henry, hopes that an opportunity is thus afforded for regaining England, but to this end it is above all necessary to have the support of the Emperor, to whom he recommends the Pope to send an ambassador in his Majesty's confidence. Wishes the appointment to be made in the person of the Cardinal of Trent, as no one could more ably negotiate the English business, and also many other affairs of almost equal moment. Will justify his proposal in a subsequent letter.

—— February ? 1547.

[*Latin, 16 lines.*]

* The words in italics are in cipher.

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Feb. ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in v. iv. pp. 39, 40. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," without any date.

454. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL III.

Distressed by the present perilous state of affairs, and apprehensive of a bad result, he wrote to the Pope yesterday, having solely in view the common weal, and now explains the causes which moved him to give that advice. First of all, he is of opinion that to complete the business in hand, great part of which is referred to the Emperor, everything depends on concord between his Majesty and the Pope. From this concord the best result may be anticipated; in like manner as from discord he (Pole) foresees the utmost turmoil of Christendom. This concord depends chiefly on the person sent as legate to the Emperor. Therefore enumerates the qualities required by this legate, and as it is difficult for them to be combined in one sole person, he would suggest that the Cardinal of Trent be added to the legation,* as to effect this concord he has already exerted himself greatly, and would continue to do so. If for reasons which he (Pole) does not see, the addition of the Cardinal of Trent should not be approved, he might be sent in advance to prepare the way, the mission being of course confided to him with great delicacy. The Cardinal of Trent, moreover, would be a fitting person, because having negotiated the league (*belli Germanici fœdus*), he knows what dissensions arose thence, and is therefore better able than anyone else to allay them. His character also is such, that not content with negotiating he is never satisfied unless his negotiations obtain success, which in the present instance would be in accordance with the Pope's wish, and the public advantage. Some persons say that the disputes between the Pope and the Emperor proceeded in great measure from their respective confidants, who dreading the slightest diminution of favour easily neglect the common weal. For this he (Pole) will not vouch, but has chosen to express himself with the utmost frankness.

[*Latin*, 38 *lines*.]

Feb. 3.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

455. GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Their Lordships will have seen by his letters of the 24th and 30th ult. that he was prevented executing the commissions contained in their missives of the 16th December and 5th ult.; still less is he able to do anything at present, as without fresh credentials they cannot acknowledge him in any matter as the Republic's representative. Can say nothing more about the business in question,† [save that when talking with Paget, as written by him to the Senate, he contrived to make hĩm say openly that Lodovico da l'Armi's commission was in like manner cancelled and at an end, and that no farther commission would be sent to him from hence, and that he was understood to be recalled. Paget then added, "I should wish the most Illustrious Signory, when proceeding in the

* In 1546, Madruccio, Cardinal Bishop of Trent, had been sent by the Emperor to demand assistance from the Pope against the Protestants. In 1547, the Pope appointed Cardinal Sfondrato Legate to the Emperor, to obtain his consent to the transfer of the Council from Trent to Bologna. (*See* Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.)

† Cipher between the brackets; with contemporary decipher.

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case of said Lodovico, to do so adroitly (*destramente*), and with some regard for these Lords Protectors and executors (*protectori et executori*), as becoming the good friendship between the late most Serene King and their Excellencies, which friendship I should have endeavoured to augment daily had his Serenity lived." Thanked the Secretary [Sir William Paget], and answered him that your most illustrious Lordships were wont to proceed in all cases with the utmost prudence and justice, and that he therefore might be very certain you would continue thus to do for the future.]

London, 3rd February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

456. BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

A gentleman of noble family, Signor Baldisara Bya, told me that on the evening before last, on the arrival in this city of Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi, he went straight to lodge with him, being the friend of his brother, and then yesterday, when a tournament was held at the Court in the presence of Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] and the Princess,* and all the Milanese nobility, Da l'Armi and Bya masked and went to the entertainment, where, whilst *stando a piacere*, they were arrested on the spot by order of Don Ferrante [Imperial Governor of Milan] and placed in two separate chambers. After a little while Bya was set at liberty, Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi being taken to the castle, where he yet remains. As it has long been reported here that said Lodovico fled from Venice because accused of the death of the late Bernardo, said Signor Baldisera Bya, by reason of his affection and deference for the most Serene Republic, apologises to me for having lodged him, vowing that he did so unwillingly, and that his late father, and brothers were and are most devoted to the Signory.

Ten days ago Don Ferrante said to me, "Lodovico da l'Armi will take good care not to come hither, not that I know him to be proscribed from the Emperor's places, but because I will not endure the presence of men branded with so many iniquities, and so infamous for their crimes, as I know this fellow to be." He discussed with me the mischief which results from giving harbour to persons of this sort, and did not approve the Republic's patience in having so long tolerated Fregoso, and the late Monsignor Valerio, and Pietro Strozzi, and then this Da l'Armi, by saying that the city of Venice is free. From this conversation I infer his Excellency ordered the arrest of this man by reason of his hatred to the race, for when the Signor Zuan Paulo Manfron (who was afterwards arrested in the territory of the Duke of Piacenza) passed through Milan, he desired him to depart forthwith, and never again return to the Milanese on pain of death.

Milan, 7th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

* The consort of Don Ferrante Gonzaga was Isabella of Capua, daughter of the Prince of Molfetta, whose title she inherited.

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Feb. 9.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

457. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Ambassador at Milan.

By his letter received today have heard, much to their satisfaction, that his Excellency the Governor* has caused the arrest of Lodovico da l'Armi, who lately fled from hence, because he had so iniquitously contrived the murder of that nobleman of ours, Maffio Bernardo, which must be known to his Lordship, and ere now to everybody. Charge him (Rhamberti) to urge his most illustrious Lordship to keep Da l'Armi under arrest, as by so doing he will very much oblige them, and by other letters they will acquaint Rhamberti with their wishes in this matter.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

458. BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Don Ferrante having returned from La Bicoccha, inquired of him the cause of the arrest of Messer Lodovico da l'Armi. Was told that he came without any servant, on hired horses, always wrapped up in a cloak of crimson velvet, with a cap on his head of red *ormesin* with a gold band, which costume coupled with his handsome figure made everybody stare at him,† so that in many places he was well nigh compelled to discover himself; and at length when he arrived at Pizzighettone, not choosing to let his face be seen by some persons who wished to look at him, he was followed thus far by a Spaniard, who having described his costume and person to Don Ferrante, his Excellency recognized him at the tournament, and not knowing who he was, had him arrested and sent to the castle, where on hearing that he was Dom. Lodovico da l'Armi, he determined to let him remain thus under arrest until the receipt of some further commission from the Emperor. But Da l'Armi having sent "*a dimostrargli*" that he is a *persona publica* from the King of England, Don Ferrante has determined to release him, in order not to violate the good understanding and friendship between the Emperor and the aforesaid most Serene King. On hearing this I said to his Excellency that as he knew this man had escaped from Venice, the Signory might wish to learn something from him, and the more important it might prove the greater would their obligation be to his Excellency should he detain him a few days to oblige the Republic. His Excellency rejoined, he would release him to avoid giving offence to the King of England, but I nevertheless

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* Don Ferrante Gonzaga, uncle of Francesco Duke of Mantua, and Governor of Milan for the Emperor Charles V.

† In the Academy of Venice there is an oil painting by Bonifazio (No. 525), representing the slaughter of the Innocents, in which the artist has introduced a spectator whose stature and costume agree precisely with Don Ferrante's portrait of Da l'Armi. The hand of this figure rests on a shield, but its blazonry is unintelligible. The history of Da l'Armi was an European topic at the time, and on this account it is probable that Bonifazio made him the principal person in a scene of bloodshed. The painter Bonifazio of Verona flourished from 1491 to 1553 (*see* Lord Lindsay, Christian Art, vol. i. p. ccxxxi.)

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understand that he has written about it to the [Imperial] Court, and before releasing him will perhaps await his Majesty's reply.

Milan, 10th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

459. BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

At daybreak this morning a horse-post from Crema consigned to me your letters charging me to pray Don Ferrante to keep Messer Lodovico da l'Armi under arrest, until other letters acquaint me with your wishes. Immediately went to his Excellency and besought him to delay the release of Da l'Armi for a few days. His Excellency replied, "I have determined to set him at liberty on account of the King of England, who professes to love my family, and myself in particular, but, as you urge me in the name of the Republic, I will delay that the Signory may write to the Emperor, and obtain an order from him for the consignment by me into their hands of Da l'Armi, or to authorise you to examine and speak with him, and elicit whatever you wish from his own lips. And would to God that I were not bound by these respects for the King of England, which I must at any rate use towards him, especially being allied (*congionto*) as he is at present with the Emperor, as otherwise Da l'Armi should have been carried like a bale (*da peso*) to the feet of the Signory, by reason of my devotion for the State, and the hatred I bear to persons of that sort, who, being enabled to live honourably by the military profession, lead an iniquitous existence, by disturbing the quiet of sovereigns and honest men." He added, "Tell the Signory to write immediately to the Imperial Court, and do quickly what they have to do, but without letting it appear that I prompted them to do so, for by despatch their wish may be obtained, and I will aid it to my utmost, whereas by delay it might easily be thwarted." I thanked his Excellency for his offer to detain Da l'Armi for the despatch of advices from Venice to Germany, which would require at least thirty days; whereupon I asked him if he meant to keep Da l'Armi in the castle, and if he would allow me to speak to him. He replied that, to ease the Emperor of any responsibility, he thought of sending him to Guastalla, one of his castles in the Mantuan territory, and that he did not allow any one to speak to him, although he had asked for such permission, that he might send a messenger to England, which was denied him, but Don Ferrante believed that he had already done so before his arrest.

His Excellency is most devoted to your Lordships, and lamented to me the trouble which is but too often given you by similar "*ribaldi*" with regard to State and Government affairs, assuring me that nothing pains him so much as to hear of judicial inquiries about rebels and traitors.

Milan, 12th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 12.
Parti Secrete Consiglio X., File no. 6.

460. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan.

Wrote to him the other evening that he was to request the Governor to detain Lodovico Da l'Armi under custody.

Have written to their ambassador with the Emperor to try and get said Lodovico into their hands. Charge him [Rhamberti] to endeavour not only to prevent Lodovico's release until the receipt of the Emperor's decision, but to induce the Governor to favour this their just intention, as he will thus do them a most agreeable and satisfactory service. As in their letter to the Signory's ambassador with the Emperor they mention certain particulars of the case, send him a copy of it, that he may acquaint the Governor with the bad qualities and grievous atrocities of this homicide.

After writing thus far received his letter of the 10th. Commend his good offices with the Governor, to prevent him from releasing Da l'Armi. Have written on the subject to the Secretary in England; send him a copy of the letter, that he may vouch to the Governor for the office performed by them with his Majesty.

Send also the letters to the said ambassador and secretary, but should Da l'Armi have been already released, to say nothing more to the Governor, and retain the letters instead of forwarding them.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 17. Neutral, 1.

Carried in the negative.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

461. The SAME to [ALVISE MOCENIGO] the Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

Some days ago their late nobleman, Maphio Bernardo, was barbarously murdered by two individuals in whom he confided, owing to certain countersigns which they gave him. These men conducted him outside Ravenna, whither he had betaken himself, having been outlawed by the State (the period of the writ not having yet expired), and taking him into the pine forest, the assassins inflicted eighteen wounds on him, of which he died.

The Signory employed the usual means to ascertain the truth, and the murderers presented themselves, and proved most clearly that one of the persons who commissioned the murder (*un delli mandanti*) was Lodovico da l'Armi, who was at the time in Venice, but departed thence secretly and made his escape on the very day of the arrival there of the mandataries. One of these is the Captain Zambattista Campana, who was most intimate with the said Lodovico, the other is Isepo of Trent. So they could not effect his seizure; but the Almighty, who does not choose so enormous a crime to remain unpunished, caused the said Lodovico to be arrested by the most illustrious the Lord Governor of Milan, who has had him put in the castle. The Chiefs, therefore, wishing to have him in their hands, charge the ambassador to acquaint the Emperor immediately, in the Signory's name, with the atrocity of the case, praying him to give orders that the said Lodovico be consigned to them, as he will thus do one of the most agreeable things which at the present

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moment they could possibly desire of him. Although very certain that the Emperor, abhorring men of so evil a nature, will grant this just petition, the ambassador is nevertheless to assure him, that on a similar occassion, they will do the like by his Majesty.

To endeavour to effect their object with prudence and address. If prevented by the Emperor's occupations from seeing him im*mediately, to confer with Mons. de Granvelle, that he may state the case to his Majesty. In the event of the Emperor's objecting* to deliver Da l'Armi into their hands, lest it displease the King of England, to say that the Signory has written to their secretary [Zambon] resident with the King, who (they hope) will of his justice and goodness comply with so just a demand. The Emperor in the meanwhile to have Da l'Armi detained in custody.

To give notice of what he shall have done to Zambon.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 17. Neutral, 1.

Carried in the negative.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

462. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the Venetian Secretary ZAMBON in England.

[On 16th December wrote to him about the murder of Maphio Bernardo, and that they had clear indications of its having been caused by Lodovico da l'Armi.

Having employed means to ascertain the truth, there presented themselves to them, Captain Joanbaptista Campana (who was intimate and most familiar with said Lodovico) and his comrade Isepo of Trent, the murderers of Bernardo, and clearly proved to the Chiefs, that Da l'Armi was the person who caused them to commit the crime, and on the day of their arrival at Venice Da l'Armi fled from thence privily.

Are certain that the King of England, on hearing of these evil and detestable proceedings, will not only be much disquieted by them, but, being replete with wisdom and goodness, will make ample demonstration in accordance with their obsequiousness towards him, as instanced by the consideration (*rispetto*) shown by them lately to the said Lodovico.

To acquaint the King with the whole, and to give notice of his reply.

Should Secretary Paget or others ask him about the departure hence of the ambassador appointed to his Majesty, to tell them that he will depart in a few days.]*

(And be it carried, that the English ambassador be sent for into the College and made acquainted with these facts, and urged to write in conformity to his King.)

Having written thus far, are advised by their secretary at Milan that the Governor had caused the arrest of Da l'Armi, who had arrived there; so they have written to their ambassador with the Emperor, to request his consignment into their hands.

* The bracketed passage in the draft was to be transcribed in cipher

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To do his utmost with the King that by reason of his even-handed justice (*la bona justitia che è in lei*) he may sanction their fair demand.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 17. Neutral, 1.

Carried in the negative.

Amendment—

Another copy to be made of the paragraphs within the brackets, for transmission to the secretary.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

463. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan.

Received his letter of the 7th. Thank him for his good offices with the Governor to prevent the release of Lodovico da l'Armi. But in his last of the 10th they see that the Governor thought of releasing Da l'Armi. Wish to know what has taken place. Should his Lordship not have released him, will immediately inform Rhamberti what they wish.

Ayes, 22. Noes, 6. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

464. The SAME to [ALVISE MOCENIGO] the Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

Account of the murder of Maphio Bernardo [as in the letter of the 12th].

Inform him that Lodovico da l'Armi was outlawed by them for another iniquitous case, as will appear by the enclosed copy of the sentence. For the gratification of the King of England gave him a safe-conduct, but as under its cover he has committed this fresh most atrocious crime, he has lost all benefit of it, and is subject to his writ of outlawry, and as an outlaw ought to be delivered to them, in virtue of the Signory's treaty with the State of Milan.

To request the Emperor to give orders for his delivery into their hands, etc. [as in the letter of the 12th.]

Postscript.—By way of France have heard the news of the death of the King of England. Hope it will, therefore, be more easy to obtain what they justly desire of the Emperor, although they believe, that had the King of England lived, his Imperial Majesty would have granted their request.

The above-written letter to be sent by a courier express, who is to bring back the reply.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

465. The SAME to BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan.

By his letters of the 12th, perceive his prudent offices with the Governor, and his Lordship's courteous and gracious reply. To inform him of the outlawry of Da l'Armi, &c., [as in the letter to Mocenigo.]

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Hope to obtain their demand for his delivery the more easily, seeing that there is an end of consideration for the most Serene King of England, who they understand is dead, and may the Lord have mercy on his soul.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Miscellaneous Papers, Venetian Archives.

466. OFFICIAL NOTE of Communications between the VENETIAN GOVERNMENT and SIGISMUND HARVEL, from 16th December 1546 to 15th February 1547.*

In the matter of Lodovico da l'Armi the ambassador of the King of England, Harvel, stated that this affair caused him such great pain that he knew not what to say. He had at all times known the courtesy of this State towards his King, and the respect had for him, both heretofore when Da l'Armi perpetrated those outrages here and at Treviso, after which he was granted the safe-conduct at the request of his Majesty, to whom it gave extreme satisfaction, as also on this last occasion, on which Harvel acknowledged that not only had this man (*costui*) offended the majesty of the Republic, but also the majesty of his [Harvel's] King, who has been greatly deceived in him, as frequently happens to Princes with regard to their servants. That he wrote about this at the time of the affair at Treviso, and therefore Da l'Armi always bore him illwill, and laid many plots against him, and lately when Da l'Armi was summoned by the Chiefs,† Harvel came to the Signory to know what he was to write to the King, as Da l'Armi asserted his innocence, and now wrote him a letter from Trent to the same effect,‡ which Harvel does not believe, as he knows him well, and that he has one thing in his heart and another on his lips. He declared that these proceedings greatly displeased his King, who did not send Da l'Armi hither with the title of ambassador (*con nome di ambasciatore*), the letter not conferring this honour on him nor yet his instructions from his Majesty's Council, which purported that he was to defer to Harvel (*ch' el dovesse stare ad obedientia di esso ambasciatore*).

To this the Doge replied, that Harvel might remember that at his first audience he accompanied Da l'Armi, who remained standing until his credentials were read, and when it was heard that he had a communication to make in his Majesty's name, he was desired to seat himself, and continued to do so ever after. Harvel rejoined that it was all true (*replicò il detto ambasciatore, che tutto vi era vero*), and that the Signory had always evinced very great courtsey and respect towards the King, to whom he wrote a full account of the whole affair honestly and sincerely as due to his Prince, the Doge's account of the case being notorious "*fino alli sassi di questa città*;" and not only did Harvel deplore this

* In State Papers vol. xi. pp. 382, 383, Harvel's last notice of Da l'Armi is dated Venice, 23rd December 1546.

† *See* Harvel's letter, dated 23rd December 1546. (State Papers, vol. xi. pp. 382, 383.)

‡ By the Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., it appears that on the 16th December, Da l'Armi was absent from Venice, but was again there on the 5th of January 1547, so the letter

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case, but is ashamed of it, and feels certain that it will displease the King, no less than it does the Signory. He said he would write again, as requested by his Serenity, adding that Lodovico da l'Armi "*non è niente*," and what little repute he had, was owing to regard for the King, who has been deceived, and bears the Signory very great respect, and acknowledges their courtesy.

The Doge then told Harvel that Da l'Armi was under arrest at Milan ;* Harvel inquired whether it was at the suit of his Serenity, or whether the cause was known. His Serenity replied that it was not at his suit; but that he went incognito, and was arrested and confined in the castle, and is supposed to have written to the Emperor; and that he will not be released until the receipt of his Imperial Majesty's reply.

Harvel promised to write again to the King, and then took leave.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 30.

467. Lodovico da l'Armi.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the nobleman Ser Zan Francesco Mocenigo be *pro nunc* released from prison.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

468. Benedetto Rhamberti, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the Chiefs of the Ten.

Have received the letter of the 15th announcing your Lordships' wish that Lodovico da l'Armi should not be released, until your farther orders arrive; and owing to this news of the death of the King of England I am of opinion, not only that he will not be released, but moreover that Don Ferrante may now perhaps be easily induced to satisfy your Excellencies without awaiting any other commission from the Emperor.

Milan, 17th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19.
Miscellaneous Letters. Venetian Archives.

469. Giovanni Antonio Venier, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Chiefs of the Ten.

At this hour, the fourth of the night, a secretary came to me in the name of the Pope and Cardinal Farnese, and after repeating the news of the death of the King of England, as contained in my public letter, he requested (as the Pope has this matter at heart, and wishes for the assistance of those powers to whom he purposes sending legates) that the most Serene Signory by reason of their religion would, as the Pope trusted, piously aid him in his efforts, so far as lies in their power, to bring back that kingdom to its former

* Da l'Armi seems to have absented himself from Venice on the 24th January, and to have made his way into the Mantuan territory to his comrade Luigi Gonzaga at Castel Goffredo, proceeding thence by Pizzighettone, Cremona, and Lodi, to Milan, where he arrived on the 4th February, and was arrested on the 6th.

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devotion to the Catholic Faith; and he therefore requested and exhorted the Signory to charge that gentleman of the Bernardo family, who so aptly exerted himself about the peace between the two crowns,* or such other person as they may think fit, to perform this office, which his Holiness trusts will be to the mind of that most Christian Republic.

The secretary stated these particulars in detail, reading to me the letter which his Holiness is sending to the Nuncio at Venice, and as your Lordships will hear it, I need say no more.

Rome, 19th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

470. BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

In obedience to your Excellencies' letter of the 15th I thanked the Governor in your name, and prayed him to abide by the promise which he made me on the 12th, not to release Lodovico da l'Armi until the arrival of the Emperor's reply concerning this matter. According to the letter's contents I acquainted him minutely with this man's misdemeanours and his atrocious character (*atroce natura*); and I tried whether, now that there is an end of the principal consideration about England, his Excellency would gratify your Lordships without the intervention of farther delay. Don Ferrante replied, "I promised you to detain him, until you cause the Emperor to send me a commission, which I will execute as a true Prince, and as a true-born nobleman of that most Serene Republic, which I hold in as much account as a kingdom (*principato*). Do but cause me to receive the order, and I will gladly obey it without farther reserve, but for the present it does not seem to me that with honour to myself I can do more; and promise their Excellencies in my name whatever can be promised by a good servant; saving always the allegiance due to my master, for I assure you that neither their Lordships nor you will ever be deceived by the hopes I give you."

I thanked his Excellency; and your Excellencies may rest assured that Da l'Armi will not be released.

Milan, 19th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

471. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Desire him to communicate, as usual, the underwritten advices from Adrianople.

[*Italian.*]

* For notices of the negotiations of Francesco Bernardo in the year 1546, when peace was made between England and France, *see* State Papers, vol. xi., index. In vol. i. p. 894, it appears that in January 1547 he had a letter of recommendation from Secretary Paget to Doge Donado. The epitaph of Francesco Bernardo in the church of the "Frari" at Venice, records his success in accomplishing the peace between the two crowns. As already stated, he was the nephew of Mafio Bernardo, and seems to have inherited his property.

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Feb. 19.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

472. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with Pope Paul III.

Through their ambassador Mocenigo,* have this day received letters from their secretary in England, dated 31st January, informing them that the King departed this life on the 27th (*sic*), and that the Prince his son, styled Edward VI., had been proclaimed King under the tutelage of twenty† guardians (*governatori*) left by the deceased King his father, the chief of them being the Earl of Hertford, his Majesty's brother-in-law.

Although they suppose the Pope will have had news of this demise, have nevertheless chosen to notify it to the ambassador, for communication to his Holiness.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 92, tergo.

473. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN "BAILO" at ADRIANOPLE.

Since their last of the 11th, have heard by letters from England, dated 31st January, that King Henry died on the 27th (*sic*), and the Prince his son had been proclaimed King by the name of Edward VI. He is eleven years old, and under the guardianship of twenty governors appointed by the deceased King, his father, the chief of them being the Earl of Hertford, his Majesty's brother-in-law.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

474. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN SECRETARY at MILAN.

Have seen what he wrote to them on the 17th about Lodovico da l'Armi, and his opinion that owing to the news of the death of the King of England, not only will Lodovico not be released, but the Lord Governor [Don Ferrante Gonzaga, Governor of Milan,] may perhaps give satisfaction to the Signory in this matter without awaiting commission from the Emperor.

Have received letters from their secretary in England, dated 24th January, informing them that Secretary Paget, whilst the King was yet alive,‡ told him that Lodovico da l'Armi was no longer in favour with his Majesty, and that he was certain that his iniquities, which caused him to be in disgrace with the entire English Court, would greatly displease the King.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 31.

475. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motions made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the safe-conduct from this Council to the Captain Zambattista Campana and Isepo da Trento during the whole of the

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* Alvise Mocenigo, ambassador with the Emperor at Ulm.

† The executors of the King's will were originally nineteen, but shortly before his death he cancelled the names of the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Thirlby. (*See* Lingard, History of England, v. 5, pp. 105, 114, ed. London, 1854.)

‡ Henry VIII. died on the 28th January 1547.

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present month, be prolonged until the despatch of the case denounced by them.

Ayes, 27. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

That from the chest of this Council forty ducats be given to the Captain Zambattista Campana and Isepo da Trento, that they may have the means of maintaining themselves until the case shall be despatched.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

476. ALVISE MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

On Sunday the 20th, at noon, the courier Pellegrin brought me your Excellencies' letter of the 15th ;* and seeing how strictly I was charged to speak to the Emperor about the affair of Lodovico da l'Armi, I sent immediately for audience of his Majesty, hoping to obtain it that very day, but as mentioned by me in the public letters, business prevented him from receiving me until last evening, when I represented all that your Lordships enjoined me, earnestly requesting the Emperor, by reason of the affection and goodwill which he bears the Signory, to give orders for said Lodovico to be consigned to you, assuring his Majesty that besides thus acting according to justice, in virtue of the treaty between the Republic and the Duchy of Milan, he would also confer as great a favour as any that could be asked of him by the Signory at the present moment, and that in similar cases your Serenity will always do the like by his Imperial Majesty. The Emperor answered me that a few days ago he heard of the capture of this Lodovico, whom he considered "*leggero*"; that he had written to Milan for information on the subject; that I was to go and speak with the Bishop of Arras [Antoine Perrenot] and the Regent Figueroa, who would also inspect the treaty, and that he would then not fail to do what he can in justice, for the satisfaction of the Signory; whereupon, after again requesting his Majesty in so just a matter to give the Signory satisfaction, which would be most agreeable to your Lordships, I took leave.

As the Bishop of Arras was occupied last evening I went to him today, performing the most earnest office I could with him about this business. His Lordship answered me that being as he is a bishop, he must be very cautious about interfering in this case, which concerns a man's life; but that, as he is hostile to evil doers and anxious to do the State service, he will not fail proceeding in this matter as far as he can without committing any irregularity. He then said that so long back as when he was in Italy he had heard of this treaty [for the reciprocal extradition of outlaws] stipulated between your Serenity and the Duchy of Milan, but did not know whether it was in force (*in osservantia*), and would therefore endeavour to acquaint himself well with the matter, and do all he could to oblige the State. I thanked him, and besought him to oblige the

* Cipher from here to the end. The decipher is contemporary.

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State. I then went to the Regent Figueroa and stated the case, telling him I did so by the Emperor's order. His Lordship, who is a man of few words, answered me that he knew this Lodovico da l'Armi to be a rascal, and that he had perpetrated other misdeeds, and that he [Figueroa] would not fail to perform such office with the Emperor as to satisfy your Serenity. I thanked him for so favourable a reply. I should hope for the best, but I do not yet know what weight the words of this Don Figueroa may have with the Emperor.

Such is the state of the business hitherto, nor will I fail to hasten it as much as I can, but now the obsequies of the Queen* have commenced, and are attended by the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras, I also having to be present in deep mourning (*con habito lugubre*).

Ulm, 24th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

477. BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Although I had requested Don Ferrante, as there was no longer any question of the King of England with regard to Lodovico da l'Armi, to oblige the Signory without further orders from the Emperor, and he said he could not in honour do so, I yesterday, on receiving your commands, dated the 20th, obeyed them by returning to him and narrating what you wrote to me as to the words uttered by Secretary Paget to the Republic's secretary in England, and prayed him as earnestly as I could to deliver this man into your hands without further delay. His Excellency replied that having written to the Emperor that he had arrested him, and that his Majesty was to send orders what he was to do with him, he could no longer proceed of his own accord, but must await such order, and that he had given this same answer to all who interceded for the release of Da l'Armi; but he thought his Majesty would not fail to gratify the Signory, being the mortal enemy of similar evil doers; and he will abide by the promise of having him kept in custody until your Excellencies receive the Emperor's decision.

Milan, 25th February 1547.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28. Deliberazoni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 94.

478. The DOGE and SENATE to FRANCESCO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France.

The advices of English affairs contained in his last letters pleased them, and as they expected him to perform such good service as becomes a diligent ambassador, both by aequainting himself with all events in those parts, and by executing their orders skilfully, there is no occasion to say more to him on the subject.

Ayes, 194. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 28.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 6.

479. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

Have understood what you wrote to us on the 19th instant, touching the request made to you in the name of his Holiness and of the Cardinal Farnese, to the effect that we, by means of our nobleman Francesco Bernardo, or of others, should be pleased to aid the Pope, through the opportunity afforded by the death of the King of England, to bring back that kingdom to its pristine devotion to the Catholic Faith. In conformity with this announcement, a communication has been made to us by the Nuncio from his Holiness, to whom you are to say that the Signory would in truth be anxious to satisfy the Pope, but the mediator proposed by him, namely the aforesaid Bernardo, has already returned to Venice. Have a secretary in England, whose commission and credentials it will be necessary to renew, owing to the death of the King, but as yet we know nothing as to the stability of the Government there, or the course it will pursue. Whenever we perceive an opportunity for doing anything, we will not fail to perform such offices as become devoted sons of the Apostolic See.

A statement in conformity with this letter to be made by the Doge to the Papal Nuncio.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.
Esposizioni Principi, vol. i. p. 9.

480. ANNOUNCEMENT to the SIGNORY of the death of HENRY VIII.

This morning the ambassador of the King of England came into the College Hall and spoke in substance as follows :—

"Most Serene Prince and most illustrious Lords, I cannot without extreme sorrow, I may indeed say without tears, perform this office of acquainting your Serenity with, and condoling with you on the death of his most Serene Majesty my Lord Henry VIII., of blessed memory (*di bona memoria*), as enjoined me by letters received from the most Serene Edward VI., the King, and now in like manner my Lord, and from the most illustrious Earl of Hertford, his Majesty's Governor and Protector of England.

"This I say, most Serene Prince, because I know that your Serenity will have much lamented this demise by reason of his Majesty's great prudence and rare virtues (*rare virtù*), and on account of the love which, like all his predecessors, he bore your Serenity.

"Before his death his Majesty appointed sixteen commissioners (*commissarij*) and governors of his most serene son, and of the kingdom, which sixteen, having regard for the Earl of Hertford's relationship to his Majesty (he being the uncle of this present most Serene King), and for his most illustrious Lordship's authority and great prudence, have elected him guardian (*governator*) of the King's person, and Protector of the kingdom, so that there may be a head to apply to for such negotiations as may be requisite, and he with the other sixteen governors and the members of the Council will despatch them

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"His Majesty with his most illustrious Lordship have now given me notice of what is aforesaid, with orders to communicate the whole to your Serenity, as to his principal friend, and by reason of the goodwill which prevailed between you and my Lord, his most serene father of blessed memory; and should it seem to your Serenity that I have been tardy in performing this office, you must know that it proceeded from my letters not having come sooner, as they were brought by Messer Francesco Bernardo.*

"The aforesaid most illustrious Earl of Hertford and Protector also charged me to inform your Serenity that the intention of the most Serene King, and of all the other councillors, is to continue in that ancient goodwill and love with the Signory, which was constantly demonstrated by King Henry and all his predecessors. Therefore they pray your Serenity to do the like by his Majesty, loving him and having his interests at heart during this his minority. And as your Serenity, to the infinitive satisfaction of his late Majesty and of the whole kindgom, had purposed sending him an ambassador; the most illustrious Protector hopes that you will not show less favour to the present King, and therefore prays you so to do, as by means of ambassadors friendships between sovereigns are preserved and multiply. This will give his Majesty great satisfaction and contentment, and prove the account in which your Serenity holds him; and as my commission, owing to the death of the late King my Lord, is cancelled, his present Majesty, wishing therefore as aforesaid to continue in friendship with this most illustrious State, has by his fresh commission charged me to reside with your Highness as before the said death, to which effect he has written a letter of credence to your Serenity."

This the ambassador presented, and after its perusal, he continued:—

"During my past residence here I have followed the commands of the King my Lord, always to keep your Serenity on the most loving terms with his Majesty, and thus do I offer to do for the future, and also to serve your Highness in whatever shall be ordered me."

The most Serene Prince answered him with much prudent condolence with his Lordship on the King's death, by reason of the ancient and excellent friendship, not only between his Serenity and his Majesty, but which subsisted between the entire Venetian nation and that very grand kingdom, alluding to the trade carried on there; but as it had so pleased his Divine Majesty they must resign themselves to his will, and thank Him for having left this most Serene King, his son, from whom so much may be hoped (as they do), from his natural inheritance of the paternal virtues. His Serenity and the entire Republic congratulated themselves on his accession, thanking him and the Protector for the announcement made by the ambassador of his Majesty's wish to continue in his good

* In Mr. Turnbull's Calendar (pp. 12–17), mention is made of Francesco Bernardo *alias* "Sir Francis Bernard." The second entry, dated March 20 1547–8, should be March 1547. Bernardo seems to have arrived in Venice from England at the close of February 1547.

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friendship and peace with the Republic, by whom he assured them that the wish and intention were reciprocated, and that the Signory would always be ready to do what might be to the satisfaction of his Majesty, to whom they would send an ambassador according to his wish.

In conclusion, the Doge said he was glad to hear the King had confirmed the ambassador in his former post, and that he should therefore hold him very dear, as he had hitherto been held both by his Serenity and the whole Republic.

The ambassador having thanked his Highness for his gracious reply, took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 7.

481. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

In addition to what they wrote to him on the last day of February, touching the Pope's request about the affairs of England, they now announce their resolve to send an ambassador to that most Serene King. On his despatch, and as soon as it is opportune, and required by the nature of the times, will not fail to use their good offices.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 95, tergo.

482. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Secretary [GIACOMO ZAMBON] in England.

By his letters of 3rd February, heard of the death of King Henry, and of the accession of his son Edward VI. Perceive also what he tells them about his conversation with the Secretary Paget concerning the intention of the new King not to admit for purposes of negotiation any ambassador or other agent now at the English Court, from any Prince, unless provided with letters of credence addressed to his Majesty. Subsequently received a letter from the King, presented to them yesterday by his ambassador resident, whose statement confirmed the secretary's account, and gave ample assurance of his Majesty's goodwill towards the State, and that he will maintain the same friendly relations with them as subsisted between his father and the Republic.

Write to the King condoling with him on his father's death, and congratulating him on his accession; and enclose a copy. In addition to the letter, to acquaint the King orally with the Republic's goodwill towards him, which will moreover be announced to his Majesty hereafter by an ambassador appointed for that purpose.

To recommend to his Majesty the Venetian merchants, their ships, merchandise, and effects.

Send him the enclosed letter for his Majesty's guardian (*governator*) and the Protector of England, with a copy. To perform such offices with his Lordship and the other guardians as he shall deem fitting; thanking his Excellency for the loving announcement made to him (Zambon), by Sir John Masone (*per Mastro Massen*). To continue to reside with the new King. Will keep him advised of what occurs, and send him the news-letters

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from Constantinople, as hitherto, that he may communicate them to the King and his Council.

Ayes, 168. Noes, 28. Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 96.

483. FRANCESCO DONATO, Doge of Venice, to KING EDWARD VI.

Heard lately of the death of his father, by the King's own letter, as also by one from the Venetian Secretary in England, and orally from Edmund Harvel,* who acts as ambassador, and fully explained the goodwill which his Majesty bears the Republic. Condoles with him on the catastrophe, but congratulates him heartily on hearing that his Majesty has not only inherited his father's realm and grandeur, but also his prudence and many and great virtues, of which the Doge trusts he will so avail himself, that in like manner as his peers, gentry, and people † have put him in possession of his kingdom, and admitted him willingly, so will he also be loved and respected by foreign powers. Has desired his secretary, Giacomo Zambon, to state most fully by word of mouth his earnest wish to maintain and augment his friendship with the Crown of England, as will be declared more fully by an ambassador to be sent shortly. Requests credence for the secretary.

Ayes, 168. Noes, 28. Neutrals, 7.

[*Original draft. Latin.*]

March 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 96.

484. The SAME to the EARL OF HERTFORD, Protector of England.

Was grieved by the death of the late King Henry VIII., but marvellously pleased to hear that the young King's minority and the administration of everything was to be intrusted to Lord Hertford, as the Doge already knew him to be a most prudent statesman. Therefore congratulates the Protector, the King, and the whole kingdom. The King will doubtless show himself such as easily to surpass his years and the general expectation. Hopes that his Majesty, by the Protector's advice, will persevere in that friendship with the Republic, which was so long and constantly maintained by his ancestors, as has been affirmed, in the name of Lord Hertford and other councillors, by Sir John Masone (*Magister Masson*) to the Doge's secretary in London, the letters from the King and the Protector giving the like assurance; whilst Edmund Harvel, acting as ambassador to the Republic (*apud nos oratorem agentis*), has given ample assurance of the fact. Returns thanks for this, and requests credence for the secretary.

And be it forthwith carried, that by a scrutiny of this Council, an honourable ambassador be elected to the King of England. To receive for his expenses 150 golden ducats per month without being bound to give any account to the Signory. To keep 11 horses and

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* By an entry, dated 29th August 1544, it has been seen that the English ambassador was then styled Sigismondo Arvel, nor can I account for his being now called Edmund.

† "Ut quemadmodum a proceribus, et optimatibus, ac populis suis," &c.

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as many servants (including his secretary's servant), and two running footmen, etc. [as in commission to Bernardo Navagero, dated 17th December 1546, which see.]

Ayer, 168. Noes, 28. Neutrals, 7.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

485. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

To communicate the underwritten advices from Adrianople, and to continue giving the news as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 7.

486. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan.

The courier Pelegrin has brought letters from their ambassador with the Emperor, dated the 3rd instant; send a copy. To go to the Governor and inform him that the Emperor has caused his Excellency to be written to, enjoining the observance of their treaty with the Milanese.

To request the Governor to deliver Lodovico Da l'Armi into their hands.

In case his Excellency should say that Da l'Armi has not yet been outlawed for this offence, and that their treaty relates to the surrender of outlaws, to avail himself exclusively of what they wrote to him on the 14th ultimo, namely that Da l'Armi is banished for life from all the Signory's towns and places on account of another most atrocious outrage. If his Excellency meditate quitting Milan speedily, to endeavour to obtain from him such orders, that Da l'Armi may be delivered without difficulty to the persons whom the Chiefs will send for him.

Should his Excellency be content to satisfy them in this matter, to endeavour that this resolve be kept secret, and to give immediate notice of it to the Signory's Governors at Brescia, to whom the Chiefs will write what they are to do in this matter.

And be it carried to authorise the College to write to Brescia, and elsewhere as may be thought fit, ordering the necessary preparations to be made, that the said Lodovico may be brought in safety.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 8.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4. To be read by the Governors face to face.

487. The SAME to the GOVERNORS of BRESCIA.

Lodovico da l'Armi is detained in the power of the Lord Governor of Milan. Are endeavouring to get him into their hands. To get together as many as 40 good cavalry of their light horse and men-at-arms, with one of the Signory's commanders—brave and trusty—keeping them in readiness, without any stir, and not letting them know on what service they are to be employed, until advices are received from the Secretary at Milan. Thereupon they are to immediately despatch the commander with the cavalry to receive (*accettar*) Lodovico, in such place and in such form as shall be

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written to them by the secretary; warning the commander to whom they shall give this charge, to use all diligence in bringing the aforesaid Lodovico in safety to Venice to the Chiefs of the Council aforesaid; and to have care for his custody by day and night, so that he may not injure himself by weapon, or otherwise. Should they incur any expense, they are to avail themselves of any sort of monies in the "Chamber" of Brescia, giving notice to the Chiefs, who will have them credited at Venice.

Alvise da Riva, C.X., Ill.
Jacomo Duodo, C.C.X.

L. Ser^mo. P.D. Cons. et Sap. utr. manus.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

488. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN SECRETARY at MILAN.

Have written to their Governors of Brescia; enclose copy. On obtaining a favourable determination from the Lord Governor, to write to the said Governors of Brescia, to send the commander with 40 horse to such place and with such instructions as necessary, for taking Da l'Armi in charge.

Alvise da Riva, C.X., Ill.
Jacomo Duodo, C.C.X.

Lectæ Ser^mo Principi D. Cons. et Sap. utr. manus.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Secretario alle Voci, v. i. p. 28, tergo.

489. ELECTION of an AMBASSADOR to ENGLAND.

Domenico Bollani, son of Ser Francesco.*

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 7.

490. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

On the 7th instant received his letters of the 3rd, concerning Lodovico da l'Armi, and sent a copy to the secretary at Milan, who was told by the Governor that he had not yet received an order from the Emperor to observe the treaty [for delivery of outlaws], but by letters of the 28th ult., his Majesty commanded that Da l'Armi was to be kept in close custody, and that information was to be sent to him [the Emperor] concerning the matter, together with a copy of the treaty. The Governor added that immediately on receiving the order (which Mons. d'Arras told the ambassador had been given to him, Don Ferrante) he was very ready to satisfy the Signory.

Subsequently received the ambassador's letters of the 4th, and saw what the Emperor said to him about this matter. Also heard from the secretary Rhamberti at Milan, in date of the 12th, 14th, and 15th, that the Senate of Milan answered the Emperor that they did not consider him bound in law to surrender the said Lodovico to the State; but the secretary was informed that were the Signory to ask him of his Imperial Majesty as a gift, he would

* The election of Domenico Bollani is alluded to in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date 1547–8, March 20th, a misprint for March 20th 1546–7.

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comply with their request. Enclose copies of Rhamberti's letters. To speak again with all earnestness to the Emperor, and Mons. d'Arras, urging the delivery of the said Lodovico.

Should the Emperor or others allude to any particulars about this circumstance, to answer in the same form as Rhamberti did, but coming to the conclusion that the Signory asks him [Da l'Armi] of the Emperor as a favour.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 7.

491. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to BENEDETTO RHAMBERTI, Venetian Secretary at Milan.

Received his letters of the 12th, 14th, and 15th, concerning Lodovico da l'Armi. Have written again to their ambassador with the Emperor. To persevere in making suit to the ministry at Milan for the close custody of Lodovico, until they receive the Emperor's reply.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

492. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Enclose summaries from the Signory's Bailo at Adrianople, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 105, tergo.

493. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the Embassy to England.

This Council, in conformity with the Republic's prudence and dignity, determined to elect two ambassadors to Henry II., King of France,* to perform such offices as are required by present events, so that there will be three Venetian ambassadors at the French Court. Notwithstanding this, to the King of England who is in the same position, and whose greatness is notorious to everybody, there has been elected but one sole ambassador, who is to reside at that Court. This is, in truth, contrary to the dignity of our State, nor can it but cause dissatisfaction to his Majesty, which should be provided against in some way.

Put to the ballot, that one of the two ambassadors elected to France who shall score (*scoderà*) the fewest ballots, after doing what he has to do with his most Christian Majesty, do go to the King of England, to perform such offices as the present times require, and after doing so to return home, the Ambassador Bollani remaining at the English Court. The new ambassador to receive the same salary as appointed him during his first embassy to France.

Ayes, 49.

Amendment to the foregoing motion:—

That the Senate do abide by what was carried heretofore concerning this matter.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian.*]

* Henry II. succeeded his father Francis I. on the 31st March 1547. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

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April 18.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

494. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN SECRETARY at MILAN.

By the enclosed copy he will see what their ambassadors with the Emperor and the King of the Romans have heard from Mons. d'Arras about Lodovico da l'Armi. By other letters from their ambassador with the Emperor, dated the 4th instant, they were advised that the Lord Don Ferrante, by letters dated the 15th ult., announced to the Emperor the resolve of the Senate of Milan, and then added, that after having written, he received his Majesty's letters dated the 3rd concerning the delivery of Lodovico, which he would effect. To tell Don Ferrante that they have heard from the Court, that his Imperial Majesty wrote to his Excellency in such form that Mons. d'Arras said his Excellency would comply with their wish. To pray him therefore to give them the aforesaid Lodovico.

Francesco Longo, C.C.X.
Stefano Trivisano, C.C.X.

Lectæ Clarmis D. Cons. et Sap. utr. manus.

[*Italian.*]

April 19.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4. To be read by the Governors face to face.

495. The SAME to the GOVERNORS of BRESCIA.

This morning the Emperor's Reverend Ambassador informed them that his Majesty had sent an order to the Lord Governor of Milan to deliver Lodovico da l'Armi. Therefore immediately wrote the accompanying letter to their secretary there, which is to be forwarded. To cause Count Camillo Avogaro and Dom. Hieronimo Martinengo to put in marching order 100 efficient men well mounted, but without stating the service to be performed by them to any but the said commanders. Should they require 50 or 60 harquebusiers besides the cavalry, the Governors to provide that from territory to territory they may have those of the militia (*delle ordinanze*). On being advised by the Secretary, to immediately send the said commanders with the company to receive the said Lodovico. The troops sent to be efficient and well armed. To warn the commanders to keep him under the closest custody, and bound, without any respect, not leaving him weapons of any sort, and keeping an eye upon him both by day and by night, that he may not be able to injure himself, nor be injured by others, either by means of poison or otherwise, but that he be brought in safety to Venice. To consult with the commanders, which road will be the safest for them to take, either by the Bergamasque and the Valleys, or by the straight road. Should either of these two commanders not be at Brescia, or unable to go, to make use of others as they shall deem sufficient. To take the advice of D. Antonio da Castello, the colonel and captain of the Artillery, and for their necessary expenses beyond the Signory's territory, to supply them with such money as shall be needed.

Ayes, 19. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 19.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X.,

496. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN SECRETARY at MILAN.

This morning his Imperial Majesty's Reverend Ambassador in-

1547.

[Don Ferrante Gonzaga] to give Lodovico da l'Armi into their hands, and that the Governor will make the delivery. Therefore send in haste, charging him to acquaint his Excellency with this statement, and to pray him to carry out his Majesty's order.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 20.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

497. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

Are informed by their ambassador in Rome that on the 6th instant his Holiness's Legate, Cardinal Sfondrato, departed on his way to the Imperial Court. Their ambassador hears on good authority that the Cardinal has a very ample commission for the adjustment of matters between the Pope and the Emperor, and it is supposed that with regard to England, Sfondrato will do but little. To ascertain all he can about Sfondrato's negotiations.

Received his letters dated the 3rd, 4th, 8th, and 9th, concerning Lodovico da l'Armi.

Yesterday the Emperor's ambassador informed them that he had received letters from his Majesty, desiring him to write an order immediately to Don Ferrante, to consign Lodovico to them, and that they were therefore to send to receive him, in conformity with what was said by the Bishop of Arras to him, their ambassador.

Francesco Longo, C.C.X.
Stefano Trivisan, C.C.X.
Jeronimo Zane, C.C.X.

Postscript.—Have received letters from the secretary at Milan, dated the 18th, that Don Ferrante informed him that he had received an order from the Emperor to deliver Lodovico da l'Armi to them. To thank the Emperor in their name.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 36.

498. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

In order that Zambattista Campana and Isepo da Trento may be able to maintain themselves, be they given fifty ducats from the chest of this Council.

Ayes, 22. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 27.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xviii. p. 19, tergo.

499. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That from the moneys appointed for this purpose there be given to the nobleman Ser Domenego Bollani, who is going as ambassador to England, 600 golden ducats, for four months' salary, at the rate of 150 ducats per month. For riding-horses, as usual, 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres and four "soldi" per ducat. For trunks and coverings, 30 ducats. To his secretary, as a donation, 50 ducats. For two couriers, at the rate of 20 ducats each, 40 ducats, as carried in the Senate and in the College.

And be there given him 200 ducats for couriers and the despatch of letters, and to spend, if necessary, for boats, escorts, guides, and

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safe-conducts; with the obligation to give especial account of the sum. Moreover be the treasurer of this Council and his successors charged, out of the moneys of the limitation fund appointed for ambassadors, to give to the aforesaid ambassador's agents, on the expiration of three months after his departure hence, at the commencement of the fourth month, 150 golden ducats, so that he may have one month's salary in advance, and thus successively from month to month.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Lettere Secrete Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

500. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN GOVERNORS of PADUA.

Their Governors of Brescia wrote to them on the 26th instant, that tomorrow there will arrive at Padua the Signor Camillo Avogaro and the Signor Hieronimo Martinengo, who, with some 200 horse, are bringing Lodovico da l'Armi from Milan. As the Chiefs do not choose the commanders and cavalry to proceed farther they send the present letter to the Governors of Padua by the trusty Bernardin Secula, Captain of the Council of Ten, with some of his men; charging the governors immediately on the arrival of the escort with Lodovico da l'Armi, to have him consigned to the captain, and with twenty-five good infantry of the garrison of Padua, under the command of the lieutenant of their company, they are to have him embarked [on the Brenta] for conveyance to Venice. To give the Signors Camillo and Hieronimo leave to return home with their soldiery, informing them that the Chiefs are extremely satisfied with the promptitude and diligence displayed by them on this service, and are writing to the Governors of Brescia to repay what they have expended.

Franciscus Longo, C.C.X.
Stefano Trivisan, C.C.X.
Jeronimo Zane, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

501. The SAME to the VENETIAN GOVERNORS of BRESCIA.

Received their letters of the 26th, announcing the arrival there of Signor Camillo Avogaro and Signor Hieronimo Martinengo with Lodovico da l'Armi, and the road they were to take. According to the governors' advice, are this day sending to Padua the trusty Bernardin Secula, Captain of the Council of the Ten, to receive Lodovico and bring him to Venice, with an escort of infantry from the garrison of Padua. To inform Count Pietro Martinengo by letter that they are very much pleased with his proceedings on this occasion. As when the consignment was made to the two commanders they gave 27 crowns to the officials of the Castle of Milan, the governors are to repay them this sum, and whatever else they have expended.

Francesco Longo, C.C.X.
Stefano Trivisan, C.C.X.
Jeronimo Zane, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

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April 29.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 36.

502. Lodovico da l'Armi.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That Lodovico da l'Armi be not unhandcuffed, and should he refuse to eat, the due trial being first made,* the food to be forced down his throat against his will.

Ayes, 17.

That the committee return to the [torture?] chamber this evening to examine the above-mentioned Lodovico.

Ayes, 5. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

April 30.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

503. The Chiefs of the Ten to the Venetian Secretary at Milan.

By his letters of the 24th instant were acquainted with the consignment of Lodovico da l'Armi. The commanders arrived with him yesterday at Padua, and the same day he was brought to Venice by the Captain of the Council of Ten.

Stefano Trivisanus, C.C.X.
Hieronimo Zane, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

April 30.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xviii. p. 19, tergo.

504. Motion made in the Council of Ten.

The right faithful notary in ordinary of the Signory's Chancery, Alvise Novello, going now as secretary to England with the ambassador, the nobleman Domenego Bollani, it is fitting, according to invariable custom, to pay him his salary in advance, that he may provide his outfit and other things required by him for this legation; wherefore,—

Put to the ballot, that the governors of the revenues, and especially the one who presides over the chest of the notaries of the Chancery, be enjoined to advance to said Alvise on account of his salary, which is 30 ducats, one hundred ducats, to be repaid in five years, by his notes of hand.

Ayes, 15. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. iv. pp. 41–42: "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," without any date of time or place.

505. Cardinal Pole to Pope Paul III.

Is averse to importuning the Pope by letter, but circumstances occasionally arise, rendering it necessary for him to do so, as in the present instance, when he has to return thanks for the gracious answer received by his agent at Rome, giving him hope, that the ambition of one single individual, who calls himself an Englishman, would not be allowed to exasperate the whole nation. Many causes induce him to deprecate such perverse and knavish ambition, especially because convinced that, if it were gratified, nothing could more easily and entirely alienate those English (and he believes them to be many, although they dare not openly declare themselves,) who still preserve the remains of devotion towards the Pope and

* "Fatta prima la debita experientia." This may signify, either that before proceeding to extremities, he was requested to eat; or, that assay of the food was made, to remove any suspicion of poison.

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the Apostolic See, or make them despair of ever again deriving any comfort thence, were they to know that their archbishoprics, especially the one nearest Scotland (with whom England has well nigh perpetual border warfare), were conferred at the will of the Scots themselves. This is what very greatly scandalized Pole with regard to the individual who canvassed the archbishopric, most especially as he could not be ignorant of the fact, especially if he be an Englishman, (of which the persons who wrote to Pole from Rome have great doubt); notwithstanding which, he showed very plainly that his cupidity exceeded his wish either to keep the people of England devoted to the Pope, or to benefit the common cause. Nor to gratify his ambition was he ashamed to molest the Pope and the Sacred College with supplicatory letters. The truth of his cause is disproved by his shunning the testimony of his countrymen, thus showing that he has nothing more at heart than to deprive or rather rob them of the archbishopric, which he dared not enter by the door. Has thought it right to acquaint the Pope with these particulars, that he may more easily judge whether reward or punishment should be adjudged to the man who canvassed this archbishopric so much at the risk of extinguishing the devotion of his country to the Apostolic See, and so imprudently violating all canon law.*

[*Latin*, 34 *lines*.]

May 5. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

506. ALVISE MOCENIGO and LORENZO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Yesterday Messer Natale, the agent of Don Ferrante, came and told us that he had letters from Milan, dated the 22nd ultimo, and that by the same post Don Ferrante wrote to the Emperor touching Lodovico da l'Armi.

Regret not having had similar advices either from the Chiefs or the secretary at Milan.

5th May. From his Majesty's camp under Wittenberg.

[*Italian. In cipher with contemporary decipher.*]

May 6. Consiglio X., *Criminal*, v. vii. p. 36, tergo.

507. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That it be intimated to the nobleman Ser Francesco Bernardo, son of the late Ser Benedetto,† that if he purposes saying, producing, or alleging anything whatever in favour of the memory, effects, and property of his uncle, the late Ser Mafio Bernardo, who was

* Amongst the printed letters of Cardinal Pole, this one relating to the archbishopric of York is preceded by another, also addressed to the Pope, alluding to the death of Henry VIII., and I therefore date it accordingly; but as Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, died in 1545, it was probably written in that year, by so much the more as his successor, Robert Holgate, was Lord President of the North, on which account, perhaps, Henry VIII. conferred on him the Archbishopric of York.

† In Mr. Turnbull's calendar, date 16th April 1547, it is stated that on that day Bernardo told Harvel he was labouring with the Senate for the recovery of his goods, probably the property of his uncle Mafio Bernardo, and he also acquainted him with a report that Da l'Armi would "be delivered out of prison," [at Milan] "with surety of 20,000 crowns, which the Cardinal of Trent hath caused to be made for him, and that he should be departed for England. This he thinks not credible." It has been already shown (entry, dated 30th April) that Da l'Armi was brought prisoner from Milan to Venice on the 29th April.

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summoned on imputation of having published the secrets of the State, he, before the close of Monday next, must by word of mouth or in writing say, produce, and allege whatever he chooses, as after that term the case will be brought before this Council for its due despatch.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 36.

508. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That for the matters alleged Lodovico da l'Armi be proceeded against.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 3.

Decree, that on Saturday next* he be taken between the Two Columns, where on a lofty scaffold his head shall be severed from his shoulders so that he die.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 3.

[*Latin.*]

May 11. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 36.

509. MAFIO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That for the matters alleged the nobleman Ser Lodovico Erizzo, son of the late Sir Francesco, be proceeded against.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

Decree, that on Saturday next he be beheaded between the Columns, *ut supra.*

Ayes, 29. No, 1.

[*Latin.*]

May 11. Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 37.

510. MAFIO BERNARDO. LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That for the matters alleged the nobleman Ser Marco Antonio Erizzo be proceeded against.

Ayes, 25. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

They decree (*volunt*) that said Marco Antonio Erizzo be confined for life in a fortress (*in carcere forti*), there to end his days; and that all his goods and whatever else he may possess be pledged (*obligata*) to the chest of this Council, for payment of the rewards promised by this Council for the discovery of this case, and also for payment of the costs of the captains, gaolers, and officials of the prisons, etc., and of other costs incurred in this case, both for himself and for Lodovico da l'Armi.

Ayes, 16.

First amendment.—

They decree (*volunt*) that he be confined as above and banished to the city of Famagosta, to the captain of which place he is to present himself twice every week; with all the other conditions, as in

* The second Saturday in May 1547 was on the 14th, so the Council of Ten passed sentence on the preceding Wednesday; but the "Necrologio" of the Avogadori di Comun dates the execution 12th May, on which day the Chiefs of the Ten gave permission for a priest to attend Da l'Armi until his execution; and I therefore infer that it took place, as ordered, on Saturday the 14th May.

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above-written motion, and moreover should he break bounds he may be captured and killed, even in foreign parts.

Ayes, 6.

Second amendment.—

They decree (*volunt*) that he be banished and confined for life in the islands of Cherso and Ossero, being bound to present himself twice every week to the captain of that place, and should he break bounds and be captured to be beheaded, with the fine and all the other conditions in the motion of the most Serene Prince, and also of the two Councillors and the above-written Chiefs.

Ayes, 8. Noes, 0.

[*Latin.*]

May 11.
Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 37.

511. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

That considering the condemnation passed today in this Council on the persons of Ser Lodovico and Marc' Antonio Erizzo, sons of the late Ser Francesco, no one of the Erizzo family—nor any one who together with them is denied the right of ballot (*expellitur a capello*)*—can be judge of any of the present members of this Council, nor of their brothers or children.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

Published in the Grand Council on the 12th May.

[*Latin.*]

May 11.
Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

512. The GOVERNORS of BRESCIA to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

On the return of the Signor Camillo Avogaro and the Signor Hieronymo Martinengo from the duty done by them in bringing Lodovico da l'Armi from Milan to Padua, told them that you were satisfied with their promptitude and diligence on this service; and I, Captain [of Brescia],† went to Orzi-novi, and told the Signor Piero Martinengo, that what he did on this occasion had your utmost approval. We also repaid their expenses for the consignment of said Lodovico at Milan, and also on the journey, amounting in all to 779 livres and 8 "pizoli."

Brescia, 11th May.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

513. MOTION made in the COLLEGE, by GIACOMO DUODO and GIOVANNI BARBARIGO, Chiefs of the Ten.

That the rector (*Piovan*) of St. Luke's be told that should he choose to go and confess (*andar a confessar*) Lodovico da l'Armi, and remain with him until he is taken to execution leave will be given him to go. Should he not choose to remain constantly with him, provision to be made for sending him another confessor.

Ayes, 11. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

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* "*Capello*"[†] in Venetian signified the balloting urn from which the ballots were extracted. There is a very well designed receptacle of this sort preserved in the Ducal palace, and which bears the arms of Doge Griti.

† Brescia was governed by a Podestà and a Captain.

1547.
May 12 [14?] **514.** MESSER LODOVICO ERIZO, and MESSER LODOVICO DA L'ARMI, beheaded by order of the most Illustrious COUNCIL OF TEN.*

Avogaria del Comun, Filza Necrologio.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. **515.** MAFIO BERNARDO.

Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 38, tergo.

Motions made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

To proceed against the memory, effects, and property (*contra memoriam, res et bona*) of the late Ser Mafio Bernardo, killed before the expiration of the period at which he was summoned to present himself.

——	13	-	13	Pendet 1°.
——	12	-	13	
——	5	-	4	

Ballotation of the foregoing Motion.

—— 9 × 18 — 4. Captum de non.

[*Latin.*]

May 14. **516.** LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.

Consiglio X., Criminal, v. vii. p. 38.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Put to the ballot,—

Whether the Captain Zambaptista Campana and Isepo da Trento have fulfilled their promise, and are deserving of the reward pro-

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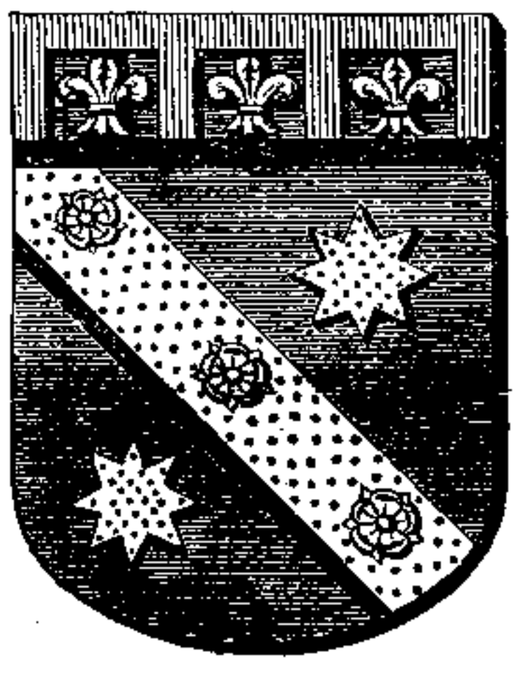
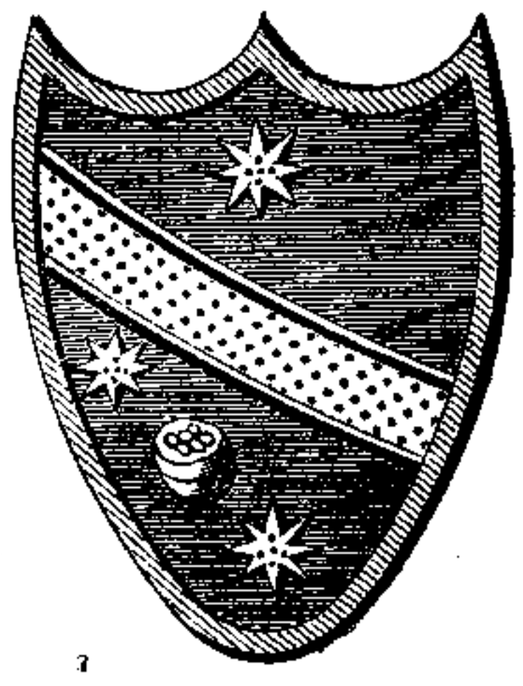
* "1547. 12 Maggio.
Avogaria del Comun.
Filza.
Necrologio dei Nobili Veneti.
Messer Lodovico Erizo
Messer Lodovico dalle Arme } Le fu tagliata la testa d'ordine del Ill'mo Cons'io de' X."

Since the note on p. 192 was printed, I have had drawings made of the shield in Bonifazio's picture in the Academy at Venice, and of the Da l'Armi armorial bearings, from a work in the municipal library at Bologna; enabling me to represent them on this page, which may thus be said to record the doom and blazonry of one of Henry VIII.'s ambassadors—the most notorious bravo of the 16th century.



ARMORIAL BEARINGS of the Da l'Armi family, received from the Municipal Library at Bologna, 8th December 1871.



SHIELD in the picture by Bonifazio representing the Slaughter of the Innocents. The right arm of the figure in red rests on this shield.

1547.

mised them in that case on the 17th January last in this Council as has been read.

The white balloting box for the ayes, that they have kept their promise and are therefore entitled to the reward.

The green for the noes.

The red for the neutrals.

And if they demand absolution for some murderer, he to be bound to have the peace certificate,* according to the tenour of the law.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

517. ALVISE MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Received their letters of the 20th ultimo yesterday, the delay having been caused by the conveyance of the packet to Flanders and the time required for its return hither. Has written to the postmaster at Trent complaining of this.

Cardinal Sfondrato has not yet arrived here, although it is understood that he was at Inspruck some days ago; and the Nuncio with the Emperor told the Florentine ambassador that he had written to the Cardinal, recommending him not to come on to this Court, until his Majesty is domiciled in some city.

Yesterday, when with the Emperor, told him he had letters from the State, announcing that the scelerat (*quel scelerato*) Lodovico da l'Armi had been consigned to them, and thanked his Imperial Majesty extremely for having been pleased to order this consignment, which was beyond measure agreeable to the Signory. His Majesty was very glad to hear this, and said, "Now the Signory has Lodovico in their hands, they can do what they please with him."

Went to the Bishop of Arras, and thanked him for his good offices with the Emperor in this matter. His lordship answered, laughing, "Have I not indeed constantly told you that I cannot put men to death? nor does it become me to do so." He also alluded to the goodwill which both he and his father [Nicole Perrenot, Seigneur de Granvelle] bore to the Signory.

27th May. From the Imperial camp near Wittenberg.

[*Italian. In cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

May 31. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 114.

518. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the Ambassador appointed to England.

It being fitting that our beloved noble, Domenego Bollani, ambassador elect to the most Serene King of England, should depart on his legation:

* Before a murderer could be legally pardoned, it was necessary for him to obtain a peace certificate from his victim's kinsfolk.

1547.

Put to the ballot, that the ambassador aforesaid depart on his legation within the next five days, under penalty of one thousand ducats.

Ayes, 60.
Noes, 88.
Neutrals, 2.
} "*Captum de non.*"

[*Italian.*]

June 1.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

519. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Send him the summary of advices received lately from their Bailo at Adrianople, dated the 5th May, which he is to communicate as usual.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 115.

520. COMMISSION from DOGE FRANCESCO DONATO to DOMENEGO BOLLANI, Ambassador elect to England.

It being his intention to preserve with the present King of England the friendship which the Republic maintained with all his predecessors, has elected Bollani ambassador to reside with his Majesty. To journey speedily to that Court and present the letters of credence, saying a few words of regret for the death of the late King, and congratulating King Edward on his auspicious accession, by reason of those virtues which flourish in this the King's youth, and which, increasing with his years, warrant hopes of their soon leading him to that pitch of fame (*al segno della fama*) which was left by his father and ancestors.

To recommend to the King the Venetian merchants in England, to whom he is always to render, when necessary, such assistance and favour as he can for the benefit of their traffic and merchandise. To endeavour especially to obtain from his Majesty licence to export from England to Venice the greatest possible amount of wool. Should it be necessary to incur any expense herein, to inform the proveditors for the London factory, who will supply the money. On obtaining the licence to keep it in his own possession, making use of it solely on the exportation of the wools, and taking care that they be exported by none but Venetian subjects, according to the memorial which he will receive from the said proveditors. To execute also their commission about certain registers of the consuls in London, which they wish to have here for the convenience of their office.

To visit the most illustrious Protector and the other Guardians (*Governatori*).

Has caused him to receive 600 golden ducats for four months' salary, 150 ducats (at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat) for the purchase of horses, thirty ducats for coverings and trunks, and forty ducats for two couriers, allowing him to take (at the Signory's risk) 400 ducats' worth of silver, to be valued by the Office for the Old Accounts, according to the orders of the State.

Ayes, 124. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

1547.
May 4.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 115.

521. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO ZAMBON, Venetian Secretary in England.

Are sending the noble Domenego Bollani as ambassador to reside with King Edward, and are well satisfied with Zambon's diligent service during the whole time of his stay in England. To return on the arrival of Bollani.

Ayes, 124. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Parti Secrete Consiglio X., File no. 7.

522. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

The Papal Nuncio requested us lately in the Pope's name to commission our ambassador, who is on his way to England,* to use his influence that that kingdom may resume its obedience to the Apostolic See. Answered the Nuncio that on the ambassador's arrival in England he will give them notice of the state of affairs there, and inform them in detail of the mode in which to proceed.

To announce this to the Pope, that his Holiness may perceive their wish to gratify him.

And be it carried, that the most Serene Prince [Doge Francesco Donado] do answer the Nuncio in conformity with this present letter.

Ayes, 25. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

July 9.
Senato Terra, v. xxxv. p. 44, tergo.

523. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning a pension received by FRANCESCO BERNARDO, knight, from Edward VI.†

That the nobleman, Francesco Bernardo, knight, son of the late Ser Benetto, who, contrary to the Republic's statutes (affording thus a bad and perilous example), receives certain pensions from the Kings of France and England, do immediately renounce them to the State Attornies' office within the next four months, under the heaviest penalties ordained by the Republic's statutes in this matter. Should he employ any fraud or compromise herein, he is proscribed for life from Venice and the district, from [Venetian] ships armed and unarmed, and from all the Signory's places, continental and maritime, and shall pay 10,000 ducats to the Republic's arsenal. Should he at any time disobey the sentence and be captured, his captors to receive 1,000 ducats from his effects, he remaining for one year in one of the Signory's dungeons, and then to return to the boundaries assigned him. The person who shall reveal the aforesaid things, shall have his name kept secret, and gain 2,000 ducats.

—— 76 - 77 }
—— 81 - 88 } Undecided.
—— 32 - 26 }

* The arrival of Domenego Bollani in England took place apparently in July or August 1547.

† This pension is alluded to in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date 7th and 23rd March 1556, pp. 215, 219.

1547.

The kinsfolk of Ser Francesco Bernardo were made to withdraw and the State Attornies did not ballot.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File, no. 8.

524. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DOMENICO BOLLANI, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Enclose advices from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xviii. p. 51.

525. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

That to the nobleman, Ser Francesco Bernardo, knight, there be conceded the term of nine years within which to pay the eighteen hundred ducats due from his uncle, the late Ser Maphio Bernardo, for the loan supplied him to build [rebuild ?] the ship burnt in England, he being bound to give suitable pledge and security, such as may seem valid to the Chiefs of this Council, for making said payment from time to time.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxv. p. 148, tergo.

526. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILIFFS [BAYLIS] at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from their ambassador with the Emperor, dated Augsburg the 10th instant, are informed that his Majesty was recovering from his indisposition.

From France they hear that the Queen of Scotland,* with the assistance of the Prior of Capua [Pietro Strozzi], who was sent by the most Christian King to favour the affairs of that kingdom with a certain number of galleys, recovered the castle of St. Andrew's, which had been taken from her, and was held by the English, being a strong and important fortress. The Prior also got back another place, and after this success returned to France.

Owing to this support given by the most Christian King to the Queen of Scotland, and in consequence of certain difficulties about the fortifications of Boulogne, it seemed that distrust and suspicion had arisen between France and England, so that there was a fear of discord, but it is now said that their Majesties will agree together, and not dispute further.

Ayes, 193. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

527. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DOMENICO BOLLANI, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send him the summaries received in their last letters from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

* Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke de Guise, Queen Dowager of Scotland.

1547.
Oct. 15.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. lxv. p. 154, tergo.

528. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DOMENICO BOLIANI, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Received his letters of the 15th and 17th ult. three days ago. By the first are acquainted with the loving and confidential conversation held with him by the Lord Great Master* concerning events in those parts, and the good intention which King Edward had to adjust the disputes there instead of settling them in another fashion; and by the second they learned what had taken place in Scotland.

Subsequently, the English Ambassador resident here had audience of us, and gave a detailed account of the victory obtained, saying that all means were attempted to avoid the conflict, as the King loves peace; the result was miraculous, and by the will of God. To congratulate the King on his success, and, as the Protector will have returned to the Court, to repeat the same to him.

Ayes, 168. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1548.

1548.
Jan. 8.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

529. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DOMENICO BOLLANI, Venetian Ambassador in England.

To communicate the underwritten advices from Constantinople as usual.

[*Italian.*]

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

530. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF MANTUA [ERCOLE GONZAGA].

Requests him to grant the privilege (*privilegio*) to print the works of the late Cardinal Bembo,† which privilege to be in conformity with the one given by the Pope in this matter. Cardinal Bembo appointed Pole protector (*protettore*)‡ of his will, in which he expressly charges Messer Carlo Gualteruzzi to print his works. Cannot but perform this office for twofold reasons, and particularly lest Messer Carlo, who has to incur the cost of printing, be a loser thereby, as might easily prove the case, unless he obtains the privileges from the Cardinal of Mantua and the other Italian potentates in whose towns books are printed, and by the greater part

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* William Paulet, Lord St. John of Basing, Lord Steward of the Household. (*See* Collins, v. ii. p. 372.)

† Cardinal Bembo died on the 18th January 1547. His will was dated 5th September 1544.

‡ In Morelli's preface to Bembo's Venetian History (Venezia, 1790) it is stated that there were two *protectors* of the will, both Cardinals, but their names are not given. The *executors* were a Venetian Nobleman and Friar, by name Girolamo Quirini and Carlo Gualteruzzi of Fano, to which last Bembo confided the task of editing his works. Quirini wished to print the Italian version of the Cardinal's Venetian History in Venice, and Gualteruzzi, by the letter, seems to have intended publishing it at Mantua, but Quirini appealed to the Doge and Council of Ten, and as Bembo was the paid historian of the Republic, Gualteruzzi at length consigned his manuscript to the State, and Cardinal Pole's attempt in favour of Gualteruzzi proved vain.

1548.

of whom they have been very graciously conceded. Encloses copy of the briefs for the information of the Cardinal's Chancery (*Cancellaria*).*

Rome, 1548?

[*Italian.*]

Feb.?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. iv. pp. 73–81. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," Ed. Brescia, 1752.

531. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP of BADAJOS [FRANCESCO NAVARRE].

Has received from the [titular] Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate] a writing composed by the Bishop of Badajos and sent to Pate, pointing out certain passages requiring explanation and also correction in the books addressed heretofore by Pole to the King of England.† Subsequently received a letter from Badajos asking pardon for the liberty he had taken. Finds nothing to forgive, but much to be grateful for, in proof of which he long delayed answering Badajos' complimentary letter written last year, but to this other containing these censures he replies immediately. Regrets that the rod was so sparingly used, and will respond in the order observed by his censor, who, in the first place, remarks that Saint Peter did not walk upon the sea to meet Christ, as Saint John does not say so; nor is it in accordance with the translators, many of whom say that Peter swam towards Christ. It seems to Pole that a man disposed to swim does not clothe himself if naked, but if clothed strips himself. Now St. John says that St. Peter, being naked, clad himself; but at any rate, if Pole understood the passage to mean that Peter walked on the sea, he was at liberty to use this interpretation, which has been adopted by some very learned commentators. Secondly, Badajos does not approve of the comparison about the recognition of Christ by Peter and John the Baptist, it seeming to him that Pole attributes the recognition by John the Baptist to mere natural causes, which would be untrue and would confound him with Nathaniel and the Centurion, who in fact recognized Christ by natural signs. The Baptist recognised him on the appearance of the dove in the act of baptism, and not only Peter, but the rest of the Apostles likewise, confessed him to be God, through Divine revelation. If Badajos still finds these passages at variance with the opinion set forth in his books, Pole will have them altered or omitted in the second edition which he is about to publish.‡ Thirdly, Pole justifies the opinion given by him, according to the words of Christ, about the preeminence to be conceded to St. John over the other prophets, and it seems to him that on this point Badajos agrees with him. Admits his having exceeded, in saying that Peter "ordered" the observance of the legal ceremonies; he should have said "permitted," and he will correct accordingly [in the new edition.]§ Where allusion is made to the

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* As already stated, Ercole Gonzaga was regent of Mantua.

† Namely, the four books "Reginaldi Poli pro Ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione ad Henricum Octavum Britanniæ Regem." Becatello, in his life of Pole (p. 390), says they were FIVE books, and the title "*De Unitate et Primatu Ecclesiæ.*"

‡ "Cum ii iterum typis excudendi sint." I am unable to find any edition of Pole's "De Unitate et Primatu Ecclesiæ," of this period.

§ "Et ita corrigendum curabo."

1548.

virginity which God can restore, it is evident that Pole does not mean physical virginity, which Badojos in conclusion seems to admit, as he does not urge Pole to alter the phrase. With regard to the reply of Thomas More, Badajos observes that either Pole's narrative is defective, or that it does not contribute to the praise of More. Does not know whether his narrative is defective, he merely knows that it is true. The Bishop of Badajos blames More, because on his examination he so long delayed speaking on the matter of Faith (*in causâ Fidei*), and adds that Pole in his panegyric might have omitted this circumstance. Does not think so; is of opinion that the time for More to speak was after being condemned by the fifty-eight judges. It was not the same case with Rochester, whose duty it was as a bishop to speak immediately on being examined; More was a layman, whom they chose to condemn by a civil decree, not an ecclesiastical one; and although it was contrary both to the laws of God and the Church, it seemed to him more becoming, when examined about the law, to reply according to law, depriving his judges of the arguments derived by them from the common law (*arma legis forensis*) which they had used against him, as he did when he answered, that however just this decree might be, he had never infringed it by word or deed, so that he could not be tried, and still less condemned, by it. Could a consummate lawyer, who for many years had himself been a judge, make a more just defence? Is of opinion that in this matter More cannot be said to have failed in his duty to the Church by not replying immediately that the decree was contrary to the Divine law, as he had neither been interrogated about this nor was he tried for violation of Divine law, but of human law, which he therefore had first of all to confute; and when he saw himself condemned contrary to the right (*jus*) of human law, he then availed himself of the ecclesiastical arguments (*armis ecclesiasticis*), adding that even had he violated that decree, as it was contrary to Divine law, they could not justly condemn him either by Divine or human right (*nec divino nec humano jure*). The more Pole considers the different conduct observed by More and Rochester, the more he is convinced that they acted entirely by Divine inspiration. Hopes that on reflection Badajos also will be convinced of this, and as he would have wished Pole in some places to have been less bitter and vehement in reproving the King, he will justify himself in a writing addressed to the King's son, which he will place as introduction to the new edition of those books,* and which he will send to the Bishop of Badajos. There remain two other passages, one considered obscure by Badajos, and which Pole will easily correct, the other being criticised, because when quoting the testimony of the Father concerning the Son in St. John's Gospel,† Pole did not give the precise words; but as he seems to have rendered the sense, Badajos does not insist on correction.

Badajos also noted the typographical errors, and made the index

* The *four* books "Pro Ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione," or *five* books "De Unitate et Primatu Ecclesiæ."

† St. John ii. 33.?

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of the work, which, together with the perusal of these books and his notes and corrections, greatly comfort Pole, because they imply approval, and are a pledge of the Bishop's affection.

Rome, February 1548 ?

[*Latin*, 205 *lines*.]

Feb. 18.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

532. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN by the Chief GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Knight.

That the Armoury Halls of the Council of Ten, and the jewels of St. Mark's Sanctuary, be shown to some English gentlemen.

Ayes, 17. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

March 5.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. iv. pp. 81, 83. "Epistolarum Poli," Date, Rome, Pridie nonas Martias.

533. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of TRENT.

Was in great grief for the death of the most Illustrious Lady Vittoria Colonna, whom he revered as a mother, and it was increased exceedingly by news of the demise of the Cardinal's brother Aliprando, a youth who had already greatly distinguished himself in the present German war, and whom the Cardinal of Trent loved most tenderly. Comforts him in his misfortune, in the first place by worldly arguments, which taking but little effect when the mind is afflicted, he exhorts him to seek consolation in God.

Rome, 5th March.

[*Latin*, 107 *lines*.]

March 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 4, tergo.

534. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By advices from the Emperor's Court at Augsburg, dated the 12th instant, understood that Queen Maria was going back to Flanders to assume the government of the state as usual.

The letters from France down to the 5th instant, inform them that the most Christian King continues fortifying his border places; and it was said that his Majesty's commissioners and those of the King of England were to meet together near Boulogne, to adjust certain disputes about boundaries which had arisen between the two crowns since the conclusion of the peace stipulated by the deceased Kings.

The Signory's advices from England purport that the war continues between the English and the Scots, who, with the assistance of the French troops, sent to them by the King of France, lately took Dundee ? (*Dondino*), which was held by the English; and then the Scots and French went to take another place called Portigrach (*sic*), but the English compelled them to retreat. These two castles are those which the English took from the Scots last year.

Ayes, 197. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

March 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 5, tergo.

535. The SAME to the SAME.

The accompanying advices purport that commissioners from the two crowns were to meet for the adjustment of their differences; and that the Scots, together with the French troops are at war

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with the English, which would seem to contradict the conference aforesaid. So concerning this succour given by the most Christian King to the Scots, inform the "Bailo," by this separate letter, that in the peace made between the deceased Kings of France and England, the French King would not renounce his protection of the realm of Scotland; and in right of this protection, France now assists the Scots. Therefore in the aforesaid advices there is no contradiction.

Ayes, 197. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place.

536. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

Was glad to hear by his last that he is satisfied with their executorship of the late Cardinal Cortese; and they are certain that he would be yet more satisfied both with them and with the Archbishop of Sorrento were he here on the spot, or acquainted with their proceedings by another person than the one who considers himself aggrieved in this case. They mention this in reply to the Cardinal's assertion that Messer Giovanni Battista says the blame of his intemperance should be in great part attributed to the persecution of the Archbishop of Sorrento. Vindicates the Archbishop alluding especially to his having granted the petition of Messer Giovanni Battista demanding the consignment of certain effects known to be his, according to the inventory; and the Archbishop, sent him an order from the executors to receive them, and thus prevent him from coming to blows with the household, which might eventually have been detrimental to him. Does not believe that throughout the business they have done anything of which Messer Giovanni Battista can reasonably complain, either of the executors or of the Archbishop, who after the outrage of the wounds interceded with the Pope, as did the executors likewise; and down to the time of his (Pole's) departure, the Archbishop had proceeded with all sincerity and kindness towards Messer Giovanni Battista, evincing a very great wish to oblige him, on account of Cardinal di Monte. The executors have thought fit to explain this sinister statement to him, that he may have reason to hold the Archbishop of Sorrento in as good conceit as he deserves, and understand better, that in this affair all that they did, was done with due regard for their office, and for the advantage, not only of the family but of Messer Giovanni Battista, Cardinal di Monte's nephew.

Rome, April ?

[*Italian.*]

April 10.
MS. St. Mark's Library Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

537. The SAME to the SAME.

In reply to his letter concerning the effects of the late Cardinal Cortese, refers himself to the joint statement made by himself and the other two executors. Will always do what he can to oblige

* Gianmaria del Monte, elected Pope with the title of Julius III. on the 8th February 1550.

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him, and in this affair of his nephew he and his two colleagues will do the best they can for his interests, as the Cardinal may comprehend from what they have done hitherto. Is very sorry not to have heard a word about this dispute whilst Cardinal Cortese was still alive, as by an adroit application to him all cause of dispute and dissatisfaction would have been prevented. Prays God that Messer Geronimo may recover his health, and the disagreement be adjusted in peace and quiet.

Rome, 10th April.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 12, tergo.

538. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from France down to the 22nd ulto. the Signory is informed that the King continues fortifying his frontier towns, and sending troops and money for the support of Scotland, between which kingdom and England the war continues.

Ayes, 179. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

539. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF VENOSA [ALVAREZ DELLA QUADRA].

From the bearer of the present letter, an Englishman, Sir Oswald [Massingberd],* Prior of Ireland, the Bishop will hear the causes which have induced him to endeavour to go with the French armada (*armata*),† in the company of our Irish Earl Gerard [Fitzgerald],‡ whom he recommends to the Bishop, together with Sir Oswald, praying him to concede them all possible favour in this cause, in the service of God and his Church, for which Pole will be especially obliged to him.

Rome, 8th May.

[*Italian.*]

July 11. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 30.

540. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

According to letters from France, dated the 24th ult., the most Christian King's fleet, consisting of a good number of vessels, sent in favour of the Scots, has reached Scotland in safety. The Queen [Dowager, Mary of Lorraine] is mustering troops for the recovery of the places of her realm, taken last year by the English; and the Governor of Scotland [Earl of Arran] has sent his son as hostage

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* In the original "Il Cavalr. Oswaldi." The surname is found in Winthorp's list of the English, Irish, and Scotch knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In State Papers, vol. ix. p. 522, there is a letter from Harvel, date Venice, 20th October 1543, alluding to the "sending of Pathis, Kildare, Brensetour, with other semblable rebelles to Scotland," but I do not find the name of Oswald Massingberd in the printed documents of the period, though Thomas Massingberd is recorded in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date 1556, No. 497, f. 223.

† The French succour for Scotland was already preparing in April 1548. (*See* Turnbull's Calendar, p. 20.)

‡ Gerald Fitzgerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare. See Collins (vol. vi. p. 155), and State Papers (vol. xi. index); also Turnbull's Calendar, Edward VI., pp. 28–39.

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to the most Christian King, and should it please him, will send two others as security for his waging war on the English; who, by letters from England dated the 29th May, were in like manner preparing their forces against the Scots, owing to the news of the French succour; and also because they understood that the Queen [Dowager] of Scotland had promised the King of France to send him her daughter, who inherits the Scottish crown, that he may dispose of her hand as he pleases, and therefore the Governor of Scotland is sending his sons as hostages to France (*et per questo il Governator di Scotia mandarà li figlioli per ostasi in Franza*).

The "Bailo" is to communicate these advices to the [Turkish] Governor (*Governatore*), that the Sublime Porte may have notice of them as usual.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 8.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 36.

541. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Are informed by their letters from France down to the 29th ult., that after the safe arrival in Scotland of the French succour, the Scottish barons, at the persuasion of the Governor, had determined to send the young Queen [Mary Stuart] to reside in France, that the King may be assured the English marriage will not take place, and to encourage his Majesty by so much the more vigorously to defend the kingdom of Scotland; and that he was coming into Piedmont, as he did, having arrived on the 12th instant at Turin, from which city they have letters from their ambassador dated the 15th. According to report, his Majesty is come to inspect those frontiers, and will then return to France; and he is increasing his fleet at Marseilles and along that coast, and it is expected to consist of a good number of sail.

By letters from England, dated the 24th ult., have heard that Pietro Strozzi, the commander of the French fleet, after his arrival in Scotland, went with the French and Scottish troops and battered a fortress held by the English, called Hadington, near which place a skirmish took place with the English cavalry, which is understood to have been routed, with the loss of some thousand horse, and of some of the best commanders in the English service;* so Hadington is expected soon to fall into the hands of the Scots and French, and therefore the English were endeavouring to reinforce their troops, and had sent their fleet (which was said to number forty large ships) into those parts.†

Ayes, 193. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

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* *See* Calendar, Scotland, vol. i. p. 91, letter dated Berwick, 17th July 1548, from John Brende to Somerset, commencing, "Unhappy news."

† For the arrival of the fleet, *see* Calendar, Scotland, letter dated Berwick, 27th July 1548. On the 10th August, Lord Clinton was in Leith Road.

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Aug. 24.
Miscellaneous Correspondence, Library, Venetian Archives.

542. The GOVERNORS of PADUA to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Have received their letter, dated the 22nd instant, demanding information about the quality of six English gentlemen, whose names were given in a former letter from the Chiefs, dated 10th July, respecting the arms-license requested for them by the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, as therein contained. The Governors have never received that letter, and therefore the names of these gentlemen being unknown to them, they are unable to give the information required.

From Padua, 24th August 1548.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

543. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP of FANODA (*sic*).

Asks him to entreat the Emperor to have a letter written to the Archbishop of Granada, desiring him to pay Pole's pension in full, and without any tax, as paid during so many years to the late Bishop of Verona;* and that it be also paid at the periods when due, without compelling him to have recourse to "censures," in order to obtain what belongs to him. Expresses himself thus, because until now the Archbishop's agents at Rome have received no order to pay him what was due last St. John's day; and indeed in a letter from him to Pole, dated August, without making any mention of that payment, he merely talks of taxes to which he would fain subject Pole. Hopes this is contrary to the intention of the Emperor, who, having vouchsafed to grant him this pension in virtue of the resignation made in his favour by the late Bishop of Verona, does not (he is confident) intend him to receive it in worse terms than he did. Trusts that the Bishop will make this demand, and that the Emperor will concede this just favour; wishes the letters to be duplicated, one of them being sent to Spain,† and the other addressed to himself at Rome.

Rome, 16th September.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 44.

544. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their letters from England mention advices from Scotland, dated the 24th ult. The Scottish and French troops, after remaining some days under Hadington, raised the siege, and retreated to some distance, so that the English advanced and were provisioning the place, the Scots and French being four miles off.

By other letters understand it to be reported that the Emperor is sending his captain, Mons. de Bura (*sic*) [Buren?], now in Flanders, with troops in favour of the English against the Scots;

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* Gian Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, died on the 30th December 1543, and bequeathed his pension on the See of Granada to Cardinal Pole. (*See* Life of Cardinal Pole, vol. v. p. 384.)

† On the 16th September 1548, the Emperor was at Ulm. (*See* Turnbull's Calendar, p. 26.)

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and by advices from France it is heard that the Queen Dowager of Scotland and her daughter have arrived in France.

To communicate these advices as usual.

Ayes, 205. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Secretario alle Voci.

545. ELECTION as AMBASSADOR to ENGLAND of SER DANIEL BARBARO, LL.D.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xviii. p. 169.

546. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

That to gratify the most Illustrious Protector of England, the term of one year for presenting himself be conceded to the outlaw Gasparo Pizzoni, in addition to the two years assigned him by the statutes, he being outlawed "*ad inquirendum.*"

Ayes, 28. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 49.

547. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The fleet which his most Christian Majesty sent to Scotland, with the exception of six galleys which remained there to fortify a certain harbour, have returned to France with part of the Italian troops; and by letters from England, the Signory is informed that both the English and Scots have retired into their fortresses, and put the greater part of the troops into winter quarters.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 53.

548. The SAME to the SAME.

In date of the 15th ult., the Signory's ambassador wrote from Paris that the Constable had quelled the insurrection in Gascony, punishing the ringleaders, so that those provinces had returned to their former allegiance to his most Christian Majesty, who was sending 2,000 French infantry to Scotland, besides the other troops maintained by him in that kingdom.

In Italy, the Imperial ambassador Don Diego is at Sienna with the usual Spanish garrison, and he has appointed the chief law-officer there (*nel qual loco ha posto il Capitanio de giustitia*).

Ayes, 148. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

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1549. **549.** CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of RAGUSA.*

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

Congratulates him on being named Cardinal; delayed doing so, expecting his arrival at the Court. Thanks him for the letter announcing his election.

Rome, April?

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. **550.** MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xviii. p. 203.

The noble Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., ambassador elect to the King of England, having requested [to have] for his secretary Alvise Augustini, notary of the Ducal Chancery, it is just and fitting to capacitate him to serve in that legation, although he is not yet in the number of the secretaries in ordinary.

Put to the ballot, that licence be accordingly given to the said Alvise to go to serve their aforesaid ambassador as secretary.

Ayes, 13. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. **551.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to DOMENICO BOLLANI, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

Enclose the summary received by them lately from their Bailo at Constantinople, which he is to communicate as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. **552.** MOTION made in the SENATE about EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Senato Terra, v. xxxvi. p. 61, tergo.

As the despatch of the nobleman Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., ambassador elect to the King of England should not be delayed; and as means should be given him, to prepare for his journey:

Put to the ballot, that out of the fund set apart for ambassadors, 600 golden ducats be given him on account of his expenses for four months; and 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres and five "*soldi*" per ducat, for the purchase of horses, 30 ducats for coverings and trunks, 50 ducats as a donation for his secretary, and for two couriers 40 ducats, at the rate of 20 ducats each; he being allowed to take silver utensils at the Signory's risk of the value of 400 ducats, to be estimated by the office for the new accounts, according to the Signory's orders.

Ayes, 108. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

Read to the College on the 6th of February 1548.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. **553.** MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xviii. p. 205.

That of the moneys destined for ambassadors, 600 golden ducats be given to Ser Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., for his expenses for four months, &c. [as under date Feb. 8]. And be there given to

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* Gianangelo de' Medici, Archbishop of Ragusa, afterwards Pope Pius IV., was elected Cardinal on the 8th April 1549. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 293.)

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him 200 ducats for couriers and despatch of letters, and to spend it requisite in boats, escorts, guides, and safe-conducts. The Treasurer of this Council, on the expiration of three months, to pay one month's salary in advance from month to month.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

554. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DOMENICO BOLLANI, Venetian Ambassador in England.

To communicate as usual the enclosed advices, dated Constantinople, 14th January, announcing that on that day the money destined for the Grand Signor at Aleppo, namely, 600,000 ducats, was sent from Constantinople escorted by 400 janissaries raised lately from amongst the young "Azam-Oglani" lately enlisted. The Sophy was reported to be between Tauris and Constantinople.

To mention that a Turkish ambassador has presented himself to the Signory with congratulations on his [Turkish] Majesty's well being and on his victories.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xix. p. 1, tergo.

555. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That by the Governor of the revenues at the Chancery chest there be given to Alvise Augustini, going as secretary with the ambassador to the King of England, thirty-two ducats in advance on account of his salary, he discounting the sum at the rate of five ducats per annum as usual.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 15.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 75, tergo.

556. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from Paris down to the 17th ult. understand that a son has been born to the most Christian King, who is going into Britanny, that he may the more easily provide for the affairs of Scotland.

By letters from England are informed that the Protector's brother has been arrested and sent to the Tower, because he was plotting against the King's life.

In England they were intent on raising pecuniary supplies for their need against Scotland.

Ayes, 179. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

April 25.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 83, tergo.

557. COMMISSION from DOGE FRANCESCO DONATO to DANIEL BARBARO, Ambassador to England.

Choosing to grant the fair demand of his beloved nobleman, Domenego Bollani, knight, ambassador with the King of England, for the appointment of his successor, he having served for the usual period, and wishing to maintain the ancient friendship which the Republic has always had with that most Serene Crown, has elected the noble Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., ambassador to reside with his Majesty. To obtain audience of the King and present his cre-

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dentials. To recommend the Venetian merchants in England. Also to present his credentials to the Protector.

To visit such other personages of the English Court, including the Lords of the Council, as shall be indicated by his predecessor.

To endeavour with all vigilance to learn what business is negotiated at the English Court, and the events of the kingdom.

Before his departure from Venice the Proveditors of the London Factory will consign to him a memorial of several things required by them there for the benefit of their office.

On his way to England, to visit any prince or personage whom he thinks it advisable to visit for the benefit of the Signory's affairs.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 25.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 83, tergo.

558. The DOGE and SENATE to DOMENICO BOLLANI, Knight, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Having chosen to comply with his just demand to return home, are sending as his successor Daniel Barbaro, LL.D.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

559. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF MANTUA.

Has received his letter of the 17th instant, concerning the abbacy of St. Benedict, and his wish, in the event of the death of the present abbot of that monastery, that he may be succeeded by one of the two monks mentioned by him. As the Cardinal merely wishes for their election, in case they deserve it, their being Mantuan by birth must be considered an advantage to them rather than an impediment, most especially as the appointment would gratify his Right Rev. Lordship. Will very gladly further his wish, without, however, coercing the congregation, and will state the Cardinal's reasons, either through the Abbot of Naples, who is expected at Rome hourly, or should he not arrive in time, by writing earnestly to the Chapter.

Requests the Cardinal to continue his protection to the monastery of St. Benedict, as granted by him hitherto.

Rome, 14th May 1549.

[*Italian.*]

May 6 ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place.

560. The SAME to the BISHOP OF CENEDA [DON MICHELE DELLA TORRE, Papal Nuncio in France].

Very Reverend Monsignor [beloved ?] as a brother. The Reverend Dr. Hilliard (Eliardo), the Pope's Penitentiary, the bearer of the present letter, will explain to your Lordship the cause of his coming, and although it is very certain that as his business relates to the service of God and of his Holiness, your Lordship will not fail to favour it, I nevertheless, cannot but recommend it as warmly as possible, both the cause and himself, praying you to exert yourself in it as warmly as anticipated by me by reason of your goodness and piety. And I also recommend to you especially

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Captain Griffith* [Grifetto], in case he should have either to remain [in England], or to return to France with the intention of serving his most Christian Majesty, and of obtaining some suitable stipend from him. For the rest, I refer myself to the statement of the bearer. I have nothing else to tell you, save that I am most ready to do your Right Reverend Lordship any pleasure, and recommend myself to you, praying our Lord God long to save and prosper you in his service.†

Rome? 6th May?

[*Italian.*]

May 14. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

561. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF SORRENTO.

Thanks him for the proofs of his affection, and reciprocates it. Recommends him to cherish his health for the service of God, and of the Pope. Is grateful for his present holyday, of which he had in truth great need.

Civitella, 14th May.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

562. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Paul III., to the SIGNORY.

It seems that in France they sought to surprise as it were (*quodammodo robare*) a fortress‡ dependent on Ardres, near Boulogne, hoping thus to recover that place. The garrison being forewarned fought very stoutly, and the French were worsted, their commander, Mons. de Chatillon, being wounded.

In England also war with France becomes daily more and more apparent, by reason of the usual defence and protection afforded to Scotland, as the Signory will learn better from the Venetian ambassadors in those parts.

Rome, 25th May.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. MS. St. Mark s Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

563. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF CENEDA.§

The letters addressed to Pole by those two English gentlemen who have been with the Bishop, purport that they are unable to express by words the extreme courtesy and kindness received from him, for love of Pole, for which he thanks the Bishop heartily; and with regard to Pole's having requested Cardinal Farnese to write to the Bishop in this matter, he did so, not from any distrust of the Bishop's affection for him and his affairs, but because this cause

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* "Griffith, Greffyth, Gruffyth, James, *alias* Bampton, or Brancetor, uncle of Rice of Wales." (*See* State Papers, iv. 647, 651, 653, vii. 527, viii. 219–227, 229, 230, 240, 243, 248, 249, ix., 108, 109, 141, 144, 522.)

† From this letter, from the State Papers, and from Turnbull's Calendar, it appears that the envoys accredited to the Protector by Cardinal Pole in May 1549, were Dr. Hilliard and James Griffith, and that they were accompanied by Michael Throckmorton.

‡ Query Boulenberg.

§ In the year 1549 the See of Ceneda was held by Don Michelé della Torre, Apostolic Nuncio in France. (*See* Le Chiese d' Italia, vol. x. p. 305, ed. Venice, 1854.)

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being both public and private,* and considering the Bishop's position, he thought it becoming to act thus, to give him an opportunity for exerting himself more freely in this matter, according to circumstances; yet were the Bishop's loving complaints very dear to him, proceeding as they did from affection, which he has never doubted, being as it is the counterpart of his own for the Bishop. Is waiting to hear the result obtained by these messengers, who will acquaint the Bishop with it in detail according to Pole's instructions,† nor need he recommend the cause to him farther. Prays God for a better result than might be anticipated from past and present events, and that the other public negotiations for the general benefit and comfort entrusted to the Bishop may succeed prosperously. Messer Marc' Antonio Flaminio, and Messer Luigi Priuli, kiss the Bishop's hands, and send him their loving salutations.

Having had leave from the Pope to remain abroad during the present hot weather, Pole has been nearly a month in this castle (*castello*) belonging to the monks of St. Paul, distant twenty miles from Rome, a very convenient and opportune place for the season, where he thinks of passing the summer, unless other causes take him to Rome.

Civitella, 6th June.

[*Italian.*]

July 6.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

564. CARDINAL POLE to the ABBOT OF S. SALUTO.‡

The Abbot knows for how much courtesy and kindness he is indebted to Monsignor Boldù, who has written him the enclosed letter. Desires to assist him as much as he can in this his need, and therefore wishes the Abbot to go to Cardinal Cornaro and plead warmly to him on his (Pole's) behalf in favour of said Monsignor Boldù; and should he understand that Cardinal Farnese has been moved to act thus by any other motive, in that case, the Abbot is to speak to his Lordship likewise in Pole's name, performing in short every office with that personage and such others as necessary with all earnestness in favour of this good gentleman; presupposing however that he has not done anything to deserve this punishment; as were it otherwise, Pole does not believe that the Nuncio at Venice would have been induced to write in his favour, as Boldu says he has done. As the Abbot knows, the Dean Bonfio (*Decano Bonfio*) is a great friend of Pole's, and he would gladly do him any favour, but in the present case, Pole thinks he is debtor; if not, Pole does not intend to favour the just and fair demand of this

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* From this paragraph, I infer that these were the two English gentlemen sent by Pole to the Protector Somerset, and whose mission is recorded by the Venetian Ambassador, Matteo Dandolo, date 20th July 1549. I am unable to ascertain their names; but by another Venetian despatch, dated Rome, 7th September 1549, it seems that two other messengers were then on the eve of departure for England, and I shall therefore date Cardinal Pole's second letter to the Protector accordingly.

† We thus learn that these two gentlemen were to return from England by way of France, as they went. They delivered a letter from Cardinal Pole to the Protector, dated 6th May 1549, and received his reply, dated Greenwich, 4th June in that year. (*See* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547–1580, p. 17.)

‡ Vincenzo Parpaglia, a Piedmontese gentleman, Abbot of San Salutore, commonly called Saluto. (*See* Pallavicino, History of the Council of Trent, vol. iii. pp. 288, 289, ed. Faenza, 1793.)

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good old man, and trusts in the goodness and courtesy of Cardinal Cornaro, that if his sole motive is to oblige the Dean in this matter, he will, at Pole's request, not oppose Monsignor Boldù farther. Requests this of him with all earnestness, nor does he care for the Dean's knowing that he has performed this office, as in a similar case he should be quite ready to do as much for him and his honour.

Civitella, 6th July.

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

565. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Paul III., to the SIGNORY.

On the 30th ult. Cardinal Farnese courteously communicated to me the facts contained in the letters of the 18th from the Imperial Court, as announced to the Signory at the close of mine of the 29th, but I did not find him so well satisfied with what he could get [from the Emperor] as had been told me, for on the contrary he seems to hold the recompense [for Piacenza] in very small account, the 40,000 crowns appearing to him (to use his own words to me) "nothing at all." He evinced his intention of resenting this in some manner, although he said he had to deal with too powerful an adversary, adding that it was time for everybody to beware of the Emperor, and that he had moreover said so to the ambassador from Ferrara.* He also appeared to place very little reliance on French assistance, most especially because King Henry is so impeded by England.

Yesterday the Pope conversed with me a long while about these letters of the 18th, but in general terms, saying that as the Emperor will not restore Piacenza to him, being unable to slake his thirst for universal empire, which he seeks to obtain by all possible means, so that all powers should take warning from the example of others, his Holiness hopes that God, whose cause is concerned, will inspire him with some resolve to his honour, and enable him to act as becomes his office, for that although the Emperor offers him this recompense he considers it certain that it is merely for the sake of thus enlarging his own territories, which can only benefit himself. But since the receipt of these letters his Holiness has daily held long consultations with the Cardinals Farnese, Sta. Croce, and Maffei, and on the day before yesterday they were also joined by Cardinal St. Angelo, and the Dukes Ottavio and Oratio [Farnese], who are likewise with them today, besides Giulio Orsini, who arrived last night. I hear many things, though not authentic, but it is told me on good authority that the Imperialists, both [the ambassador] Don Diego and the Spanish Cardinals, are constantly urging Madame† and these Farneses not to restore Parma to the Church; and yesterday, when I quitted the Pope, the Cardinal of Burgos entered his chamber, perhaps for the purpose of discussing this matter.

From what Cardinal Farnese tells me this morning, Giulio Orsini

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* The ambassador from Ferrara was negotiating an alliance between France and Paul III. and his nephews, to detach them from the Emperor.

† "Madama."—Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V., Consort of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma.

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merely announces what I have already mentioned, and the doctor of laws who is being sent by the Emperor is a Spaniard, of no great rank (*condizione*). It seems that he is gone to Milan, but will be here in two or three days, and will merely have to negotiate about a writing in confutation of the claims of the Apostolic See upon Piacenza and Parma, and concerning the offer to satisfy the Farnese family, and to give the Pope's grandchildren 40,000 ducats annual rental, either in Sicily or in the kingdom of Naples.

There are also letters from France of the 26th ult., and Cardinal Farnese told me this morning that the French have no hope of recovering the island [Boulognebourg?] occupied by the English, but they purposed erecting a fortress on the coast opposite to it. They skirmish daily with the garrison of Boulogne, and lives are lost, and perhaps for the most part French.

Scotland is making great preparations, as the Signory will have heard in full from their ambassadors.

Rome, 6th July.

[*Italian.*]

July 16.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 103.

566. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from Brussels, dated the 29th ult., are acquainted with the arrival there at the Emperor's Court of Sir William Paget (*il Paiet*), chief secretary of the King of England, who has sent him as ambassador, some say to visit the Prince of Spain, the Emperor's son, others to negotiate fresh agreements between the Emperor and the King of England.

Their letters from France, dated the 22nd June, announce the very stately entry into Paris of the most Christian King, and subsequently of the Queen for her coronation. That news had been received of the arrival in Scotland of the French troops and commander, sent by his most Christian Majesty in favour of that kingdom; and it was said that the Kings of France and England would appoint commissioners to settle their disputes on the confines of Picardy about forays and skirmishes, which take place daily towards Boulogne between the French and English. An agreement and confederacy is also said to have been formed between the most Christian King and the Switzers.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

July 20.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

567. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Paul III., to the SIGNORY.

The Pope tells me that letters received by him from the Imperial Court, dated the 10th instant, announce news of a great insurrection against the Government in England, and that the King had retired to a strong castle out of London. It seems that the cause of this was the grass-land (*lo herbatico*) [grass-commons?], as the great proprietors occupy the pastures of the poor people; the insurgents also require the Mass, or at least that, together with the religion, it remain as left by the late King. The government wishing to apply

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a remedy, put upwards of 500 persons to the sword, sparing neither women nor children, so that it gained strength, and was increasing,* as the Doge will have heard from his ambassadors, for (*perchè*) Don Diego† seems to hold it in much less account, but the Rev. Secretary Dandino brought me the original letters *ut supra*, which also state that there is little hope of the agreement which is now being negotiated by Paget at the Imperial Court;‡ and that the Signory may know what took place here in this matter, I add that the Right Rev. Cardinal Pole sent two of his gentlemen, both English, with a safe-conduct, to exhort the government of England to return to the Catholic religion, and they had audience of the Protector, but were dismissed rather harshly (*ma con qualche asprezza spediti*).

Rome, 20th July.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File, no. 18.

568. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

By letters from England, dated 3rd instant, they are informed that the people have rebelled in several parts of the kingdom, not choosing to conform to the new religion. Commissioners were sent to quiet them, and some of the rioters boldly refused to submit, unless the mass and all the other offices of the old religion were restored; and having in like manner endeavoured to persuade the Princess Mary, she remained very firm in her determination not to renounce the old religion.§

They have thought fit to notify this to him that he may communicate it to the Pope.

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File, no. 18.

569. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Send him the summary of the advices from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

570. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL FARNESE.

The Penitentiary [Dr. Hilliard] who will deliver this letter to him, having returned from England, arrived at Civitella last evening. Should the Cardinal please, he can hear from him the report (*il ritratto*) which he has made of that whole Island, and present him to the Pope. Prays God to inspire his Holiness to do in this matter what may be most for his service and for the benefit of the church. Has nothing else to tell the Cardinal, referring himself to the Penitentiary's statement.

Civitella, 29th July.

[*Italian.*]

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* "Dal che si era invalidita tal solevatione et andava crescendo."

† Diego Urtado de Mendoza, Imperial ambassador at Rome.

‡ *See* negotiations of Sir Wm. Paget in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, June 2nd 1549 to July 22nd, pp. 36–45.

§ "Et che essendo stata tentata dal medesimo la Principessa Maria, la stava constantissima nel suo proposito di non lassar l' uso della religione antica."

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Aug. 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

571. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose a summary of their last letters from Constantinople, dated 9th July, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

572. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Paul III., to the SIGNORY.

Late on Wednesday evening received the Signory's letters with the advices from England,* for communication to the Pope, and about the recovery of effects belonging to the Jews plundered by the Prior of Lombardy.†

Although Friday is the usual day of audience for the ambassadors, I sent to ask it of his Holiness early on Thursday morning. I explained to him my wish to impart a full and distinct account of the advices from England; those sent to your Serenity, already received at Rome in the morning, narrating much turmoil, but in a confused form. The Pope was very much pleased with them, discussing the points with me, one by one, and passing subsequently to the Right Rev. Cardinal Pole, whom he eulogized extremely, and as he was at Civitella, he sent for him immediately, to consult with his Right Rev. Lordship how far that flock (*greggie*) can be assisted to return to his bosom.

Rome, 31st August.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

573. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Paul III., to the SIGNORY.

Four days ago Don Diego returned to the Pope to hear what reply he was to make to the Emperor about the coming of the prelates from Rome.

Touching the affairs of England, it has been determined for the present that Cardinal Pole is to send thither two of his confidential and experienced attendants, and according to what they shall bring back or transmit hither, so will his Holiness decide farther, but he is very desirous of secrecy. By letters of the 14th ult., received from London this morning, it is heard that war has been proclaimed against the French, and that the insurrection is subsiding.

Rome, 7th September.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., vol. xix. p. 62.

574. VENETIAN GLASSMAKERS in ENGLAND.

The Council of the glass trade assembled on summons from the Magnifico the Bailiff in the town hall [of Murano] as usual, to make the following motion, there being present the Magnifico Dom. Angelo Venier, most worthy Bailiff of Murano, and others,

* These advices were of course derived from the correspondence of Domenico Bollani, the Venetian Ambassador in England, whose despatches no longer exist.

† The Prior of Lombardy, who commanded the Pope's galleys, had captured, off Zante, a ship laden with Jews, who were Venetian subjects. *See* Report of Matteo Dandolo (Alberi, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 340.)

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etc., in the which Council the Magnifico the Lord Bailiff, the Warden (*Gastaldionem*) and his colleagues made the following motion:

Considering how injurious to the Republic's duties, and to the poor inhabitants of this place of Murano, is the removing thence the glass manufacture (*l' arte de' veri*), whether by the masters or by the artisans, very great care must be taken to provide against this; and as the artisans complain of being compelled to go and work out of Murano, taking the manufacture elsewhere, by reason of the length of time that they remain out of work, namely two months and a half, during which they have not wherewithal to live; in order that this may be remedied, and that said artisans may not have cause to take the trade (*il mistier*) abroad, owing to the long cessation of employment:

It will be put to the ballot, that the cessation of work be limited to two months, and that they [the artisans] do commence working on the first of October next, the furnaces to be put out of blast on the last day of July, this being observed from year to year; and as it occasionally happens that the month of July ends in the middle of a week, that the masters be therefore at liberty to make the artisans continue working until the end of said week; and be their Excellencies the Chiefs of the Ten petitioned to have this Act confirmed by that most illustrious Council.

The Council of Ten is also petitioned to make such provision that this manufacture be not carried out of this place, either by the masters or the artisans (as, notwithstanding the fines decreed to this effect heretofore, both masters and artisans do not cease taking it abroad), granting such term as the Chiefs shall think fit to those who have gone to work abroad in foreign parts, so that they may return. Also that these same penalties be enacted against such masters as shall hire as workmen, whether to tend the furnaces (*stizzar*) or to work in this art, such as are foreigners, namely, those not born of native Venetians and Muranese.

And as on the 25th November 1543, in the Grand Council (*maggior Capitolo*) of this art, many statutes were enacted for confirmation by the Council of Ten, one of which, concerning glass bladders (*visighe*), was not presented to the Chiefs; be the Council of Ten now petitioned to confirm it as registered hereunder, but that it be not carried into effect until the close of the next working season and commencement of the subsequent one, which will take place on the 1st of October 1550; with this condition, that of the fine to be levied, one part be given to those who exact it, one to the accuser, and one part to the poor [artisans] of the trade; and in the clause concerning glass bladders, window glass,* and plain work (*lavori schietti*), be there also understood wrought work (*lavori lavoradi*) of every sort; the tenor of which statute is as follows:—

That at the close of the present working season, in no furnace may there any longer be made [at one and the same time?] glass bladders, window glass, and plain work, nor may the chests con-

* In the original "Rui," which signifies the round glasses used for the old Venetian windows, very few of which now remain.

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taining such vessels be removed from the furnace, under penalty of 100 livres; and this because by taking so much glass out of the furnace all at once, it cannot be properly purified. And to give employment to a number of artisans who are exclusively occupied as glass bladder blowers, be they allowed to make medicine phials (*groppi*), and "*pie de redesello*," and retorts (*retortoli*); nor, for the aforesaid reasons, may the glassmakers work at more than three mouths of each furnace.

Ayes, 34. Noes, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

575. CARDINAL POLE to the PROTECTOR of ENGLAND.

Translated from the English tongue [into Italian].*

Having received and read your letters,† and moreover heard the statement of the persons who conveyed my first letter to you, together with the instructions (*la instruttione*), I really hesitated for a time, whether I ought to proceed farther by writing to you, seeing the little fruit obtained by my first letter with regard to the matter whereby I was principally induced to write, namely, for your honour and profit, as would not have been the case, had you chosen to accept this my office in a becoming manner. But as you have received it quite contrariwise, as your letters prove, it seemed fit to me for the moment to refer myself to the Divine Providence to answer you by deeds rather than by words, instead of sending you any farther reply by letter; a determination to which I should have adhered, had it not been that on communicating this my resolve to the aforesaid messengers, and after making them read your letter, they expressed great surprise at the tone of the reply, as being quite at variance with the verbal communication made by you to them, although they said the substance (*la somma*) was one and the same. They came to the conclusion, that the entire fault of so discourteous a reply rested with your Secretary,‡ to whom you possibly intrusted it, and that then, without farther perusal, as customary with great personages, most especially when the letters are at all long, as this one was, you caused it to be delivered to them for conveyance to me; and that your Secretary considered it sufficient to express your mind in the form he liked best, which form seemed to them (as I said) very dissimilar to that in which you had addressed them with such gravity as was required by the matter in question, and with such respect for the person who wrote to you, as became one man of honour when speaking of another who had done him the honour to write to him; while, on the contrary, this letter is full of gibes and scoffs, without the slightest regard for the subject nor for the person in whose name

* This letter from Cardinal Pole to the Protector Somerset has no date in the MS., but from circumstantial evidence, I have reason to believe that it was dated at Rome on the 7th of September 1549.

† In this letter, dated Greenwich, June 4, 1549, Somerset wrote to Cardinal Pole, in answer to his letters of 6th May, that he hoped he at last perceived the abuses of the church of Rome, and exhorted him to take advantage of the King's mercy and to return. (*See* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547–1580, p. 17.)

‡ Query, William Cecil. *See* Froude, date May 1548, vol. 5. pp. 102, 103, ed. London, 1860.

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it is written, nor for him to whom it is addressed. This their conjecture seemed to me the more probable, considering that it is the custom nowadays of those folk (*costoro*) who delight in showing their wit, to treat the affairs of Rome, however important the matter under discussion may be, with ridicule, as may be seen hitherto by the comedies composed by them; so that if your Secretary in this letter, in failing to have such regard as was due for the matter and the person, followed the style of the others, I am not at all surprised at it, and still less that, for the reasons aforesaid, you should not have reperused it.

I therefore, sharing their opinion, that all the discourtesy evinced in this letter, is the fault of the Secretary, and choosing to believe that whatever might render me averse to make you any farther rejoinder, arose more from the fault of others than from your own will, determined not to deprive you by my silence of such satisfaction as you may receive from knowing how I took your reply. This you seem to desire, as also my opinion of the book * sent me with your letter, exhorting me to let you know it, and promising that whatever it may be, a friendly and gracious reply shall be given me.

To commence, therefore, by answering the substance and conclusion of your letter, in which you say you will not send to any place, even neutral and near England, to confer with me about such matters as are in dispute, and which, from not being yet adjusted, might greatly injure the kingdom, I tell you that so far as this answer in any way concerns my own personal interest, you have done me very great pleasure by relieving me from extreme mental and bodily toil, as had you accepted my offer, I could not have avoided taking so long and troublesome a journey, without ultimately obtaining any advantage from my labours, which is now clearly manifest from your letters, a thing which I never could have imagined.

To be dispensed thus from this trouble, and, without any personal inconvenience or detriment, to have had an opportunity of manifesting and disclosing the affection and love I bear my country, of which I know not what greater proof could be given than is evinced by this offer, cannot but cause me great and singular pleasure, though as to the style of your letter which conveyed it to me, I should have cause to consider it most unpleasant rather than agreeable, not so much for the thing itself, nor on account of any personal injury done me by your writing thus, as for the evil sign and omen indicated of the utter and impending ruin of my country. It is indeed true that my regret would have been still greater, as it would moreover have been a sign of yet more manifest ruin, had I felt certain that it proceeded from you wilfully, and yet more, above all, had it proceeded from the Council, of which in your letter you make no mention whatever, which somewhat mitigated my sorrow (though it could not but be great, considering that at any rate the writer was a member of your Privy Council, rendering the salvation of

* A copy of the Book of Common Prayer. (*See* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547–1580, p. 17.)

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the country quite desperate);—if this reply, full of derision and mockery, had been given, to such a proposal made by me, by your order and that of the Council. And I have remarked that the truest sign of approaching ruin in all cases, but more notably in that of the rulers of kingdoms, is when they have reached such a pitch of iniquity that they ridicule and deride the simplicity of those who, they acknowledge and confess, speak from sincere conviction (*con sincera mente*). They then actually sit "in the seat of the scornful,"* which is the last grade of impiety, and to which no one attains who is not shortly afterwards precipitated from his seat and government by the hand of God,† who often permits bad men to rule until they reach that bourn, and then *irridet illorum*, and they are destroyed; nor can any greater scourge befall a kingdom than to have such rulers. So to see that he who holds the chief post in the government of the kingdom (*nel governo del regno della patria*) has reached this grade of impiety, is a thing, the suspicion of which now harrasses me more than all the rest, for in truth, if you, when reading my letter and instructions (*instruttione*), in which I merely propose to you your own salvation (*salute propria*) and honour. had interpreted my writing as the emanation of a malicious and fraudulent mind, I should feel less regret than I do for your scoffs (*beffe*), although on myself individually you would have inflicted a greater injury than you do by confessing that my writing proceeds from sincerity; for what greater injury can be done to a man of honour than to repute him malignant and fraudulent? And as it is false that I am such, and true that I am sincere and candid, which you acknowledge and deride, you thus do less injury to me than to the Holy Spirit, it being a sin against the Holy Spirit to deride and ridicule your neighbour's mental sincerity and simplicity, which gift coming solely of God, he is not wont long to defer the infliction of grievous punishment and vengeance on those who in any way scoff and deride him through any of his creatures. This pitch of extreme impiety seems to me the more intolerable and remarkable in you, from what I experienced in a similar case from the greatest enemy I had in the world, who was that King whom I had loved above all other men, and who, having an opportunity of knowing my sincerity in a matter very contrary to his feelings (*senso*), would not however be angry with nor ridicule me, as you do; and the story is as follows.

He had received a writing of mine treating of the divorce which he wished to make with his first wife,‡ and as this my writing was much opposed to his intent and desire, my late brother [Henry de la Pole, Lord Montacute?] informed me of his having been told by the Duke of Norfolk that the King bore me illwill on this account, which the Duke said would cause my total ruin. I then answered my brother that I was certain that this could not be true, if the King had read all that I wrote to him, knowing it to be impossible,

* "Che questo e'pro priamente seder sopra la cathedra d' i derisori." *See* Psalm, i. 1.

† "Scornful men bring a city into a snare." Proverbs, xxix. v. 8. "Judgments are prepared for scorners." Proverbs, xix. v. 29.

‡ "Che egli desiderava di fare colla sua prima moglie."

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that when I opened my heart to him so sincerely and affectionately, as his Majesty must know by reading the writing, he could ever bear me illwill for it; and that even were this the case, I considered it a very sure proof that his Majesty had not read *all* that I wrote to him, as if he had, he most assuredly could not be offended with me for a writing given solely to himself, and not communicated to others. So I spoke the more boldly, most especially knowing that his Majesty had not shown it to others, and being firmly convinced that such a disposition on my part could not be scorned, nor so angrily taken amiss, I requested my brother to sound the King's mind by acquainting his Majesty with this my reply, as he did, and informed me, that having found an opportunity for conversing (*ragionare*) with his Majesty in a privy garden (*in un giardino secreto*), where he chanced to be walking with him, he narrated the whole circumstance. On hearing this, and after remaining a long while thoughtful and silent, he exclaimed that he had read my writing, and that I had spoken the truth, nor could its perusal ever make him feel any anger against me, as although the writing was very contrary to his will, he nevertheless recognised in it my love for him, and the sincerity with which I had written it, but that in conclusion my opinion did not please him, and that he much wished me to change it, in which case he would then prove how dear I was to him.

This was the reply of the King, who, although preoccupied by the violent passion which then dominated him, and although he had such great reason to be angry with me, seeing that my written opinion was utterly opposed to his desire; nevertheless, considering that what I said to him did not proceed from any malignity, but from my love for him, and from sincerity of mind, he checked his anger against me. Concerning this matter, I will also add what was said by the person who placed this writing of mine in the King's hands, namely, Sir John Russell, a gentleman of his privy chamber (*camarier secreto suo*), to whom I confided my writing that he might present it to the King, provided he could do so without incurring any detriment or blame, which I said from doubt whether my writing would please the King or not. He answered me, that if I was the author—knowing me as he did—he would present the writing without any hesitation, let happen whatever pleased God.

I have chosen at present to acquaint you with these two examples, that by perceiving how greatly they differ from your conduct, you may be better able to judge the error of your Secretary, and consider well that the King who was then so very greatly excited (perceiving nevertheless the sincerity of my mind), could not be angry with me although what I said was repugnant to his feelings; how much less ought you to deride and ridicule such candour? By so much the less, assuredly, should you do so, because, if ever I made a writing which was to express my mind sincerely, and devoid of all passion, and demonstrating the true love which I bear God, my country, and its rulers, this to which you reply is certainly such, that no one with the sentiment of a man (*che habbia sentimento d' huomo*) can deny it; as it is

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not denied even by you yourself, since you confess that both by the letter and the commission given to my messengers, you could understand that my mind is precisely such as is aforesaid.

And of all the contents of that letter, what I regret most, is that after admitting that my mind (*l' animo mio*) is what I said it was, you nevertheless reply in this discourteous manner. If it be the fault of your Secretary, as I am willing to believe for the aforesaid reasons, my regret is diminished; and in that case, he certainly served you very badly, for it is the office of a secretary to express by words the internal meaning (*senso*) of his master, as it is the office of a painter to paint the external form (*figura*) of the body. In this respect, to say the truth, not only has he served you badly, by not expressing your mind well, but he has depicted you very differently to what you yourself feel internally about yourself (*da quel che voi medesimo sentite dentro di voi stesso*), and differently to what I had judged from hearsay about you, and from your verbal reply to my messengers, which made me suppose you such as you apparently wished to be considered, that is to say, a person of honour, prudent, grave, not rash, but discreet and full of affability (*et piena di gentilezza*). But this letter of yours depicts you quite oppositely, likening you rather to men who, emerging from low condition to some grade of honour, can find no other way of displaying their importance, than by despising all those whom they consider beneath them in authority, in like manner as they themselves were formerly despised, when ill-conditioned. And in addition to this, your letter divests you of all gravity and politeness (*humanità*), making you treat such important matters as those which concern your Government, by deriding and ridiculing the person who, according to the necessity of the case, warned you with all courtesy for your welfare and preservation (*salute*); nor can anything more uncivil than this be imagined.

This letter also destroys your claims to prudence, by making you talk of the great perils which threaten you either as if they were not at all visible to you, or that perceiving them, they are held by you in small account; and as if you will not listen to any counsel, but reject any remedy proposed to you, which is great rashness; yet thus are you represented throughout your letter, as will be evident by my reply to its contents, which I shall now commence in the same order as that observed by you.

And first of all, I will reply to that part of your introduction (*præmio*) in which, as if you would reproach me, you commence by complaining that I have belied the opinion you had formed of me (*ingannata l' oppinione che havevate di me*), having inferred from my letters and instructions (*instruttioni*) that I was about to negotiate with you for my return to my country, by asking pardon of the King for past offences, and recommending myself to the graciousness and clemency of the present Government. And as I do not utter a word about my own private cause, but merely concerning the common weal, which in your opinion does not concern me, you consider this a sign of great contumacy and pride, and say that had you known this, you never would have received any

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letter from me, and still less would you have admitted my messengers.

To these things, my Lord, I say, that if I leave my own private cause aside, to speak of that which is public, it is thus manifest that I am more bent on seeking the common weal than my own; nor was this a reason to render you so wrath with me. But if indeed the mention of my private affairs can give you any satisfaction, I tell you that when speaking of the public cause, private interests are included, for when the public state is established, my private state is also established and confirmed, as it never fell nor went to ruin by default of the public; and as the public overthrow is commencing (*et poi chè il publico comincia a ruinare*), do you again resume the law of God and of the Church, and permit the continuance and observance of those statutes which the ancient Council of the Realm enacted for the common weal, and then I shall have effected my return, and obtained the pardon which I desire. Do you in the first place ask pardon of God for the violation of his laws, and my pardon will then be conceded without any other new decree.

You would that I should ask pardon of the King, whose clemency and Government you so greatly extol, and I, were it not that my words might be attributed by you to pride, would say that the King—if he wishes for the pardon and grace of God—has much greater need to ask pardon of me, for the injuries and losses incurred by me, than I have to ask pardon of him, as never did I offend either him or his father in anything, unless perchance it be said that I and the others, who would not consent to the perdition of his soul, and simultaneously of the whole kingdom, offended him. This is the offence which he has found in me, and no other; but he on the other hand, when I would not consent to his iniquitous designs, deeply injured me, by doing all that he could to destroy me, as well as my whole family. I am not speaking of the young King (as these things occurred before his birth), save inasmuch as he followed the paternal footsteps, which footsteps if he chooses to follow, let him follow those first trodden by his father before he commenced failing in his duty to God and his Church; let him imitate the things done by him in the first years of his reign, and in his first Parliament, before worldly prosperity had spoilt him, and whilst he still retained some part of the grace of God, and of the good education received from his father.

Let the young King act thus, and I will do as said by me above, when speaking of my private cause, and of the injuries so iniquitously done me by his father; that is to say, rather shall he ask pardon of me, and I will do the like by him, at least on account of his father, from whom he has in this case a very notable example, for in his first Parliament, he restored to my lady mother the greater part of her revenues on this condition, that she was to pardon the King, his father, for the death of her brother, a man perfectly innocent, who was the last Earl of Warwick. This the King did, because his father, Henry VII., being at the extremity, and by the grace of God repenting of

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amongst the rest calling to mind one of the most notable done to our uncle the Earl of Warwick, and to our family, and wishing for pardon from God, and from those he had offended, ordered the restitution to my lady mother of her revenues intrusted (*raccomandate*) to the King his son, who then, as a Prince obedient to God and to his father, restored her revenues to my mother, with the condition mentioned by me, namely, that she was to forgive the King his father the injuries received from him. And this was told her in the Council, when summoned for the purpose of hearing the will of the King, which was, that her own property should be restored to her; and when asked if with her whole heart she forgave King Henry VII. the death of her brother, and all the injuries which he had done her, she replied that not only was she content to forgive all the past, but acknowledged herself very much bound to pray God for his Majesty. Thus was her property restored to her.

And this, my Lord, would be an example worthy to be imitated, if not in acquittal of his father's debt, at least for the salvation of his soul; and if his tender years do not admit of his yet having this sentiment (*senso*) spontaneously, it would become his councillors, you, my Lord Protector, especially, to remind him of it, so that by accustoming him from childhood to do good and follow similar examples he may form his mind in a manner truly royal and worthy of one destined to rule men, averting at the same time the Divine wrath, lest it fall upon him, for so much innocent blood shed by his father, and for the great injustice done by him not only to our family but to many others likewise; and by having recourse to the mercy and goodness of God, beseeching Him that repentance, which He denied the father, may be conceded to the son. Thus you may compensate the sufferers for their losses whilst compensation can be made, not awaiting the day of judgment, which, if you continue as you have commenced, will doubtless prove so merciless and terrible as to be unbearable. And for the present, this is what I have to reply with regard to my own pardon.

But all this does not suffice you, and you also require me at any rate to ask pardon of the King, I having no fault, solely for this cause, which you repeat so often, namely, that I, being his subject, have not chosen to obey his statutes and decrees; and upon this you lay great stress, styling the King, as he in his proclamations to the people styles himself, "natural and supreme Lord,"* which I do not deny may be true in one sense. But in the sense in which the King exercises his authority against *Him*, who by nature is true and supreme Lord, this "*Lord by nature*" can by no means signify that he is the natural and supreme Lord either of me or of any other individual of his people, as by right no Prince can assume this title,† even were all his subjects slaves, in which con-

* The Court of Rome resented the title "Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ *supremum caput*," extremely; and this is noticed by the Chiefs of the Ten, in a letter to the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, dated 20th June 1550, with regard to a notarial certificate drawn up in London, concerning the Ambassador Barbaro and the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

† "Ma in quel senso che il Re usa l' autorità sua contra colui che è vero et supremo Signore per natura; questo Signore per natura; questo in alcun modo non può esser vero, che egli sia il mio naturale et supremo Signore, ò d' alcun altro del suo populo, perciò che niun Principe," etc. etc.

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dition neither I nor the people of England are born. So even were he thus "natural and supreme Lord," no man has more than one, who is God the Father, Lord of heaven and earth, and His Son, who being one and the same with Him took our nature upon Him, following the will of the Father, and freeing us by the victory obtained in his passion from the hands and servitude of him who kept the whole human race in captivity, and by nature and acquirement (*et per acquisto*) was and is true and supreme Lord of all men, to whose obedience I have subjected myself, being bound by nature to do so, and doing the like by Kings and Princes with regard to the laws, so far as their commandments, decrees, and statutes are in accordance with His Divine law, as it is fitting that they should be, He being supreme Lord of them and of us, as likewise of all other human creatures. Therefore as many of the decrees issued by the King and by yourself are at variance with the Divine law, I do not intend to be subject to them. It is also possible that while other people are subject to the laws and statutes of the King, an individual changing profession, state, and country, as has chanced to me, is not bound to this subjection.

But further explanation of this matter would be now too tedious and unnecessary after so much discussion about it in England and in France, when what you now assert was confuted entirely at the time of my mission as Cardinal Legate, and honourable reception by King Francis. When the late King of England complained of this, he was answered that he had no cause for complaint, as the honours done me were done as to a Legate from the Pope, and not to a private Englishman. Had you then held such authority in the Council as you do at present, you would have well understood that reply and decision, and perhaps not laid such great stress on my being the subject of the King as "my supreme Lord." But be this as it may, my Lord, should any opportunity present itself for me to serve the King, and you also, to the honour of God and to the advantage of the realm, albeit you are unable by any law to call me your subject, I, of my own free will and election and by this my writing, am content that you should always command me; and I readily offer myself, not only as your subject, but also [as the subject] of the meanest person in the kingdom, on any occasion when it may be really in my power to benefit them. And to this point the present is a sufficient reply.

You also allege another cause for which you thought I should desire to return home, namely, on account of the purity of the Word of God and of the doctrine of Christ, sent forth (*mandata innanzi*) as you say, by your means, and taught more purely (*sinceramente*) now than ever it was formerly. I tell you, my Lord, that this in truth would be of no little importance, and that it would be well nigh a bait to make me return to my country, were I sure the matter is as you represent it. And I should be convinced of this could I see or hear that the Word of God produced such effect upon you, as is usual when it is well understood and received; that is to say, were it to make you return to his obedience; whereas hitherto, to tell you frankly what I hear, you give various indications of acting to the contrary. One of these is, that the spiritual compre-

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hension of the Word of God (as I suppose this to be the thing of which you boast when you say that you promote the Word of God) does not reach (*proviene ad*) all persons equally, but solely those to whom God gives it, together with His Holy Spirit, which, according to Scripture, "*effugit fictum et cum simplicissimo habitat.*" So by exhibiting a spirit quite contrary to this, that is to say, by being a scorner rather than a lover of simplicity, you furnish me with a very sure argument for showing that spiritual comprehension of the word of God, of which you make profession, does not exist in you more than in others.

But even granting, as I said before, that this error be not yours, and that it proceeded from your Secretary, yet, nevertheless, what I shall now say cannot be denied, that one error committed by you is so great as to exclude all comprehension, spiritual and profitable, of the Word of God, namely, that I still see "*manus vestras plenas sanguine et sacrilegijs.*" You confirm, and do not cancel, as you ought to do, the statutes of that man, who himself alone shed more innocent blood in the kingdom, and perpetrated more unjust acts of spoliation, than the entire series of such Kings as reigned tyrannically before him (*che tutti gli altri Re insieme che per lo passato hanno tirannescamente regnato*). These statutes it would have been your duty to repeal and abrogate on assuming the government of the realm, if you wished to make any greater profession than others of spiritual comprehension of the doctrine of God (*d' intelligenza spirituale della dottrina di Dio*), as before God he who confirms and approves such impious statutes is no less guilty and culpable than he who makes them.

Nor can you excuse yourself on the plea of not having had authority to repeal them, as it was in your power to annul and abrogate the confirmation (*sic*) of the Six Articles relating to the confirmation of the sacraments made by the late King and passed in Parliament, which was the best thing he ever did in this world;* and you, although compelled by the law of God to have them maintained and observed, did not hesitate to repeal and abrogate them, and have confirmed the other statutes, which every law, Divine and human, condemns and blames as most unjust and impious. And with all this, you profess to have the pure comprehension of the Word of God, of which if you have any comprehension at all, your conscience must reproach you for making such bad use of it. But in truth it seems to me that your actions show that you have very little of this comprehension; for Christ declares who those are who have the true comprehension of his doctrine when he says, "*Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei qui in cœlo est, hic intelligit* (*sic*) *de doctrina meâ,*" signifying that those who do not follow this obedience never arrive at the true and spiritual comprehension of his doctrine; and he demonstrates to what sort of persons the Spirit of God comes, when he says, "*Ad quem respiciam, nisi ad humilem et contritum et timentem verba mea?*" namely, to him who evinces

* Law of the Six Articles passed by the two Houses in May 1539. (*See* Hume, vol. iii. p. 231.)

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this spirit of contrition, which you as yet do not, and indeed rather show the contrary; nor can I ever believe that you have more perfect comprehension of the things of God (*delle cose di Dio*) than other people, unless you acquire (*pigliate*) it; because this comprehension is derived from spiritual books and writings, in which case moreover I do not see how you can have any advantage in this respect to make you prefer them to those in these parts; we having as great an abundance of good writings and good books as you have. And to omit mentioning all our other advantages of which you by your disobedience are deprived; I tell you that in any way whereby you may have wished to gain repute and credit in this matter of religion, and of the pure comprehension of the Word of God, as it seems was your object, you should have commenced your Parliament and Council (*Parlamento et Consiglio*), as I have already said, by doing justice to those who during the past years have been persecuted with so much violence and iniquity, which would have gained for you no little repute. The acts of injustice perpetrated by the late King in so many various manners and against all sorts of persons, afforded you a wide field for doing so, had you chosen, and had grace been conceded you for the purpose. Then, after having done this, you would have been enabled with some authority to discourse about the purity of your doctrine, in which matter at present you have deservedly little credit; so that you have no cause to be surprised, if for this reason likewise I abstained from negotiating with you about my return to my country.

After this, you conclude your introduction (*prœmio*) by saying that were you not convinced that all that I wrote you, and all the warnings given by me to you, proceeded from a sincere mind, you would not have given me any answer at all, the matter not being worthy of reply; and so you commence answering, and say that you do so, because a mind such as that evinced by me deserves either pardon or thanks. Your first reply, nevertheless, contains nothing but scoffs and gibes, which constitute the pardon or thanks awarded by you to a sincere and pure mind. You then say—as if I had demanded a place in which to hold a conference with you—that I must borrow the territory from another power; and you say that I represent myself as a foreign prince, coming to an interview with your Sovereign, with other similar expressions, to which I, my Lord, having no mind to jest, especially in matters of such vast importance, which, proceeding as they do (*andando nel modo come vano*), move all who have any zeal for the honour of God, or love for their country, to weep rather than to jest, will reply with that same sincere mind which you yourself confess to have recognized in my . . . . * written (*fatte*) concerning this matter.

And first of all, I tell you that I did not think of coming to any conference with the King, well knowing that he was still a minor (*un fanciullo*); and this was why I do not say a single word about him. But you display a very puerile imagination by supposing that

* Blank in MS.

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I could wish for a conference with such a person, in matters of such great importance, unless you consider all the matters proposed by me puerile and light, as indicated by your reply throughout. I indeed offered to hold a conference with any of his ministers whose parlance was not puerile (*i quali non havessero discorso puerile*), and the cause of my offer was this, that I perceived your transactions, most especially in the affairs of the religion, to be very abominable in the sight both of God and man, and that therefore you were threatened with many dangers. These seemed to me so much the greater as I understood that at that very time, the Emperor gave a great rebuff to your ambassador, solely on account of your proceedings in religious matters, so that I was afraid his Majesty's words might be followed by corresponding deeds, as might be very distinctly inferred from the recent example of Germany in the like cause*; and this might moreover come to pass very speedily, his Majesty being in such great force.

Of this I was the more apprehensive, because at that same time I saw a great inclination and desire on the part of all honest men to have the ecclesiastical censures enforced against you. This wish was caused not solely by your ancient Articles as maintained by you against the Church and its faith, which were common to you and all, but also by other new heresies in the matter of the Trinity such as no heretic bearing the name of Christian ever entertained, and with you (*et appresso di voi*) they were discussed before the Marquis of Dorset (*Marchese di Dovestria*) without any contradiction. These things having with good reason greatly exasperated all pious persons against you, I feared that God would visit you with some sudden scourge, before you could foresee it; and for this I had also great reason, from knowing, through persons who had quitted those parts, that owing to these same matters of religion the people were divided in their opinions, and that some great tumult might easily arise in the kingdom, as was in fact demonstrated by some recent acts of rebellion.†

As you had given me some little opportunity for writing to you, I, being apprehensive of all these things, would not pass them over in silence, and by reason of the good result which might have been obtained by a warning of the disasters which threatened you, I was induced to make you that offer which I did, of coming to a conference with any of you, a thing which, had you accepted it, would have been very advantageous for you, as it might have been inferred thence, that you were not contumacious (*contumace*) in your opinions; and thus for a while you would have avoided all dangers, and given cause to delay the censures and military operations (*et l' armi*) which with such just reason might have been employed against you.

This, my Lord, is the simplicity and sincerity of my mind, for which you deride and ridicule me, saying that I offer to come and hold a conference with you in a foreign land (*sul terreno di un altro*), as it were borrowing it, not having any land of my own,

* Rout of the League of Smalkalde, battle of Mulberg, 22nd April 1547.

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which is but too true, for no other reason than because that land which by every reason and justice ought to be equally yours and mine, and which is my country, you, contrary to all justice, have rendered as it were a Charybdis or a Scylla to all those who favour its honour and welfare, for were not this the case it would not behove me to borrow the land of others, as I should have my share as well as any one else. You then accuse me of pride, for having offered to come in person to confer with you in any place near the kingdom, about some agreement concerning the affairs of the religion, should it be possible; and this you interpret "an ambitious desire" (*una voglia ambitiosa*), as shown yet more clearly in another part of your letter. To act by you throughout with that sincerity and purity of mind which you yourself admit, I tell you that when I made the offer I rather apprehended the reverse of what you say; it seemed to me that had I come to you in the amicable form proposed by me I might have done myself dishonour rather than any honour, as I very well knew the character you bear with all persons of repute and at foreign courts, by reason of your conduct in the affairs of the religion, in such wise that the Emperor himself, about whose friendship you brave and boast so much (*bravate et vi gloriate tanto*), deemed it no longer for his honour to pass it over in silence, and therefore gave that reproof to your ambassador; and this same opinion is entertained by the other Christian Powers likewise, and by all persons of honour.

It would have been no marvel had I at the commencement of such a negotiation with you, anticipated but little honour, as were any honour whatever to accrue to me thence, it could only be in case through my mediation some good adjustment of this matter should be effected, of which you yourself gave me but little hope; and even had there been any at all, I foresaw nevertheless that at the commencement of the negotiation, until it succeeded, I could necessarily obtain but little honour, and perhaps much blame from many persons for the reason aforesaid. And therefore I had no lack of friends who demonstrated to me that I was humbling myself too much by offering to make so long a journey in person to confer with you; and they counselled and exhorted me to wait until I had some better founded hope of a good result. But the love I bear my country, and the manifest peril in which I saw it (should you continue as you had commenced) being always before my eyes, caused me to have little regard for my own honour in this case, most especially as I did not perceive any other way whereby you could be turned aside from the very dangerous road on which you had commenced your course, save through this sort of parley and conference, by means of which it seemed to me that your present impending dangers might be averted or at least delayed for some time; and for this reason I was content to endure some indignity and dishonour, in order that you might be induced to act for your own advantage and honour.

You now interpret this contrariwise, as if it were unbecoming and dishonourable for the King's commissioners to cross the sea for a conference with me, I being of the rank I am, and coming so great a distance, and for so important a cause; although I have

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frequently seen persons, even those most in repute with the King, sent by him across the Channel, solely to adjust commercial differences, without any disparagement to the royal honour. So it is thus evident that had you heartily reverenced the Word of God, as you profess to do by the lips outwardly, you never would have considered it contrary to your honour to send some one as your delegate on so short a sea voyage, to discuss that Word of God with another delegate, I do not say of such dignity as I am, but of any condition whatever, most especially one coming a distance of upwards of 1,000 miles for this purpose; for although perchance I might have known less than you, yet the charity inherent to all those who truly reverence the Word of God should have persuaded you not to hold in such small account so great an opportunity given you for teaching such a person who professed himself ready to listen to you; and had he known as much as you, that same charity should have prompted you, *propter mutuam consolationem*, to send some one on so short a journey to confer together, and not allow such an opportunity to escape, solely because it seemed derogatory to your honour.

But I know not how you estimate this your honour, unless you consider your dignity greater than that of the late King, who gave you what dignity you possess. Nor ought you now to deem undignified that which he considered as suitable to Kings; and with this opportunity I will tell you what you perhaps did not know hitherto, as when it happened you had no authority in the kingdom. It is this. In the first year of my cardinalate,* on my coming to Flanders, when I had no controversy whatever with the King, save about matters relating to the religion, at that time his Majesty ordered certain learned men (*dotti*), amongst whom the chief was Dr. Wissonio (*sic*), to come to the city of Liege, where I was then residing, to confer with me about those matters, and on this account solely the said Doctor was despatched by the said Court; though this conference did not take place, because I was compelled to return to Rome by commission from his Holiness before the said Doctor had crossed the Channel. So you can see that my proposal was not contrary to your dignity, [unless?] supposing it to have been your intention to assume greater authority than the King your master ever did, which would convict you of much greater pride than such as you lay to me.

Be this, however, as it may, the true cause for which I nominated and offered myself was because I had regard for your honour and welfare more than for my own, which honour and welfare would have ensued had you ceased to do what you have commenced doing about the affairs of the religion, from which you will perhaps be compelled to desist by some foreign power; and to me it appeared both better and very much more honourable for you, that without waiting to be coerced, you should have appeared to do so from your own free choice, and not from necessity.

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* As already mentioned, Reginald Pole was created Cardinal on the 22nd December 1536.

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In addition to this, the exception made by you in your letter, showing that you were ready to come to any negotiation with me, provided I did not employ any foreigner as mediator, was a very great reason for my offering myself; and but for this consideration, I could have found many other persons more sufficient from their qualities, to treat this matter with you, than I am, although I venture to place myself on a par with any other person who in a similar case would have been fit to negotiate with you, by reason of the love and affection I bear my country, which if ever demonstrated by me at any time, has been most especially manifested by this offer. And the chief reason for my offering myself, besides that of doing you more honour as aforesaid, was because had I sent you any other person, even an Englishman, it would not have been so much to your honour, as there is no one else of our countrymen invested with my grade. This will suffice, in reply to your imputation against me; referring myself for the rest to the judgment of God and of the whole world, which will comprehend whether this offer and these particulars deserved such imputation, and whether my offer should have been remunerated by the gibes it received from you.

After deriding me to your heart's content, and saying that by seeking a place in which to hold a conference with you, I wished to borrow the land from another (*voleva tuor imprestito il terreno da un' altro*), you then commence answering about the dangers of which I warned you, saying that when I announced them, it should have struck me that they were as well known to you as to myself. Notwithstanding, by this your reply it does not appear that you knew anything at all about them, for you treat the subject so lightly, as if there was not the least danger in the world, and yet, in the opinion of all other persons, they are so manifold and so great, that in no kingdom, at one and the same time, were greater ever witnessed than those now manifest there. And were there none but such as are visible to everybody, they would suffice for the ruin of any realm however great and powerful,—an infant King,—war with two kingdoms at one and the same time, and the people within the realm discordant and divided about matters the most important, and of the most difficult possible adjustment, namely, those of religion; all which, besides other causes, have often sufficed to make the people rebel.

These things should not, I think, be held in little account; but the prudence of your Secretary considers them unimportant, it seeming to him that he has found a most efficacious remedy for all these evils. He alleges on the other hand the great graces and virtues (*gratie e virtù*) possessed, he says, by the young King, evincing displeasure at my having said that he is in boyhood (*in età puerile*), and that I ought to have told you besides that he has so many endowments (*che egli è di tante gratie*); and is so fortified and strengthened by his faithful councillors—as evident by his successes in holding his own and repressing the attacks of his enemies—that no former sovereign of late years can be said to have exceeded him in power. This is the addition which your Secretary wished me to have made, when speaking of the King's age, which

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addition he deems sufficient to remove all the fears which might be entertained on this account. Hence it may be inferred what the youth will become on arriving at man's estate, having been educated by persons who already commence flattering him so shamefully, and do not choose to be reminded that it is no little disadvantage for a realm to have an infant King, let his qualities be what they will; Scripture purporting in general, "*Maledicta terra cujus Rex est puer.*" Solomon, whose wisdom is so celebrated, seeing that three things were uncertain in this world, namely, the way of a ship at sea, and the way of an eagle in the air, and the way of a serpent on the land, adds thereto moreover the fourth, yet more uncertain, of which he did not dare to give any opinion, namely, the way of a youth in his adolescence.

But that prudent man, your Secretary, speaks of this King with such certainty that he cannot bear to hear talk of any danger which might befall the realm by reason of his too tender age, although in my letter, without alluding either to virtue or to a corrupted kingdom (*regno vizio*) (*sic*) [*viziato*?], I spoke not so much of the dangers it might incur from the King's boyhood, as of the inconveniences which might befall the realm during his minority, even should he be endowed with all the greatest gifts of which his age is capable. And to this effect I quoted several examples, and some of recent date, and amongst the rest, the losses and troubles of England during the minority of Henry VI., when such turmoil and disturbance commenced in the realm as to continue for many years afterwards. But the Secretary is so averse to this opinion that a kingdom can receive detriment from being governed by a King of such tender age, that he says I deceive myself in history (*che mi ingano nell' istoria*), and declares that in said Henry's minority, the realm did not suffer; and he adduces examples from Scripture (*della Scrittura*), — including even Solomon for one (*et nondimeno Salomone per uno*)—that some realms, although their Kings were young lads (*puti di poca età*), did not suffer on that account. To see therefore whether I deceive myself, I will cite the words of the printed English Chronicle recording the years of Henry VI., thus—

[The passage is not transcribed in the manuscript.]

Coming now to the example of Solomon, we can see whether it is to the point. Scripture says that Solomon was not a child (*puto*) when he commenced reigning; but although educated, until he arrived at man's estate, under the discipline of his father, the best King that ever reigned, which profited him more than all the wisdom and science he had besides, yet at the end, all this did not suffice to render his good government durable (*a mantenerlo in buon governo*).* But this your young King, on whom you place so much reliance, has moreover, amongst others, the following disadvantage, that he had for father the greatest King who ever ruled that realm, which may conduce more to spoil and injure him than all the endowments of nature, and any good education received

* "Thy father made our yoke grievous." (II. Chronicles, x. v. 3.)

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by him, can effect in his favour, most especially as the abominable statutes of his father are set before him as an example.

But, as I said, I did not intend to discuss the qualities of the individual, he being of such tender age, but solely the detriment to which a kingdom might be subjected by the boyhood of its King; nor do I believe it necessary to dispute with you, my Lord, about this, as by experience you know what I say to be perfectly true, as you have been compelled to behead your own brother,* because with this opportunity of the King's boyhood, he sought to expel you from the government and from the post held by you, and to usurp it for himself. On this point, therefore, I will not dilate further, what I have said being quite enough to show my intention, namely, in what danger those subjects are, who have a lad for their Lord (*che hanno un putto per Signore*), since where there is strife for government, and discontent about it, one brother cannot be safe from the other.

After this, you reply to what I said about the danger you might incur by persevering in your present course, owing to the injuries done to the churches (*per li dispiaceri fatti alle chiese*), and to foreign powers; on which subject, when speaking of the Emperor and demonstrating to you with what good cause he might wage war against you for the injuries (*offese*) done him and the Church, which you continue multiplying daily, you make an exclamation against me, and say that I detract from the honour of the Emperor and of the other sovereigns also, as was likewise the case with regard to your Prince, by my showing such an opinion of his [Imperial] Majesty as to suppose he would make war upon you, not having any other cause to do so, save that of the divorce made by the late King of the Emperor's aunt; and this would be too great a dishonour for his Majesty, were he for a cause so long ago forgotten, to choose to break so firm a confederacy as that which he has with you, and even were he to do so, you seem to care little about it, having, as you say, God on your side.

But to return to the dishonour which you say I should do the Emperor, if I supposed that his Majesty—regardless of so strong a tie of friendship and confederacy contracted with you since the divorce from his aunt—bears in mind the injury done him; I will speak rather more clearly, and say that it would be more to his Majesty's dishonour to observe those confederacies than to break them, as you are the persons who break all laws Divine and human; so those who wish to defend the honour of his Majesty who made those confederacies are compelled to seek some reason and apology for them. And the Emperor himself when speaking of his friendship with you, alleges that he made a confederacy with the deceased King to see whether this courteous form could convert him (*l' havesse potuto ricuperare*); but never supposing—should the King continue the impious courses whereby he commenced—that it would be for his [the Emperor's] honour to persevere in friendship

* Lord Seymour was beheaded on Tower-hill in March 1549. (*See* Hume, vol. iii. p. 317, ed. London, 1754.)

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with him; and with regard to this, the Emperor speaks as becomes the honour of so great and Catholic a sovereign as he is, and you think disrespectfully of his Majesty if you think otherwise. You also deceive and flatter yourself if you suppose he will interpret and measure the justice of his complaint against you, according to your interpretation and measure, neither more nor less; and the admonitions so frequently received by you from him, had you really been persons of prudence, might have taught you on what he grounds his complaint.

And as you write that I disparage the Emperor's honour, as said by you heretofore, solely for the purpose of rendering me and my cause also odious to the Emperor, and to deprive me of all credit with him when discussing this matter, I will tell you with regard to it, that if his Majesty had no cause for waging war upon you heretofore, as everybody knows that he had, you nevertheless by your proceedings in the affairs of the religion, have given, and daily continue giving him yet greater cause for doing so; and were his Majesty in these matters to give greater credit to one side than to the other, I ought not to be the last listened to by him. If by means of his power and authority matters here should assume that form which justice and the honour of God require, and if those persons and families which have suffered should be restored and compensated for the losses they have incurred; in that case there is no family in England which might and could more reasonably expect the favour and graciousness of his Majesty than ours, not merely on public accounts, but likewise for private reasons, as I shall now show.

This thing, as yet, I have never told his Majesty, but as you now give me a very great opportunity for doing so, and because it is much to the purpose for the better illustration of Divine providence—which the more we have before our eyes, the more does it act for our welfare and safety—I will tell you of the grievous trouble and remorse which his Majesty's aunt, the most Serene Queen Katharine, had to endure, as frequently alluded to by herself, always thinking of this, namely, that a great part of her troubles emanated from God, not through any fault of her own, but for the salvation of her soul; and that the Divine justice thus punished the sin of her father King Ferdinand, for when he commenced negotiating her marriage with Prince Arthur, the eldest son of the King of England, some disturbances took place at the time, owing to the favour and goodwill borne by the people to my mother's brother the Earl of Warwick, of whom we have made mention above, who being the son of the Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward, became, by the death of that King's sons, next heir to the English crown. King Ferdinand, having by the agreements to conclude his daughter's marriage at that time, made a difficulty about it, saying he would not give her to one who was not secure in his own kingdom; and thus, by inciting the King to do what he already desired spontaneously, he was the cause of the death of that innocent Earl, who had no more blame in those commotions, nor could anything else be laid to his charge, save the danger which the King in Council alleged had already befallen him

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in part, through the existence of the said Earl; and in addition to this, having heard the opinion of the King of Spain, he did that deed, of which (as I have already said) he so greatly repented on his death-bed.

But the Divine justice did not permit so iniquitous an act of injustice to remain unpunished, for at the end of six months Prince Arthur died, nor could he any longer enjoy the wife who had been given him by such bad counsel, and she was then re-married to the King's other son, who succeeded to his crown. To these causes that good Princess said that she attributed in great part the annoyances and distresses endured by her, confessing that she was therefore very much bound to recompense and requite us for the detriment we had received on her account (although she was not in the least to blame for it), and to show us every kindness, having found by experience that in all her sorrows and afflictions, from no family of the realm had she ever received greater consolation than from ours, although for her sake we had received so many injuries. Any reasonable man can judge whether these are reasons for the Emperor to commence the restoration of our family,* which has been destroyed for no other cause than for having suffered for the honour of God and for the Imperial family.†

Of this, however (as I have mentioned), whatever private opportunity I may have had for speaking to his Majesty, never did I utter a word to him on the subject, because the public cause being in such a state as it is, I do not heed that which concerns myself individually, it being so connected with the public cause that the two will of necessity revive together, should the Lord God ever grant such a result. But leaving aside the discussion of the private advantage of our family, which we might justly anticipate from the Emperor,—although I never wished it to be taken into consideration, save so far as compatible with the common cause of the Church, and the common weal, on account of which alone we were thus reduced,—and returning to the inquiry about the profit or loss which might accrue to England were the Emperor, moved by the just causes given him by the government, to attack the country, I tell you that this is what I warned you of, and now I do so again, because I desire your welfare as much as you yourself. Although you hold my counsels and warnings in little account, I give you notice not obstinately to stifle the common weal (*opprimere il ben commune*), and repeat that you deceive yourself grossly if you think the Emperor will measure the justice of his complaint against you, according to your own interpretation. And as to what you say, that the fear evinced by me lest the Emperor attack you, proceeds from those who wish him to break the peace between you, and that I well know who attempted this thing, inferring by these words that I in great part solicited and instigated his Majesty thus to do; I answer you, that God in the first place, who alone is the best cognisant of all things, and then the

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* Metter mano a ristorare la nostra famiglia.

† Non per altra causa distrutta che per haver servito all' honor di Dio, et alla famiglia sua.

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Emperor, can render good testimony of my goodwill, and of your false opinion in this respect.

I will not indeed deny having endeavoured by every effort that the Emperor should interfere and use all his authority in order that the affairs of England might assume a better form, and be adjusted in such a manner as should be for the universal welfare and quiet of all parties. But I have never, as you say, sought (*procurato*) anything against the kingdom, but on the contrary, its honour and safety. And the realm being crushed by every sort of tyranny, so that neither in written records, nor in the memory of man, had the country, since it bore the name of a kingdom, ever been in a worse condition than of late years; I thought it fitting, as all these misfortunes occurred through the injury done to his family, that the Emperor should hold in greater account the bond of ancient friendship which linked him to the body of that realm, than the friendship of one single man who was its head, the which head, being infected and full of peccant humours, had well nigh tainted and destroyed the rest of the body. Nor did I therefore speak of that man save in this manner, that if his [Imperial] Majesty thought conscientiously there was any way of converting (*ricuperar*) that Prince, who had so widely deviated from the law of God and man, he should be pleased in the first place to employ all such means as his prudence might deem fit for making him return to a healthy state (*a poterlo fare tornare in sanità*), thus benefiting not only the head, but contemporaneously the whole body. In case, however, his Majesty should perceive him to be utterly and thoroughly abandoned by God and entirely given over *in reprobum sensum*,* and that he was daily going from bad to worse, in that case all I requested of his Majesty was that he should hold in greater account the friendship of the entire kingdom, containing so many thousands of souls in extreme danger, than that of one man alone, for he might feel very sure of rendering them great assistance, as manifest to everybody, should God give him the grace (which it is credible would be given him) to change in some degree the government of that kingdom, he having been called by his Divine Majesty to the grace and station occupied by him, that he may provide for the common weal of all kingdoms and countries (*di tutti li Regni e Provincie*). And that should his Majesty not do this, but allow English affairs to remain as they were, which, owing to the brutalities (*brutezze*) and enormities committed by the ministers (*governatori*), contrary to Divine and human laws, had become unbearable, he would incur very great blame and responsibility. And that not only should he and could he do so, according to the natural law, which exhorted and encouraged him to this, but also by authority of that person, to whom you and your ancestors, before you lapsed from the ecclesiastical laws, always assigned the chief authority for regulating all matters relating to the well-being of the Church, that is to say, of the High Pontiff, to whose judgment both the Emperor and the King originally referred

* "God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient." (St. Paul to the Romans, chapter i. verse 28.)

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themselves, that he might decide and pass sentence in that suit, which was the cause of all the trouble and disturbance of that kingdom; which suit having, according to justice, been decided in favour of the Emperor, his Majesty was so much the more bound to defend the right of the legitimate sentence, and of the suit, both which had been coerced (*oppressi*) by the King.

This, as I said, has always been the main point (*la summa*) of my negotiation with the Emperor, to whom, when speaking of these matters, I always chiefly recommended the interests of the King, exhorting his Majesty to have every regard for him compatible with the advantage of the whole Church and the Realm, and in the second place I recommended to the Emperor the welfare of the kingdom.* This same method was observed by me, when after the death of the King you refused to listen to any advice from me, although it concerned your own interest and advantage; for at that time, when treating these affairs with the Emperor, in the first place I recommended to him your advantage (*comodo*), that is to say, that you should remain Protector so long as your rule was not contrary to the welfare and benefit of the Realm. And this is all that I negotiated and treated with the Emperor; which negotiation and treaty you now seem to deride, because hitherto his Majesty has done you no more harm than I wished you, and you do whatever you please. But you should remember the old proverb, that "there happens in one hour, that which does not happen in a thousand years;" and also that other saying, "*Calendæ Martiæ venerunt, nondum præterierunt.*" All your scoffs at what I say cannot, however, induce me to think otherwise, save that what it pleases Divine Providence to do, for the punishment of malice and support of justice, may also be effected, if indeed it be possible, for the benefit and salvation of your body and soul; though certainly what makes me fear very greatly for your soul, is your scoffing and gibing at those who warn you of the many and great dangers whereby you are threatened, for then it is that the malice of man has reached its zenith, and this pitch of malice being accomplished, the scourge of God cannot be far distant, nor its coming long delayed; but be it throughout as determined according to the profound judgment of his Divine Majesty.†

You then reply to what I said about the danger of having war at one and the same time with two kingdoms, viz., France and Scotland; and your Secretary makes this answer with such proud disdain and contempt for those kingdoms, as if nothing was commoner than to beat them both, whenever you please, saying that it is nothing new for England to have war, without defeat, with both those nations. But really what you say is less common than

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* "Essortandolo ad haverli ogni rispetto che non pregiudicasse et ripugnasse al commodo di tutta la chiesa et del Regno et secondariamente raccommandandoli il commodo del Regno."

† At this part of the manuscript (p. 18 verso) there is a contemporary marginal note in substance thus,—"*When this reply was conveyed to England, the Protector was put in prison, and shortly afterwards beheaded.*" The original words are, "*Quando questa risposta fu portata in Inghilterra il Governatore fu posto in prigione et dopo pochi di tagliatali a testa.*" The Protector was displaced on the 9th October 1549, and beheaded on the 22nd January 1552.

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the custom of Divine Providence to punish in their wars those who make the greatest boast, and trust to their own power, holding their enemies in no account, and attributing past victories to their own ability and valour, not acknowledging that they proceed from the hand and power of God, whose Divine Providence, which in peace and war rules and regulates all things, has rendered the realm of France so powerful, both by its extensive territory and by the great obedience of its population, united by one tongue and one religion, that I believe there are few kingdoms in the world of equal power to repress the pride into which man from his vain nature is apt to fall; whilst on the other hand the Almighty decreed that England, which, as compared with France, is a mere span of earth and an armful of men,* should very often be her superior in war. But should this minor power choose to wax proud on account of her victories, and despise the greater power, as if they had been obtained by herself, and not by Divine favour, it is very credible that his Divine Majesty will at length chastise her, withdrawing his hand as he is wont to do, and as it is reasonable that he should do; Scripture (*la scrittura*) saying, that he will abase the proud from their seat and exalt the humble.† How much better it would be for you, having some advantage over your neighbours, who have greater power, to endeavour with this opportunity to initiate a firm and stable friendship with them, instead of thus seeking to kindle hatred and enmity, which with time cannot but be very detrimental and disadvantageous to you, it being reasonable that the greater power in the end will worst and exhaust (*consumi*) the lesser, and especially, as I said, when the lesser by its pride gives cause to God to withdraw his hand.

And here I know that you will scoff at my counsel as that of a man who is pusillanimous and of little courage; but to me, nevertheless, it seems very great courage and extreme wisdom on the part of any ruler, to seek to live at peace with his neighbour, and above all with one more powerful than himself, and strive to caress and vanquish him by benefits, rather than in any other manner. Had you acted thus by France and Scotland, as you had an opportunity for doing, it would have been more in accordance with the profession made by you about the purity of the Word of God, than what you are now doing—daily devising fresh causes for dissension and discord with the whole world, and augmenting them, which in the end cannot but cause your ruin.

Your Secretary, however, finds an excellent remedy for whatever inconvenience may occur, by making it appear that he neither holds in account, nor is he aware of, those dangers which are manifest to everybody and considered serious. He acts thus, either to evince contempt for them, and to show that they are unworthy of consideration, or else because he in fact deems them so, and believes that they are unimportant; the prudence of which conclusions I will leave to the judgment of others, the facts being notorious, as stated

* Non è altro che un poco di terra, et un manipulo d' huomini.
† "Exalt him that is low, abase the high." (Ezekiel, 21, 26.)

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in my instructions (*instruttione*). Your separation from all other Christians in the affairs of religion, affords the readiest possible cause for any Prince, inclined to accept and assume so glorious and at the same time so profitable an undertaking, to wage war against you, as for a Christian sovereign there is nothing more honourable than the defence of the religion—a thing of which your Secretary does not perceive any danger whatever.

Nor does he see the danger which I said might possibly arise from dissensions within the kingdom itself, by reason of the conflicting opinions entertained by the people in religious matters. This he maintains most strenuously, and utterly denies there being any dissension, saying that this report proceeded from Rome where it was invented, and that I was ill-informed and unacquainted with the present state of affairs in England, which was quite the reverse of what I stated, it seeming to him that the bishops and all the others were well agreed; nor was he ashamed to lie so impudently,* as if he did not know for what cause the Bishop of Winchester, one of the chief bishops of the realm, is kept prisoner in the Tower of London,† nor of the dissension amongst the other bishops, the popular murmurs and insurrections on this account, and of the concealed murder of certain commissioners.‡ But it is folly to say more about dangers which it is not chosen either to see or to acknowledge; and if the opinion of the rulers is such as expressed in this letter, it is a manifest sign that God has deprived them of all sight and knowledge of danger, that they may the more easily fall into it and remain entangled in the snare, from which I pray God of his great mercy to free both them and the whole kingdom.

But I will now conclude my discourse and warning about dangers, as although they are evident to all other persons, you comprehend and esteem them so little, notwithstanding the very loving notice given by me to you (a thing which perhaps few others in my position would have done) of the peril there was, owing to the doubt raised by the most sage and consummate jurists in canon law, with regard to the King's title, he being born of a schismatic and excommunicated King, and still persevering in augmenting the causes of the schism, and therefore being in his own person justly excommunicated. After this I affectionately placed before your eyes the best and easiest remedy for this, offering you my personal service and mediation. And here your good Secretary says that I call in question (*che io metto in dubbio*) the King's title, as if I was the first to raise this doubt, or as if he who raises a doubt in any matter for the purpose of finding a remedy in order to exclude all farther doubt, offering to this effect his service and assistance, can or should be deemed an enemy, rather than a friend. This thing, if asserted with your knowledge, may well authorise me to accuse you of great malice, for attributing blame to what deserves praise and infinite

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* Di mentire così sfacciatamenta.

† Gardiner was sent to the Tower in June 1548, and remained a prisoner there until after the death of Edward VI. (*See* Froude, vol. v. p. 106.)

‡ Et d' alcuni commissionarij uccisi fosse nascosa.

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thanks. And this was precisely the course pursued by the late King, to his extreme shame and ignominy; those who cautioned him against any sin, or opposed his unjust desires, he considered his enemies; as if when a man is in danger of falling over some frightful precipice, he should consider the first person who points it out to him, his capital enemy, for not having let him rush headlong to destruction.

But you do not choose to acknowledge this to be a danger, though, nevertheless, make light of it as you will, for a King to be schismatic is the greatest danger that ever befell any Prince since Kings commenced receiving the Christian faith; and of the means whereby this danger is to, or can, be avoided, not one word does your letter say, but, merely quoting the opinion of "the most prudent Prince," styling him "the late King of most famous memory," says, "If this is danger, that King had then just cause to conceive hatred against the Roman See, as in like manner have all other Princes, who cannot be sure either of their kingdoms or their posterity if there be doubt with regard to the posterity of the late King!"—as if all Princes were about to fall into those horrible and abominable errors into which that King fell, as known to the whole world; but they, by not falling, are therefore in no danger, and to suspect them of falling is to do all the Princes of Christendom dishonour, of another sort than that which your Secretary says I did the Emperor, when I said that no league could bind him so as to admit of his refusing, if called by the Church, to chastise those who persecuted it. And so your Secretary thought he had found a great escape from the danger which I said might befall a son of an excommunicated King, he likewise continuing under (*perseverando nelle*) the excommunications, by rendering the danger common to all Princes, which cannot be, unless perchance they likewise should become partners in the many iniquities perpetrated by this King's father; but in the other Princes the great goodness and grace of God abounded, whilst in him from day to day it failed, until at length all those who were not blinded by private passion could perceive that the King was not only excommunicated by the Pope, but accursed in the name of God himself (*dal proprio nome d' Idio.*)

In this letter of yours, with regard to the Pope's excommunication, you boast and repeatedly pride yourself on its never having been able to take effect against that King, as his prosperity and successes showed very plainly that he was favoured by God, which God of yours renders it manifest to any who may choose to ponder the actions of that King, how very little knowledge you have of the Word of God, of which you make such great profession and boast so much in well nigh every part of your letter. And would to God that you had reason to do so, for had you, as you say, true comprehension of the Word of God, you would perceive that the course of events, in conformity with the mind and desire evinced by the King, is the greatest curse that can befall any human being, whatever his condition; which curse is the identical one proceeding from the hand of God himself, as confirmed by St. Paul, when he says, "*Tradidit*

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illos in desideria cordis sui, in passiones ignominiæ, et in reprobum sensum."* And that this curse fell upon the King is as clearly demonstrated by his career as it was ever demonstrated by that of any Prince or private individual whatever.

This is the great and horrible (*grande et horribil*) excommunication which God of his justice is wont to give, for the Papal excommunication and the temporary punishment which may then ensue is a medicine, provided man receive it properly, rather than anything else, being given by the Divine mercy in order that man may repent and thus free himself from the great excommunication which the Divine justice is wont to inflict on those who persevere and daily harden in their wickedness. And as the medicine ordained by God did not produce any good effect on the King, who, on the contrary, daily continued more and more accomplishing and gratifying his desires, it is a very sure sign that he was totally rejected by God, who, excluding him from his mercy, left him for punishment in the hands of his justice.

But you, my Lord, do not perceive the misfortune and misery of that Prince, and indeed are rather of opinion that he lived in very great felicity, as shown by your letters styling him "most prudent Prince and of very famous memory;" and this conviction in you, who have the protectorship of the young King and of the whole realm in your hands, is the more perilous, and may prove more detrimental to the kingdom than all the other dangers collectively. Therefore, and as I have not said a word about it in my instructions, reserving the matter for oral discussion had the conference proposed by me succeeded, I will not omit to say something about this your conviction now that the praises bestowed by you on the King give me so great an opportunity, especially as I am very certain that few and perhaps no one within the realm will venture or dare to speak about it, although the matter be of such great importance as it is, since England can be subjected to no greater danger than that of having an infant King (*il Re giovane*), and being ruled by one who is of opinion that the late King was either fortunate (*felice*) or prudent, or that he enjoyed honourable repute (*ò che sia vissuto in stato honorato*). That opinion necessarily implies imitation of his life and all his actions, thus causing the total ruin of the realm and its rulers at the same time, as is evident, for the principal cause of all the troubles and commotions which have occurred since the death of the late King until this hour, proceeded from following and imitating his example and actions. And therefore as your letters which praise him so much, afford me such a fair opportunity for writing to you on the subject, you shall hear from me that which (according to my belief) few other persons abroad will take the trouble to tell you, whilst no one within the realm will perhaps dare to do so, although it is extremely necessary that you should know it.

I had written thus far,—and to this I can bear witness before God,—not knowing anything of what I now hear has taken place,

* St. Paul to the Romans, chapter i. verses 26, 27, 28.

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namely, the great popular insurrection,* which was always feared by me; and upon receipt of this intelligence I hesitated whether I ought to send these letters, and write what I had intended to add in reply to the point lately mentioned by you, which I had already commenced discussing, and whether I should give an answer to the other two remaining points respecting your wish to know my opinion of the Book sent me, setting forth the whole ritual (*ordine*) observed by you in the affairs of the religion,† and to the offer which you make me to be the medium for procuring my restoration (*restitutione*) if I will accept what you say is the King's order about the religion.‡ And to these two articles (*capi*) I was in the act of replying when the news arrived of these insurrections, which caused me to stop writing in expectation of farther intelligence, and to reserve my declaration about these matters for the close of this letter, merely adding a conclusive and more manifest explanation of my opinion, so that, whatever may happen, you may be certain of the mind in which you will find me.

And the conclusion is this, that the affairs of the kingdom being in their present confused and discordant state, I pray and exhort you by all that love which you are bound to bear God, your country, and last of all yourself, not to persevere with such obstinacy and violence in what you have commenced, but rather, in all matters desired by the people and compatible with the honour of God and the advantage of the realm, adhere to the common concord (*vi accostiate alla commune concordia*) for the universal welfare and safety of the entire kingdom, and for your own quiet and security. And believe not, my Lord, that things accomplished according to our wishes by force of arms, rather than by popular consent, can be of long duration; and consider that although the victory may now remain on your side, yet are you the loser, not only because civil and intestine war exhaust the strength of a kingdom, and render it the prey of any invader, but also, as although your authority may remain, you can never be sure of the people, who, if denied their just demands, will always rise against you and side with any one who may promise them assistance; and should all others fail them, though, for the honour of God and personal advantage, it may be supposed that there will be no lack of many who will favour and assist them, I, to speak clearly and frankly to you, as is my wont, will never fail endeavouring (if required and requested by them), by every effort and all the means in my power, that they be not abandoned and unassisted, provided they contain themselves within the limits of their just and religious demands, as I see they have done hitherto.§ And this I have chosen to tell you for the following reason, that should God, through the admonition which of his goodness you have received by means of the present public and

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* The rising of the West, and in Norfolk, June, July and August 1549. (*See* Froude, vol. v. pp. 169, and following, ed. London, 1860.)

† The draft of the first English Prayer-book was presented to Parliament in November 1548. (*See* Froude, vol. v. pp. 141, 142, 144.)

‡ Act of Uniformity, 7th of January 1548. (*See* Froude, vol. v. p. 144.)

§ The fifteen articles in which the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall required the restoration of the Catholic faith were first printed in Strype's Cranmer, and may be read in Froude's English History, vol. v. p. 177, and following, ed. 1860.

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private danger, grant you the grace to repent, and thus submit yourself to some form of concord; and if, as I have been named by the people,* you might think me fit for this purpose; you may safely promise yourself that in that case I will act for the benefit of your honour and dignity, the same as I would do for myself, so far as is consistent with the common weal and advantage; nor ought you to desire anything more, as neither do I ever wish anything more for myself.

By this you can most clearly perceive my goodwill, as after having been so ignominiously refused, when I made you the same offer in my former letter, I now, nevertheless, again offer myself, moved by no other cause save that should these matters be decided by force of arms, I foresee that the whole kingdom will suffer greatly, and escape with difficulty from becoming the prey of a third party, as has happened heretofore under similar circumstances, when a foreign power, called in for the assistance of one of the parties, has subsequently crushed them both. So should the Divine goodness give you the means of coming to concord amongst yourselves, for the love of God accept it, and do not refuse this second offer, as God will perhaps not allow the third to be made you; for had you accepted the first offer, and if I had been conferring with the King's ministers about the restoration of the Catholic religion, it might perhaps have been the means of removing all cause for making the people rebel, or of pacifying them speedily, had the rising commenced. They would then have known that for the benefit of the realm and the establishment of the religious worship (*per stabilimento dell' uso della religione*), you had commenced a conference, and that I, in whom by their demands they seem to have some confidence,† was personally present at it. But what is already done cannot be undone, and at that time it was difficult to persuade you to do what I have already said, as you refused to admit that there was danger of any sort, attributing to ignorance of the state of English affairs, the fear expressed by me of tumults and popular risings. That fear, then considered by you vain, is now by fact shown to be the contrary. Nor is it any longer I who speak, but the thing itself, and thereby God speaks with you, for love of whom I again return to entreat you with my whole heart to take this course which presents itself to you for arriving at concord of your own accord by means of those who are your countrymen, to whom God has given the will, devoid of all passion and desire, save that of the common weal of both parties; the which concord, should you choose, will I hope be a very great comfort to one side and the other.

This is what I desire above all things, but should my desire not be gratified, I will nevertheless rejoice and acknowledge myself obliged to you for having afforded me this opportunity of manifesting my wish, a thing I have hitherto been unable to do, so that the whole

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* The twelfth of the fifteen articles mentioned above, is of the following tenour.

"12. We think it meet, because the Lord Cardinal Pole is of the King's blood, that he should not only have his pardon, but also be sent for from Rome, and promoted to be of the King's Council." (*See* Froude, vol. v. pp. 178, 179, ed. 1860.)

† See the foregoing note.

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world may know (whatever be the end of these disturbances in the realm) that I have ever sought the quiet of all parties, and that should it chance otherwise, or that one side, or even both be crushed, which may God of his mercy avert, it may be seen whence the fault proceeds. And if in these matters those who have the best intentions are to have the best success, I trust that nothing but good can befall me. But in whatever way the providence of God shall terminate these tumults and troubles, this letter, demonstrating my mind, as in conformity with all my other actions, will render perpetual testimony to all men of my good and sincere intention; I, with regard to my country and myself, desiring no other grace of Omnipotent God than what is for their (*loro*) safety, and for the honour of his Divine Majesty, whom may it please ever to have under his merciful protection, you and the whole kingdom.

Rome, 7th September 1549 ?

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 111, tergo.

576. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from England down to the 30th July, understand that some of the people of that kingdom have rebelled, and that the English are also preparing for an attack on Scotland, and on the borders of Picardy towards France; and by letters from France down to the 24th August, the Signory is informed that the most Christian King has mustered a large army of cavalry and infantry, with many pieces of artillery towards Picardy, his Majesty having joined the army in person. He is advancing against certain fortresses near Boulogne, which are held by the English, with the intention of recovering them, as he says they belong to the French Crown; and according to advices sent by his Majesty from the camp to Venice, he is said to have taken two of the fortresses, and to be marching with his army towards Boulogne.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

577. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

With regard to English affairs, it seems that his Holiness is not much inclined towards them, awaiting ulterior advices; and he will rather employ Cardinal Pole in the congregations and consultations relating to the Council, instead of doing anything further about the matter of England.

Rome, 14th September.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xix. p. 62, tergo.

578. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That the act passed by the Council of the glass trade of Murano, on the 7th instant, now read, be confirmed by this Council.

And as certain artificers have gone to work, out of Murano, contrary to the orders of this Council, which enacted pecuniary penalties against such as disobeyed them; and as these fine cannot be levied on such as have no property, who thus remai

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unpunished; be it therefore carried to summons name by name from the Edict steps at St. Mark's, at Rialto, and at Murano, all men, both masters and artizans, now at work out of Murano, those who are in foreign parts being ordered to return to work at Murano within eight months, and those who are in the Signory's towns within four months; on the expiration of which term, should they not have obeyed, be the penalties *ut supra* enforced against them. Those from whom the fine cannot be obtained, if captured, to be put to the oar on galley-board, there to remain for four years, and this to be repeated as often as they transgress; and they may be seized in all the towns and places of the Signory, and those who shall take and consign them to the armament chamber (*camera de armamento*), to receive from said chamber 100 livres for each man presented. After each presentation, the men not to be released from the galleys, unless they pay said 100 livres; and should it be proved that any one have not the means to pay, he must then remain another year on galley-board. And those who for the future depart hence, and go and work in foreign parts, to incur a penalty of 400 livres, and to remain four years on galley-board.* Nor may the masters employ —either to tend the furnaces, or to work in said art—any foreigner, but must use solely the sons of native Venetians or Muranese, under penalty of 400 livres, to be divided between the bailiff [of Murano], the accuser, and the poor craftsmen of the art. And each time that any of the above-written artizans shall leave Murano to go and work elsewhere, be the warden (*Gastaldo*) bound to inform the Chiefs of this Council, and the Bailiff of Murano, under penalty (for each omission) of 400 livres, to be divided *ut supra*. Nor may the masters or artizans of this art admit as workmen in their shops, any one who may have been to work abroad, until he shall have paid the fine, or served his time in the galleys, under the penalty above written.

Ayes, 14. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

579. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Letters from the Court of France, dated the 15th instant, announce the arrival of his most Christian Majesty at Compiegne. Mons. de Chatillon was battering the wall fronting Boulogne harbour, out of which two large ships sailed, conveying women and children to England; and the [French?] galleys detained in Zealand, having been released by the Emperor, fell in with two [English?] vessels (*urche*) which were conveying infantry from Guines (*Chines*) to Boulogne, nor could they prevent the passage of a part of them; some victuals likewise being sent thither. By letters from London of the 3rd, it is heard that the insurrections have been entirely suppressed, but by means of the slaughter and destruction of 10,000 or 11,000 natives. The English forces were all being directed towards Scotland, but on attempting to succour Haddington they were repulsed, many infantry and cavalry being killed; and

* Et di star quattro anni in galia.

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they were made to retreat for a considerable distance, so that they greatly fear losing Haddington.

Rome, 28th September 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

580. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the Venetian Ambassador in ENGLAND.

Send him a summary of their last advices from Constantinople for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

581. The SAME to the SAME.

Received lately his letters of the 26th August and 2nd September, giving them very full accounts [of English events?], which although on the one hand displeasing to them, as they perceive that the most Serene King of England and the kingdom of France are quite bent on war, contrary to the constant wish of the Republic, whose policy being instinctively pacific makes them desire peace and goodwill for all potentates, and especially between those two crowns; so on the other hand they are much comforted to hear of his Majesty's successes against the rebels, in conformity with the announcement made to them by his ambassador.

The Republic's affection for the English crown made them greatly regret the rumours in circulation about the rebellion, so they rejoice to hear it was suppressed by the King's forces, and owing to the good steps taken by the most illustrious Protector, both of whom he is to congratulate in the Signory's name, assuring them of the interest taken by the State in all the successes of his Majesty and the kingdom, in the same prudent form as adopted by him (the Ambassador) with the Protector, when performing the office mentioned in his last letter, for which they greatly commend him.

To persevere in this system, and to keep them diligently advised of all the events in those parts.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

582. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

There are some advices from France, but not letters on which much reliance can be placed, announcing the surrender to his most Christian Majesty of Haddington in Scotland.

Rome, 5th October 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

583. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Farnese has received letters from the Court of France, dated the 7th. Boulogne has been succoured, nor can they prevent this, without having command of the Port, which is very difficult on account of the tide. The Emperor complains somewhat, because amongst the fortresses taken by his most Christian Majesty, there

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is at least one, dependent on Calais, of which, according to the Emperor's treaty with England for the maintenance of what she held heretofore, he must endeavour to obtain the restitution.*

Rome, 19th October 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 113, tergo.

584. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from France down to the 21st ult. are advised that the most Christian King has been with his army in Picardy towards Boulogne, at no great distance from which city he took certain fortresses from the English who were said to have occupied them (although they belonged to him);† and his Majesty having left a good number of troops in those parts, both for the custody of his said fortresses, as also to prevent the entry of troops or victuals into Boulogue, has returned to Paris.

By letters from England down to the 2nd instant, hear that on the insurrection of the peasantry in two parts of the country, the Government sent their commanders against them with troops, by whom the peasants were routed, many of them being killed, so that, according to report, the insurrection was quelled; and the English were continuing to make provision against the Scots, who were doing the like against the English.

Ayes, 160. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

585. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The Duchess‡ having gone to the Pope on Sunday, and asked him to pardon the Duke, returned on Monday with Cardinal Farnese, requesting his Holiness, besides the grant of pardon, to allow her husband to enter Parma, and hold possession of it as his own, he having inherited it, and being styled Duke. They were together from the 17th until the 20th hour, and on coming forth, she was seen to be weeping bitterly. Although it was bad weather, the Pope then got into his litter for La Magliana, and she remained with him until the morrow, when as it rained heavily they returned. The Duke's affairs seem in a bad way, as his Holiness will grant him nothing, unless he comes to his feet to beg pardon, whereas he seems determined not to depart unless Parma be restored to him, and at the same time his honour, which he considers lost, by having entered [the city?], and being unable to obtain possession of it.

Concerning this matter his Holiness seemed to me today very determined as it were not to satisfy him by any means, and I also thought he was dispirited about this business, not indeed that the result displeased him, for he demonstrated to me that it was beyond measure most agreeable to him, saying that not only crime, but the

* Che per il debito dello capitulatione che ha con il regno de Inghilterra per la conservatione di quello che possedeva per inanti, convenca procurar che gli fusse restituito.

† Che li erano stà occupati da essi Inglesi.

‡ Margaret of Austria, Consort of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma.

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suspicion of crime was to be avoided, and that although truth is the daughter of time, he was extremely pleased at its being known so soon. He bestowed great praise on Camillo Orsini, who he said was a man of honour, and a most excellent commander, and that he had treated the Duke with the greatest mildness (*modestissimamente*), and shown him much honour, having in short on that evening chosen the Duke to give the watch-word, though he, the Duke, gave it *back to Camillo, etc.*

His Holiness also spoke to me about the disturbances in England, it being heard by letters from the Court of France, dated the 16th October, not only that the popular commotion continued, but that very great dissensions prevailed amongst the chief nobles and that the Earl of Warwick having driven the Protector out of London, Somerset took the King [from Hampton Court?] to a certain castle [Windsor Castle?] at a short distance thence, the name of which the Pope could not tell me.

Rome, 2nd November 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

586. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On Sunday, when his Holiness gave the banquet for the anniversary of his coronation, he was much less cheerful than usual on similar occasions, and instead of music and amusements, transacted business well nigh during the whole time, and on Tuesday remained secluded at St. Peter's, having given orders for no one to ask audience of him, so that at the vesper hour the Ambassador from Ferrara was with great difficulty admitted, announcing that he had important news to communicate about Parma; and he then said that his Duke [Hercules II.] sent him word from Mantua that Duke Ottavio* had asked assistance from Don Ferrante.† Later in the day the Pope received letters from the Right Rev. Legate of Bologna, purporting that he had conferred with Duke Ottavio, from whom he could obtain nothing but words, which, however respectful, signified that he could not in honour renounce Parma; so the Legate‡ not only gave the Pope no hope of making him retract, but recommended his Holiness himself to give way.

On Wednesday morning, the cold being intense, his Holiness before sunrise went from St. Peter's to Monte Cavallo, and after having dined with excellent appetite, Cardinal Farnese read to him a letter from Duke Ottavio, containing many apologies to his Holiness, but saying he could not in honour move from where he was [under Parma] unless he got Parma, to obtain which he thanked God he should have no lack of friends,—that from the Cardinal of Trent§ he had already received 10,000 crowns, that Don Ferrante

* Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, which city Paul III. had determined to restore to the Church, and to form an alliance with France, contrary to the wishes of Ottavio and his other grandchildren, who were Imperialists.

† Ferrante Gonzaga, Governor of Piacenza, appointed by Charles V.

‡ Cardinal del Monte.

§ Cristoforo Madrucci.

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promised him assistance, and that he found him to be a good honest man. On hearing these words the Pope became so enraged against the Duke and Cardinal,* complaining with such bitterness of his Right Rev. Lordship, that he was seized with a fit (which compelled them to place him on his bed) followed by fever, and then, *per vomitum et recessum*, he had a copious evacuation.

On that evening, Cardinal Farnese despatched a number of expresses keeping all the gates of Rome closed, not only during the night but also throughout the morrow, forbidding the posts to supply any one with horses, so that no one had egress; and the Cardinal of Ferrara and all the ambassadors, even Don Diego, were in despair, nor could any of them send off despatches until late on Thursday; and the Flanders mail on its way to Naples was stopped at Velletri, about which Don Diego made a great noise. Cardinal Farnese went to Castle St. Angelo, with a reinforcement of 60 paid soldiery (*provisionati*) under Nestor Baglione, and made them swear allegiance to him in the presence of the warder, much to his scorn. He sent commanders to raise 5,000 infantry in the neighbourhood of Rome, and forbad the sale of arms here to any one, as all these houses were providing themselves. At the 4th hour he sent an envoy express to Camillo Orsini [at Parma?] to assure him that the Pope, in case of his death, chose Parma to belong to Duke Ottavio, and to ascertain from Camillo himself what he meant to do; and the French likewise sent to encourage said Camillo with all their might. But his Holiness, after having taken some nourishment at daybreak, found himself better.

Cardinal Farnese was much blamed for having taken these steps, it being said that he ought not to have acted on his own account, but in the name of the Sacred College. It seems that he has turned a thorough Imperialist, and has allied himself with Don Diego, being of opinion that his own welfare (*salute*) and that of the Farnese family depends solely on that quarter, and that they will thus be secured against the Colonna and Orsini factions, whom they have offended mortally; and with this favour, he also hopes to make himself Pope, or at least to elect one after his own fashion and that of the Emperor at the same time. For this purpose, he sent the Prior of Lombardy (who came hither on a summons from his Holiness about the restitution of the Jews' merchandise) to make himself master of Civitù [*Civitù-vecchia*?].

At the 22nd hour [on Thursday], the Pope supped heartily; but at the third hour [of the night], the fever (from which it seems he was free throughout yesterday) returned, and at the 12th hour he chose to receive the Holy Communion, which he took very devoutly, the few persons present being moved to floods of tears by the very holy words he uttered. The Bishop of Pola was despatched with cogent briefs to Camillo Orsini, desiring him to consign Parma to Duke Ottavio, and to retire with his troops to garrison Bologna, but they still doubt whether he will obey; and then the Pope sent for all the Cardinals, to go and hold Congrega-

* In his report of Rome, Matteo Dandolo mentions that on this occasion the Pope snatched the Cardinal's cap out of his grandson's hand, and dashed it on the ground.

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tion, which was attended even by Cardinal Sta. Croce with his treble quartan ague,* although it rained.

Cremona was conferred on Sfondrato, whose see of Capaccio was given to Verallo; Naples to Cardinal Chieti, Giovanni Pietro (Caraffa); Chieti to Maffei; and the abbacy of Canal Nuovo in the Polesine to the Cardinal of England [Reginald Pole]; all which benefices fell vacant by the death of the Cardinal of Ravenna; and a pension of 2,000 crowns, to be derived from them all together, was assigned to the nominee of Cardinal Farnese.

Rome, 9th November 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

587. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Today at the 20th hour, I sent your Serenity the originals of the accompanying duplicates, and have heard since that when the Holy Oil was presented to him, the Pope, on perceiving it, said "*Non adhuc*;" and when Madame (*Madama*)† entered the chamber, he recognised her, and seemed pleased with the boy (*putino*),‡ giving him his blessing several times. He was so exhilarated by this, that he took two fresh eggs and half a glass of wine with very good relish; so it is thought that he will also survive this night, but the catarrh is what they most fear.

Cardinal Durante sent to me this morning to request I would beseech your Serenity to grant him possession of some vacant benefices in the Brescian territory, for which he will send the bulls; so that should possession of them be asked by others, you may be pleased to have a little patience until the arrival of his agent with his reasons; and he is writing about this to the Legate at Venice.

The Abbacy of Sta. Maria di Gavello, or of Canal Nuovo in the Polesine, was given this morning to the Right Reverend Cardinal of England, as written by me. But before he entered Congregation the Cardinal of Trani [Giandomenico de Cupis] asked for it, as it is under his diocese of Adria, and on being answered that it had been given to Cardinal Pole, not only did he acquiesce, but commended the appointment, saying that in addition to it, his Right Reverend Lordship deserved the benefices held by himself and others,§ so that he received it with very general approbation. His attendents have informed me that the noble Pietro Contarini will present himself to your Highness, to have possession of it, requesting there may be no delay, owing to the nature of the

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* "Con le sue tre quartane." The Cardinal of Santa Croce in the year 1549, was Marcello Cervini, who became Pope with the title of Marcello II., A.D. 1555, April 9. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 225.)

† Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V., consort of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma.

‡ This boy, the Pope's great grandson, and whose maternal grandfather was the Emperor, became one of the most famous military commanders of the 16th century; and when Paul III. on his deathbed gave him his blessing, Allessandro Farnese, Prince of Parma, was five years old.

§ Cardinal de Cupis was said by his contemporaries to be the "best of men" and the "mirror and ornament of the Sacred College," so his tribute to the merits of Reginald Pole is worth recording. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 18.)

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present times. Your Serenity should know that his Right Reverend Lordship is styled "*Angelical*," rather than *Anglican*;* nor did he ever ask for this, or anything else; and his fixed income† has always been 200 crowns per month, given him by the Pope.

The wagers at the bankers' shops‡ are as follows:—20 in favour of Cardinal di Monte,§ who is expected from Bologna; 18 in favour of Cardinal Salviati, who is expected from Florence; 16 in favour of Cardinal Ridolfi;‖ and 15 in favour of Cardinal Pole.

Having written thus far this evening, and it being now the 14th hour, I am assured from several quarters, that his Holiness has just now expired. May God give rest to his soul, and may his successor prove no less friendly to the Republic than he was.

Rome, 10th November 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

588. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On the 10th, at the 13th hour, I announced to your Serenity the death of Pope Paul, whose last orders were to repeal the taxes on grist and contracts,¶ much to the satisfaction of this entire city; and he desired Cardinal Sta. Fiore to restore the goods belonging to the Jews,** but his brother the Prior made himself master of Cività [Vecchia?], expelling the warder who had them under sequestration. He also ordered the restitution of their money to those who had lent it him in the hope of being made Cardinals, as written by me at the time; and it was given back to them in the same bags in which they delivered it. He ordered nothing whatever about his burial. And then, of his own accord, he desired that the Holy Oil should be administered to him, during which ceremony he recited some very beautiful Latin prayers composed by himself at the moment;†† after which, his tongue swelled, and the only intelligible word he uttered was "Parma," but he seemed to attend to the recommendations addressed to him for the salvation of his soul. The physicians were surprised at his vitality (*vivacità*), of which they had proof, for on opening the body, they found it sound throughout, save at the heart, around which there were some drops of blood, extravasated by the fit of anger, but for which he might long have survived. Not only was he not deserted, like many of his predecessors, but both his body and soul having been most admirably tended until death, he was then accompanied with floods of tears from Monte Cavallo to St.

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* "Porta più presto nome di *Angelico* che di *Anglico*."

† "il suo fondamento."

‡ "Le scomesse in banchi vanno, etc."

§ Panvinio prints his name *Di Monte* (Sansabino); Cardella (vol. iv. p. 159) styles him Gianmaria Giocchi, *denominato del Monta*. Cardinal Pole wrote the name "di Monte."

‖ Panvinio writes the name Rodolfo; Cardella, Ridolfi. The Christian name of this prelate (the nephew of Leo X., who gave him his hat), was Niccolò.

¶ "La gabelle et della masena, et dei contratti,"—query Monopolies?

** Merchandise seized at sea, belonging to Venetian Jews.

†† In his report of Paul III. made to the Senate, Matteo Dandolo said that the Pope spoke very slowly because he would never utter a word which was not elegant, whether in Italian, Latin, or Greek, priding himself on his scholarship in each of those three languages, and we now know that he was classical to the last.

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Peter's, into the Consistory hall, whither he was carried immediately in a litter, through Transtevere,* with 60 torches, 100 horse, and I know not how many infantry. He was 83 years old; had made 60 Cardinals, and outlived half of them.

In the afternoon, the Cardinals assembled in the Palace; the French ambassador presented himself to them, offering the love and power of his most Christian Majesty for whatever they might *require. As he was the only one who made this demonstration,* I also abstained from it, to avoid the suspicion of any mutual understanding; but should the Signory wish to give me any other commands, by writing immediately they will arrive in time, as the obsequies are to last nine days; and they will perhaps not shut themselves up in conclave until the tenth or eleventh; nor will the obsequies commence before Friday.

In that Congregation they broke the ring, and all the other seals. They also appointed the governors of the city, the Borgo, the Campagna, and Viterbo. Then, accompanied by Congregation, the body was taken into Christ's chapel at St. Peter's; and although it rained hard, there was such a crowd of people of all sorts to kiss his feet, that they stood outside the grating, crying *peccavi mea culpa,** and making those within touch the corpse on their behalf, a thing unheard of. This continued throughout yesterday, and this morning the body was placed on the ground in a vault there.†

On the morning before last, another more minute inventory was made in Castle St. Angelo, and the crowns were found to amount to little more than two hundred thousand, whereas they expected to find from a million and a half to a million and seven hundred thousand at least; and included in this sum there are also sums paid in advance on account of the alum works, and other sources, which must be levied by the future Pontiff.

In the afternoon, Congregation administered the oath to Duke Horatio [Farnese] as Prefect of the city, and when they proposed doing the like by Alessandro Vitello, he declined taking it, saying he could not do so without asking leave of Don Diego, which seeming strange to many of the Cardinals, he reminded them that he was Pope Paul's general of the infantry by permission from the Emperor, to whom he was bound; but it seems that the chief reason for his acting thus was that he does not choose to compete with Paulo Vitello, his junior, who is a great favourite with Duke Horatio.

As Don Diego had issued proclamations throughout the city, desiring all the Emperor's Spanish and Siennese subjects to assemble on the piazza in front of his dwelling,‡ under penalty of being punished by his Majesty, the Cardinals let him know that they disapproved of the circulation of edicts in his name, and he apologised by saying that he saw so many weapons in the hands of the French, the dependents of Duke Horatio, the captains who raised the infantry in Rome being the dependents of the Cardinal of Ferrara, that he [Don Diego] likewise was obliged to look to himself. The Cardinals rejoined that he might provide what was necessary for the

* "Chiamandosi in colpa."
† "Et questa matina è stato posto in un deposito lì in terra."
‡ Piazza di Spagna.

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safety of his own dwelling, but that if he exceeded that limit they would not put up with it, using very resentful language.

As compared with former vacancies of the Apostolic See it is nevertheless singular how few outrages are committed, although everybody is in arms, both at home and abroad, with wheel-lock harquebuses in their hands instead of handkerchiefs, everyone relying on himself. But I am very sure that those who do not approve of your Highness's [police] regulations, were they to see those of this city, would perhaps change their minds, for they are no better than those of the Friuli used to be. And these Roman barons who come into the city are attended in like manner by armed followers; so a good number of infantry has been raised from amongst the Roman populace to satisfy the Conservators, and some are being sent to places in the environs. Considerable levies have also been ordered in the territories of Spoleto and Perugia, to which last named place they have sent Hector Baglione to counterbalance Rodolfo, the Legate likewise having mustered 1,000 and placed them at the gates, so that he is quite safe.

Another reason for this tranquillity is that the two factions [Colonna and Orsini] have no longer influential chiefs, and but little is heard of the Colonnas, as they are divided even amongst themselves. Camillo Orsini has sent an ambiguous reply to Cardinal Farnese from Bologna; letters which I have seen state that he is in want of money, but the Cardinals here will not supply him until they hear that he has executed the orders conveyed to him by the Bishop of Pola.

The wagers at the bankers' shops* are twenty-four in favour of England, nor does any other cardinal get near him; but the Pope, please God, will be created in conclave [and not in the market-place?] by a majority of two-thirds of the cardinals.

I have deemed it my duty no longer to delay writing this to your Serenity, to whose favour I humbly recommend myself.

Rome, 13th November, at mid-day.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13. Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 118, tergo.

589. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Acquaint him with the important news of the death of the Pope, which took place on the 10th instant.

Have heard from France that a number of ambassadors had arrived there from the Switzers and Grisons, to ratify the League stipulated with his most Christian Majesty, who thereupon made them considerable presents, and they returned home.

The French have made themselves masters of a wall between the river and the harbour of Boulogne, of which city they were continuing the siege, and the English had again succoured it; and the Revd. French ambassador informs the Signory that in Scotland the French have recovered Hadington.

By letters from England down to the 15th ult., are informed that the King's Council,—perceiving the supreme authority arrogated to himself by the Protector, who ordered and governed everything in

* "Le scomesse de' banchi vano a 24 per Inghilterra, ne alcun' altro se gli accosta."

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his own fashion, and contrary to the will of the Council, usurping the revenues, dispensing the offices, and doing other similar things which savoured of tyranny (*che haveano del tirano*),—assembled together and judged and proclaimed him a rebel and traitor to the King, causing him to be arrested and brought to London and placed in the Tower (*in Castello*); the King being replaced in the hands of his own guard, whereas hitherto he had been guarded by the Protector's guard. So it was supposed they would put him to death, and that affairs would assume a better form for the good administration and government of that kingdom.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi. p. 119, tergo.

590. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

To inform the Cardinal of England [Reginald Pole] that immediately on receiving the letters from the Cardinal Sta. Fiore, they wrote to their governor of Rovigo and performed the office desired by his Right Revd. Lordship concerning the abbacy of Gavello, or Canalnuovo, and that whenever an opportunity presents itself for doing what may be to his honour and advantage they will always avail themselves of it, as they love and esteem him especially.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19, 20.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

591. CARDINAL POLE to CAMILLO ORSINI.

Most Illustrious Lord,—Your Lordship's son Paulo was the first person who told me, three days ago, that you had despatched a messenger, but without any letter, to hear my opinion (together with that of others) about the restitution of Parma to Duke Ottavio; in which matter it not seeming fit to me to interfere, as the affair is one of State, and I a private Cardinal, I answered him accordingly; and to the personages here (*questi signori*) who made me the same request, I also said in like manner that I would not meddle with the business, requesting them to pardon me for not complying with their wishes, and recommending them to keep the royal road, namely, to propose the matter to the College [of Cardinals], as was done this day, and produced such result as your Lordship will learn by the letter which the College itself is writing to you. The particulars of the votes given on this occasion your Lordship will hear from your [agent] Messer Battista [Piovene] the bearer of this letter, to whom I have communicated the whole for your sa isfaction, merely telling you besides, from the Christian love I bear you, that I exhort you as earnestly as I can, with regard to what remains to be done, in conformity with the will of his late Holiness, and of the Sacred College, about restoring Parma and the citadel to Duke Ottavio, to regulate yourself in such form (should you act otherwise), that no one can suspect you in the least of being moved by passion or partiality; thanking God for having hitherto given you the grace to act as completely according to your desire and honour both before God and man, as could possibly be

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desired by anyone;* and by acting thus, as I am certain you will do, the general suspicion caused by the mistake of your last messenger who applied to Signor Paulo, and not to your [agent] Messer Battista, will be entirely removed. And thus your Lordship will by facts prove clearly to everybody your intergrity, by obeying this order of the Sacred College without any evasion or delay, as I again earnestly exhort you to do, by so much the more as you can dismiss from your mind any scruple which might have arisen, either about the letter of the Bishop of Como or of Cardinal Farnese, seeing that they are now approved in the Congregation General of the Cardinals; and I pray God to have you constantly under his protection.

Rome, November 19th.

Postscript.—Having detained this letter until today, the 20th, these chief personages (*questi signori*), as an additional proof of the Pope's intention, have shown me and many other Cardinals the judicial examination (*l' essamine fatto giuridicamente*) made in the presence of the "*Auditor della Camera*" and of the "*Fiscale*," and of two witnesses, the Bishop of Como and the physician Messer Tiberio, who testified in conformity, under oath, to the validity (*la virtù*) of the brief, and that they saw it signed by the will and in the presence of his Holiness; the like testimony being borne by the Pope's "*Cameriero intrinseco*," Messer Eurialo, who is now dangerously ill.

Any particulars about this matter which your Lordship may wish to have, and the reason why this letter was not sent sooner with your [agent] Messer Battista [Piovene], will be given you by his own letters, to which I refer myself, exhorting you most earnestly, as aforesaid, so to act in this matter, that no one can justly accuse you of any passion or partiality. And thus may our Lord God grant you the grace to do, for the public quiet, and that of yourself individually.

Rome, 20th November 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Original Letter-book, Venetian Archives.

592. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

This evening I sent my secretary to the Palace to tell the Cardinal of England what your Highness enjoins me about his abbacy. He answered him, that he returned infinite thanks, saying he shall place this by the side of the other endless obligations for which he is debtor to the State.

Rome, 20th November 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

593. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summaries of their last advices from Constantinople for communication as usual.

* "Che nessuno possa havere una minima sospettione che ella sta (*sic*) mossa da passione ò partialità alcuna quando ella facesse altramente, ringratiando N. S. Idio che fin quì gli habbia dato gratia di satisfare si pienamente al desiderio et hor suo appresso Dio et appresso gli huomini quanto più si potesse desiderare da alcuno."

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A similar communication to be made to the English secretary [Sigismund Harvel] on his presenting himself to the College.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

594. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Early yesterday morning, the Signor Paulo Orsini, son of the Signor Camillo, sent one of his gentleman to say that he had not conferred with me, knowing that his father's agent Messer Battista da Piovene had not failed doing his duty by me.

Contrary to what I wrote in my last, the Right Reverend "Deputies" did not meet on that evening in the house of the senior Cardinal (*Rev^mo Decano*); but yesterday morning the "Congregation" determined on the first letter to the Signor Camillo—namely, the one without the order for his removal to Bologna—whereby the College informs him that the Pope deceased on Sunday at the 13th hour, and moreover authenticates (*et gli fa anco fede*) the brief sent to him by his Holiness for the consignment of Parma to the Duke Ottavio, which they exhort him to execute. This letter was signed by 32 Cardinals; but the senior Cardinal (*il Decano*) and Chieti [*Gianpietro Caraffa*] refused their signatures. They despatched it by the Bishop of Pola, but yesterday morning the senior Cardinal (*il Rev^mo Decano*), passing through "Borgo," desired Piovene* to tell the Signor Camillo in his name as senior Cardinal (*come Decano*), not to consign the place, and Piovene sent him an express accordingly; but it is nevertheless expected that he will make the consignment, because the Cardinal of England, besides having signed the letter, wrote to him in his own name; the Signor Camillo depending on Cardinal Pole, as he is very devoted to him (*dal qual esso Signor Camillo depende che gli è molto devoto*).† So had Pole alone written to him thus, it is thought that he would not have hesitated to make the consignment; but his Right Reverend Lordship did not choose ever to act or speak about the matter, save in public, that is to say in the Congregation, alleging many reasons why the Signor Camillo neither should nor can do less than obey the brief.

Rome, 22nd November 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Letter Book. Venetian Archives.

595. The SAME to the SAME.

Today at the 22nd hour, after very diligent search had been made [at the Vatican], seven individuals were discovered, besides those authorised to be there (*oltre gli ordinati*); and having been thrust

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* Battista Piovene was Bishop of Pola.

† Camillo Orsini, son of Paolo, who was strangled in the Castle of La Pieve by order of Cæsar Borgia, on the 18th December 1502. Camillo followed the profession of his father and distinguished himself in it; he was the senior by eight years of Cardinal Pole. I do not know when the friendship between the soldier and the churchman commenced, but it had not ceased in 1556, for it will be seen by a letter under that date that Cardinal Farnese then requested Cardinal Pole to intercede for the beautiful trees of the "*Orti Farnesiani*," which Camillo Orsini at that time destroyed, being employed as military engineer by Paul IV. for the fortifications of Rome, then threatened by the Imperialists.

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out through the wicket (*fenestrella*), the closing of the Conclave was completed. At the bankers' shops, the odds are greater than before in favour of the Right Reverend of England, which election, should it take place, may be believed to proceed from God, as although urged by many of the Cardinals to assist himself on this so great an occasion, he answered them that he would never utter one single word, even were his silence to cost him a thousand lives, not choosing to deviate from his ancient maxim, which enjoined him to follow the Lord God, and to desire nothing but his will.

Rome, 30th November 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

596. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday morning, at the 13th hour, Cardinal Pacheco arrived,* and owing to his long journey he entered the conclave more dead than alive, thus perhaps causing the election of a Pope to be delayed; for it was expected to be made in the person of the Cardinal of England, who immediately went up at the bankers' shops (*in banchi*) to 40 per cent. It may be supposed that the election was deferred in order to have Pacheco's vote, who was apparently obliged to go to bed; so yesterday it behoved the Cardinals to wait for him.

At the 16th hour the French ambassador came to the wicket (*fenestrino*), and desired the masters of the ceremonies to protest in his name to the Cardinals, that unless they waited for their French colleagues, who, he understood, were in Corsica, his King would not ratify or confirm the election of any Pope made in their absence. At the 17th hour he returned, and sent for the Cardinals, who went to him, including the "Deputies," Ferrara, and Farnese, and also some others, to whom he said that he had moreover heard from one of his gentlemen well known to the Cardinal of Ferrara, that the French Cardinals were at Leghorn; and he again insisted on their being waited for, at least until Monday, as otherwise, etc.

The senior Cardinal (*il Rev^mo Decano*) and the other "Deputies" answered him that his Cardinals had had a good many days (*che haveano havuto giorni assai*), but that they would not fail in what was due to the regulations (*constitutioni*) admitting his protest *si et in quantum*, and Cardinal Farnese said they were in too bad a lodging to delay their stay there longer than was due.†

Shortly after they had shut themselves up above stairs, Don Diego arrived, in a passion; and he in like manner sent for their Lordships, and protested to them mildly and lovingly, that they must observe their due rules and regulations, and not attend to anything else; whereupon at the bankers' shops, England got up (*passò*) both beyond 46 and 50, so that at the second hour [of the night?] he was at 80 per cent., and 30 per cent. was wagered that he would be proclaimed this morning. Salviati was at one (*a uno*),

* From the Imperial Court at Brussels?

† "Che erano in una mala stantia da tardarvi oltre il dovere."

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and Sfondrato at two (*a doi*). At the eighth hour there were so many sure votes for the Right Reverend of England,* that they were on the point of adoring him (*per adorarlo*), and they had already commenced unnailing the cells, but the Cardinal of Trani [Giandomenico de Cupis], and his other opponents, commenced exclaiming that in this way any one might promote a schism, unless one scrutiny at least were made. Cardinal Pole himself was in like manner very averse to the adoration, telling them to be calm, as at any rate he was not to become Pope by any other hands than those of God, and, should He thus will it, his election would take place this morning; and he went up to 95. It is therefore more than clear that the merchants are very well informed about the state of the poll, and that the Cardinals' attendants in Conclave (*i conclavisti*) go partners with them in the wagers, which thus causes many tens of thousands of crowns to change hands. Everybody armed, and until after the 18th hour we remained awaiting the announcement of this election; but then the Cardinals ordered the dinners, and people drew breath, for no one can imagine how very unpopular it is,† as they consider it certain that the whole of this Court would have to lead a new life, and withdraw to their own spouses (*alla sua sposa*); but the minority wishes for it greatly. One of the causes of this delay is supposed to be the French protest of last evening, most especially as this morning there was a faint gleam of sunshine, with which the Cardinals from France might be expected; but nothing is known of them, and the weather continues stormy. It is true that Cardinal Pole remains at 40, nor is any other person whatever mentioned.‡ When the captains asked for money for the pay of the troops which becomes due today, the Cardinals answered that they would supply them tomorrow after the scrutiny.

Rome, 5th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

597. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday morning the French ambassador appeared at the wicket, and asked to see the Cardinals, many of whom went to him, and he gave them letters from the Cardinals of France, who were left on the "Riviera" of Genoa, with the Cardinal of Vendôme, who was dangerously ill; and the ambassador wished to have the letters read to the rest of the Cardinals, that they might wait for his countrymen. At the 22nd hour, the Right Reverend Deputies also went to the Cardinals, that they might give the order for the payment of the garrison in Castle St. Angelo, which was due on the 6th, and the 10th will be pay-day for well nigh all the rest of the troops; and the Right Reverend the Deacon (*Decano*) [Senior Cardinal ?] said they were to be of good cheer, that a Pope would be

* "Et alle otto ore furono conclusi tanti voti per il Rev^mo de Inghilterra."

† "Che è cosa incredibile come è malissimo sentito."

‡ "E vero che esso Rev^mo d' Inghilterra se intertien a 40, et che altro alchuno non è nominato."

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elected, and that he would be a man of worth, religious, and agreeable to all the princes. After this, it was heard that they made a scrutiny and gave 15 votes to Veruli [Gieronimo Verallo? a Roman, created Cardinal by Paul III., on the 8th April 1549], and 24 to England [Reginald Pole], who at the first ballotation had 26, which caused many to repent, on seeing the votes counted.

The Cardinals have had a quantity of things brought into the conclave, especially linen; and gave out what was foul, there being already a great stench.

As yet, nothing more is known about the French Cardinals.

Rome, 7th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8.
Senato Terra, v. xxxvi. p. 175, tergo.

598. PRESENT from EDWARD VI. to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR BOLLANI.

Motion made in the Senate by the Procurator, Tho. Mocenigo, sage of the Council, and by Nicholas Zeno, sage for the mainland. Our beloved nobleman, Domenego Bollani, knight, has evinced a great wish to employ himself in the service of the State, and in the Legation of England, from whence he returned lately, constantly conducted himself prudently and diligently, regardless of all cost and toil, as understood from time to time through his letters, and by the copious and detailed report now made by him.* Therefore on account of his own deserts, and by reason of what becomes the liberality and graciousness of this Council, it would be unfitting to omit making such demonstration towards him as has been made towards certain other ambassadors of ours.

Put to the ballot, that the chain and the doubloons presented by that most Serene King to the aforesaid Ser Domenego Bollani, knight, be freely given him by authority of this Council.

Ayes, 196. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 3.

1549, 9th December, in the College.

Ayes, 23. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

599. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

At the last scrutiny, Cardinal Santa Croce [Marcello Cervini], not only acceded to England† [Reginald Pole], but also delivered a very fine oration in praise of him, so that it is said that both Don Diego and Cardinal Farnese have written to the Emperor, giving him particular account of what has been done, and wishing to know whether, as they cannot obtain success for England (*far riuscire Inghilterra*), his Majesty would approve of their favouring Sta. Croce (*si tendesse a Sta. Croce*), towards whom he heretofore showed himself hostile; and although on this account he is supposed to be in the French interests (*è reputato Francese*), yet is he considered a very worthy man, of great experience, and one of the

* This report does not exist. The MS. in St. Mark's Library, which was supposed to be a copy of Bollani's report, is in reality the report made by Daniel Barbaro on the 30th April 1551, the date of which I derive from the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar.

† Non solo accesse ad Inghilterra.

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most trusty adherents of the Farnese family. At any rate it may be supposed that they will await news from the Emperor, as Don Diego himself announced yesterday that the Cardinal of Lorraine was near Milan.

On Monday, in Congregation, the Right Reverend Cardinal of England made a most eloquent speech, thanking those right reverend fathers who had wished to honour him with a grade so very illustrious as the Popedom; and saying that he could not but be obliged to them, seeing himself so greatly esteemed by their right reverend Lordships, though he was no less grateful to those who had rejected him, nor did he remain less obliged to them, but on the contrary, much more so, as they knew him to be, what he himself knows he is, viz. inept for such a burden, and too weak to be able to bear it. And not only did he make this confession for his conscience sake, but, from the same motive, felt bound to exhort and pray their right reverend Lordships—one and all—no longer to keep this so necessary and holy an election impeded on his account (*con la persona soa*), but to propose another candidate, who can never fail to be more worthy than he is; and that they should no longer delay, the reproach being already so great and universal, and so great the peril of the Papal territory and the city of Rome, and of many persons, owing to the multitude of inconveniences which may and must occur daily from their continuing locked-up there (*dal loro continuare li serati*); and that they might now be more than certain that the Spirit had not elected him. In conclusion he said that to leave them more at liberty to speak about him, and determine on taking another candidate in his stead, he would retire in order to give them greater convenience; praying and beseeching them no longer to lose time about him, but to make this holy and necessary election in some other person; and with this he departed.

After a brief interval, being made to return, they answered him in terms of great honour (*molto honoratamente*) with regard to his goodness and piety, assuring him that this was the usual course of events, and that on most occasions the conclave lasted upwards of a month; and that he ought not to rely on interpreting in this form the will of the Spirit, but rather believe, and consider it certain, that in like manner as he is not at liberty to assume to himself the office, so is he neither at liberty to divest himself of it;* urging him to be pleased, together with them, to wait yet a while so as to give way to the Spirit, that they may make this election according to His holy will. Thus do they delay, awaiting these blessed Frenchmen (*questi benedetti Francesi*), who already last Sunday evening were at Leghorn, as known through their courier and by letters from the Duke of Florence, who chanced to be in the castle there.

It was heard last evening that should the weather serve, they will come on by sea, if not, by land, so that they are expected most certainly tomorrow. They are four in number, namely, Guise, Vendôme, Châtillon, and Bellai. Tournon, Annebault, Boulogne,

* "Anci devea credere, et tener per certo, che si come non è in libertà soa di vestirsene, manco deve esser in libertà soa di spogliarsene."

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and Lorraine are expected to follow. His most Christian Majesty has spared Bourbon, Giuri,* and Roan,† by reason of their [advanced?] age. The Florentines here are informed the King has ordered the French Cardinals to favour Ridolfi, which caused him to rise at the bankers' shops to twenty, the same odds being given in favour of England. But it is suspected that even after the entry of the French Cardinals into the conclave, matters will be protracted, as they will not be in sufficient number to elect the Pope. Although England would require more votes, those he has, will however remain firm; nor can it be imagined what person the Farneses could have to propose in his stead, it not being believed that the Emperor will consent to Sta. Croce. So I suspect that we must pray the Lord God earnestly to stretch forth his holy hand; and in the meanwhile these [Farneses?] are ruining themselves, for it is said they are spending four thousand crowns per diem, so that they have but a small residue of those which they found in Castle St. Angelo.

Rome, 11th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

600. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

My last despatch was dated the 11th, at the fourth hour [after sunrise?]; at the eleventh hour, the French Cardinals arrived at the house of their ambassador, and at the thirteenth hour, they entered the Conclave, being received at the door by all the Cardinals with great demonstration of joy; and at the fourteenth hour Cardinal De Tournon arrived, entering the Conclave in like manner, so that it consists of forty-seven members, which is the fullest Conclave upon record.

I send your Serenity copy of the Emperor's letter to the Sacred College [dated Brussels, 20th November 1549]; and also of a memorandum (*polizza*), asserting that should all the French Cardinals come as they say they will, thirty-six Cardinals will be required to elect the Pope, and God knows whether they will be able to agree, or whether a schism will take place. Never were the times more perilous, nor the Conclave fuller, nor more divided (*disordinato*). The number of candidates for the Popedom (*Papanti*) is great; the members (*gli huomeni*) of very opposite opinions (*diversissimi*), and powerful. The French [Cardinals] have said that were they to rot they will conquer, and so say the others;‡ but either Monte§ or Sta. Croce [Marcello Cervino] can be made by Cardinal Farnese immediately, whenever he chooses to secede from the Imperialists, as the French would then join him;

* Claude de Longuy, of the baronial family de Giury, created Cardinal by Clement VII., 7th November 1533. (Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 132, 133.)

† George d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen, created Cardinal by Paul III., 16th December 1545. (Cardella vol. iv. p. 273.)

‡ "I Francesi hanno detto, che si dovessino marcire la voglian vincere, et cosi dicano gli altri."

§ Gianmaria Ciocchi, called del Monte, made Cardinal by Paul III. on the 22nd December 1536. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 159.)

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but he will not ally himself with them if able to avoid it by electing one of the old Cardinals from amongst those who are not the creatures of his grandfather.*

Rome, 14th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

601. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send him the enclosed summary for communication as usual.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

602. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On Thursday morning Cardinal Veruli was to have re-entered Conclave, but on Wednesday night being suffocated by catarrh, he went to another place, where he will remain longer. Had he been content to remain at home, he might perhaps (*facilmente*) have obtained the object for which he came, as was the case heretofore with Adrian, who was at a much greater distance, but possibly God chose to provide better for him. It is suspected that the like may befall Santa Croce [Marcello Cervino], who is so ill of his quartan ague, that tomorrow he also is to be taken out of Conclave. Many conclavists, men of experience and good intellect, have quitted the Conclave from illness, nor can any one of them tell who will be Pope, more than we can, just as if they had not been there. I might have sent your Serenity the particular scrutinies of many days, but independently of those already advised by me, all the rest had only one or two votes, the announcement of which was unnecessary.

On the evening before last the prelates presented themselves at the wicket to urge the Cardinals in favour of despatch. The Archbishop of Spalatro was spokesman, and made a very suitable discourse. The Cardinals replied that they would not fail doing their duty by them, giving hope that they would soon have a good and acceptable Pontiff; but the senior Cardinal told the prelates nevertheless that they must diminish the Cardinals' food, and Cardinal Farnese said it ought to be nothing but bread and water.

Yesterday morning it seems that they scrutinized (*che scortinasseno*) Cardinal Sfondrato, but he obtained only 15 votes, and England apparently (*par*) got as many as 25, which would verify what was said the evening before last, that the Cardinals Burgos [Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Archbishop of Burgos] and Cibo had also gone over to him. In that case the usual 23 would become so much the more obstinate (*duri*), for I was informed on very good

* "Mai lui non concorrerà già con loro, si potrà far di mancho, in far elletione di un de' Cardinali vecchi, che non sijno creatura de suo Avo." As seen by former letters, Paul III. had quarrelled with his grandchildren about Parma, which he wished to restore to the Church, and Duke Ottavio sought to keep it for himself, through the assistance of his father-in-law, the Emperor. Cardinal Farnese supported his brother, and therefore opposed the election of any Cardinal supposed to share the dying wish of the late Pope.

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authority that they have signed a paper (*essersi firmati*) pledging themselves not to give way. But last night at the seventh hour loud voices were heard at the door of the Conclave, and amongst them that of the Cardinal of Trent [Christopher Madruccio], and according to conjecture they were on the point of going out of their cells to Salviati,* for whom Mantua [Ercole Gonzaga] on the part of Farnese, and Ferrara [Ippolito d' Este] for the other side, are canvassing with all their might. This morning they were to have scrutinized him (*scrutinarlo*), but the scrutiny did not take place because Salviati, being very shrewd (*molto accorto*), will not start (*non voglia correre*) unless in great force, having agreed with his cousin Ridolfi, that the one who has not a sufficient majority is to cede his votes to the other.

Rome, 21st December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

603. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On Sunday, after the scrutiny, Cardinal Sta. Croce [Marcello Cervino] was taken out of the conclave, in a litter, to the apartments of Cardinal Farnese at San Lorenzo, being very ill of his quartan ague.

In the scrutiny, the Cardinal of England had his 23 votes, and 20 were in favour of Chieti [Giampietro Caraffa], who then delivered a very fine discourse to the Sacred College, thanking his voters and persuading them to let him alone (*a lasciarlo stare*), and support some other candidate with a greater chance of success.

Rome, 23rd December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

604. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST" (*alias* attendant in the service of one of the Cardinals in Conclave) enclosed in the despatch of Matteo Dandolo, dated 24th December.

Down to this time there have been 19 scrutinies without any decision whatever; day after day they continue uniform. England has still the majority of votes, but the great difficulty of his election is evident. Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa] was within three of him, yesterday, and today he is but one below him. He said yesterday that he no longer wished for any votes, releasing those who had given them to him, and explaining in very elegant language that he would not be the cause of keeping the Church in suspense. England also said his say (*Inghilterra disse ancho esso la parte soa*) in a style which was much commended, although he would not release his votes, seeing that he had not canvassed them, offering to cede his hat, but not choosing it to be said that he had given way either to hope or fear.†

Rome, 24th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

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* Giovanni Salviati created Cardinal by Leo. X.

† "Benchè non volesse liberare i suoi voti, come colui che non gli havea procurati, tuttavia offerendosi cedere il capello, non pur alla speranza ò timore che dir si possa."

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Dec. 24.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

605. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST," enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 26th December.

What we are doing here is a repetition of what we have been doing hitherto, and your Lordship may rest assured that we have not a glimpse of any future event, not even at the distance of a thousand miles (*et sia certa vostra Signoria che non si vede lume alcuno di cosa che si habbia a fare ne ancho lontano mille miglia.*)

As yet with regard to Ridolfi and Salviati there has been no indication that either one or the other will be [proposed?] shortly, as they do not "run" (*non correno*), and with regard to individual chances I know not how they can be discussed, as you are aware that between word and deed the difference is great. At present the contest is between Chieti [Caraffa] and Pole, and although yesterday they both spoke most eloquently, I believe matters will remain thus a long while, unless the Almighty intervene, for there are strange humours on one side and the other (*per chè ci è de' strani humori da l' una parte et l' altra*).

Rome, 26th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

606. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On the 24th I sent copy of a news-letter then received out of Conclave, and should prefer doing so always, but these advices are sometimes so obscure that it behoves me to embody them in my despatches, and your Serenity must be satisfied with what I can get, as it is not lawful for me to add anything of my own. I now send another, also of the 24th.

Yesterday morning, from a certain window overlooking the Court, where the Cardinals often show themselves, Cardinal Farnese said to the Archbishop Cornaro, who was urging him at length to elect the Pope, "You do not choose to limit us to bread and water, and you ought to give us swords and daggers, as I see no other means for our coming to a decision."

Today, when at the wicket, after having addressed the College, as already mentioned, a crowd of barons and prelates who were standing by besought me to pray their Right Reverend Lordships to form a resolve about the Pope, so I could not avoid saying to them gently (*modestamente*), with a smile, "Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lords, I have hitherto been here [at the wicket] as ambassador from my Venetian Republic, and you now see how I am compelled to be the ambassador of the entire Christian commonwealth. There are men here of all nations and of every grade, who force and press me to pray and beseech you to give us at length the most holy Pontiff, and by Christ's passion no longer to delay [the election of] the Vicar." The Right Reverend the senior Cardinal (*il Revmo. Decano*) answered with a most joyful countenance, that although they always received me they were moreover especially glad to do so on the present occasion, and that we were to be of good cheer, and that they would give us a good one, and speedily, but that we also were to do our duty in this matter, so that they might

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accomplish it, by stopping their food; whereupon all the Cardinals with one voice urged, and the majority commanded us, not to let anything but bread and water enter the Conclave. Cardinal Cibo spoke most earnestly, and wished the poor old Cardinals to have wine, but with bread alone. Pacheco put his head out [of the wicket] almost in a rage, protesting that nothing should be given them but bread and water. To this I made answer that I would do my duty by writing what their Right Reverend Lordships had enjoined me, leaving charge of the rest to the others who remained there; and I then took leave, being most firmly convinced from the gests and wrangling witnessed by me at this display (*atto*) that they are more obstinate (*indurati*) than ever. Although tomorrow, when it is my turn to mount guard, I will not fail to go there, I shall not interfere further about what is to be given to, or taken from them, this office appertaining to the prelates; but were the business mine, I know how I would serve them.

Rome, 26th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

607. COPY of a letter written from the CONCLAVE [by the attendant of some Cardinal, to one of Cardinal Pole's backers], contained in Matteo Dandolo's despatch, dated 28th December.

The result of the late affairs, which caused loss to your Lordship and others, has constantly warned me to be very cautious in not giving similar advices, unless I be more certain than I was then. The news was so generally considered true, that I know not how hereafter anybody can ever risk writing of other candidates destined to become *de facto* Pope, that which was written of the English Cardinal Pole, whose 23 votes are still firm and constant, yet most persons believe that they will not succeed. Who else it is to be seems very uncertain, although the French give their 18 or 20 votes to the Sabine Chieti (*al Sabineñ Chieti*)* [Gianpietro Caraffa], as it seems that the decision is to come from the Emperor, so that some persons incline towards Salviati.

The French [Cardinals], contrary to their nature, seem well pleased to stay in Conclave, and say that their Court is subject to much greater inconveniences than these, and that they think themselves in Paradise, where they will tire out all the others, so as to give the papal tiara to one of their own creatures. The opposite party in like manner bravadoes, and says that when all the French shall have made their appearance, 17 votes will suffice to impede; but that neither length of time, nor hardship, nor any accident will have sufficient force to deprive England even of one single vote, or to make them change their candidate, though this is scarcely credible, as their mutation seems dependent on the Emperor's resolve, which is expected hourly.

Rome, 26th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

* The title of Sabinese was held by Gianpietro Caraffa, as third Bishop. (*See* Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. p. 398.)

1549.
Dec. 27.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

608. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST," enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 27th December.

Each day convinces me more and more that matters will be protracted.

Rome, 27th December, 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

609. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST," enclosed in the despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 28th December.

We continue in the same state; little do they think here of a Pope. England remains with his 23 votes; today Burgos [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] had 20 votes; and Trani [Giovandomenico de Cuppis], 21; they are jeering each other. This reply [from the Emperor] will arrive, and something will be settled. I believe all means will be prevented, so that we shall be unable to send news-letters (*credo che si levaranno ogni modo, che non potremo mandar polizze*).

Rome, 28th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

610. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

I enclose copies of news-letters from the Conclave, dated 26th, 27th, and 28th, and by this last it seems that their circulation will be prevented. They have also walled up the small windows fronting the court, from which some of the Cardinals used often to show themselves.

The Cardinals of Amboise and Boulogne arrived this afternoon; the former will enter Conclave immediately; the latter being indisposed will delay until tomorrow; and tomorrow or next day, Lorraine is expected. It is also said that Giuri and Bourbon are coming.

Rome, 28th December, 1549.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

611. ARCHBISHOP CORNARO to ———.

I have seen the Cardinals Amboise and Boulogne enter Conclave. They were received joyfully by the entire Sacred College; and when the French ambassador asked the senior Cardinal to delay the scrutiny till tomorrow, as those two personages were tired, he replied, "I cannot promise you, because we intend to despatch you" (*vogliamo spedirvi*); and he then whispered to Messer Jacomo Crescentio, "Be of good cheer, for we will despatch you speedily and well." Yesterday the Cardinal of Lorraine passed La Scala on his way hither, so that they expect him on Monday, or Tuesday morning.

Rome, 28th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

1549.
Dec. 28.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

612. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST," enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 1st January 1550.

If the words of Cardinal Farnese can be credited, we shall soon get out of Conclave. Your Lordship must hasten Duke Horatio [Horatio Farnese, Duke of Castro], as unless they [the Farnese] are quick, and form some good resolve, a Pope may be made without them; and Cardinal Farnese should arrange all his family affairs, and elect a Pope who will be his friend.

When these French Cardinals made their entry, Amboise* made all the Cardinals laugh, solely by his appearance.

Rome, 28th December 1549.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1550.

1550.
Jan. 1.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

613. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

In order to do all that can be done to make the Cardinals hasten the election, they only allow one single dish, either roast or boiled, to be taken into them by their carvers (*schalchi.*)

On Sunday, the Emperor's reply to the letters written to him on the 8th ultimo, announcing the first scrutiny of the Cardinal of England, arrived here. They reached him on the 18th December, and this answer, the contents of which your Serenity will find in the aforesaid copies, is dated the 19th.

Rome, 1st January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

614. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST," enclosed in the Venetian Ambassador's despatch, dated 11th January.

We are more in the dark than ever, and the proceedings are such, that not only may we rely on remaining here another 40 days, but after the second and third quarantine, we shall come out without a Pope, unless God of his mercy provide against it; so great is the obstinacy of those who govern. I do not write the details, as I should have too much to do, and for the salvation of my soul would fain forget them; and as your Lordship mentions the Cardinal of Trani [Giovandomenico de Cuppis], two evenings ago he thought he had something good in hand, but I knew he was deceiving himself, nor will anything but the utmost delay and desperation gain him voters; whereas owing to the last step taken by the "bench" (*bancha*), concerning the affairs of Parma, Farnese

* Georges d'Armagnac, born A.D. 1500, died in 1585. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 254–255.)

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would approve of Monte,* though he does not mention him. But several of Farnese's adherents, and all the French Cardinals object to this candidate, so that little hope can be placed in him, and none at all as yet in anyone. Those who in my opinion have the least bad chance of all, are Pole, Sfondrato,† and in the long run (*al longo andar*), perhaps possibly, (*forse forse*), Monte; and be this taken as a recompense for Marino's prognostic, and not as an opinion to be relied on.

Rome, 7th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Cerimoniali della Chiesa di S. Marco, p. 125, Venetian Archives.

615. FUNERAL of the AMBASSADOR from ENGLAND [SIGISMUND HARVEL.]

Expended for the funeral of the most noble Lord Ambassador of England, the Lord (*il Signor*) Sigismund Harvell, at S. Geremia; and he was carried to [the church of] Saints John and Paul.

	No.
For torches weighing 6 lbs. each, for the "Gesuati"‡ -	40
For torches weighing 3 lbs. each, for the "Scola" (confraternity) of St. Mark - - - - -	40
For four torches weighing 10 lbs. each at [the church of] San Geremia, two at the head, and two at the feet of the canopy - - - - - -	4
For little candles for the chapter of St. Mark, and that of San Geremia, to perform the office [in the church of] San Geremia - - - - - - -	20
For the two canopies, one at San Geremia, and the other at Saints John and Paul, candles weighing 4½ ounces each -	800
And on the sides, weighing 1 lb. each - - -	30

The which above-written wax lights were bought (*tolte*) of the most noble Messer Alvise Dolfin, grocer (*spicier*), at the sign of "the Well," and he was paid by the most illustrious Signory, namely by the office for old accounts (*dalle Rason Vecchie.*)

The four torches at Saints John and Paul, two at the head and two at the feet of the canopy, and the six torches in the choir for the oration, were paid for by the [Ambassador's] household (*la casa li ha pagati*).

The four weighed 12 lbs. each, and the six 6 lbs. each.

The cloaks for the mourners were made by the [Ambassador's] household (*la casa li fece*).

The other expenses, viz., hatchments, black linen, and the costs of the platforms for the canopies, were defrayed by the [Ambassador's] household.

For the vault (*deposito*) at Saints John and Paul, the [Ambassador's] household, by agreement with the Friars,§ paid them —— ducats ready money, and 200 "cara" of firewood.

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* Gio. Maria di Monte, elected Pope on the 27th February 1550.

† Francesco Sfondrato created Cardinal by Paul III.

‡ A religious order confirmed in the year 1367, by Pope Urban V. (*See* Storia degli Ordini Monastici dal P. Giuseppe Francesco Fontana, vol. iii. p. 451, Ed. Lucca, 1738.) The order of the *Jesuits* was instituted in 1534.

§ The church and monastery of Sts. John and Paul belonged to the Dominicans.

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The [Ambassador's] household paid the chapter of San Geremia.

The oration was delivered by a scholar of the Reverend M. Don Francesco Erizzo, Messer D. Antonio Stella, and he was paid by the [Ambassador's] household.

The costs of the Master of the choir of St. Mark, for boat-hire and singing-boys (*zoveni*), who assisted at the funeral, were paid by the [Ambassador's] household.

N.B. (*Dechiarando*). The most Illustrious Signory did not accompany this funeral, as they usually do by all Ambassadors, because the aforesaid was not a real (*vero*) ambassador, but as it were an envoy (*nontio*) and vice-ambassador.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

616. LETTER from N. to CARDINAL FARNESE, enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 18th January.

I write this evening to your Right Reverend Lordship solely to inform you that the Emperor's reply about Santa Croce [Marcello Cervino] has arrived, and is such as I imagined, for he does not intend to revoke the election in any way,* but continues firm in excepting Santa Croce, Ridolfi, and Salviati, and is staunch to Burgos [Francisco de Mendoza] and Pole.

My duty as a true friend makes me also tell you that I know who ruins matters at the Imperial Court, and who manages them; and your Lordship must beware of thwarting this exception made by his Majesty, as it would be your ruin, for not on my own authority but from very sure advices from said Court, I inform you that the whole doubt is, whether you may not choose to say one thing and do another. This has been already suggested by those who base their suspicion on the mode adopted—your Lordship will pardon me—by the late Pope; and they think that being governed by the same counsels, you must operate in the same manner, and as this policy was the chief cause of the misunderstanding between his Majesty and his Holiness, so will it be your manifest ruin if you think of following it at present. I am unable to be more precise with your Lordship, nor do I believe you to be following this course; but, nevertheless, out of brotherly affection I remind you that not only is it contrary to your interests to do so, but that you ought not to give even the slightest hold (*apicco*) to your enemies, whereby to reproach you with this to his Majesty, but to continue sincerely and freely to support your two candidates Burgos and Pole, and not give cause to think otherwise. If you allow yourself to be turned the other way, you will see whether I have spoken truth; and should my advice not be followed, you will commence witnessing your ruin immediately on quitting Conclave. I very much wish that Burgos had not been named, to enable me more freely to enter into many details which I omit for his sake, as according to what little I know, I would fain pass in review all the Cardinals likely to become Pope (*che possono esser Papa*), and state, one by one, how they would affect your Right Reverend Lordship's interests, in order

* "Non vuol intender niente di revocar la ellettione."

1550.

that you should preserve my prognostic, to see on a future day where I have hit the mark, or missed it. I believe, that after pondering the matter, you would think, as is the fact, that because in the lifetime of Paul I said I would be the friend of your family, (*di voler esser loro amico*), this alone sufficed to make me declare myself, and manifest whatever may benefit your Right Reverend Lordship and your house (*casa*); this being my chief reason for acting in this manner.

Your Lordship will attribute this discourse to the good love which may be expected from a true friend, and from day to day you will know, what you will perhaps not be able to perceive at present, owing to the variety of counsels given you, and God grant they be as sound as mine; nor will I now importune you farther, and may God give you what you desire.

Rome? 8th January 1550. Di N.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

617. LETTER from N. to CARDINAL FARNESE; enclosed in the despatch dated 18th January.

The reply from the Imperial Court has been received; his Majesty will not hear a word about Santa Croce, and is very determined [against] Salviati and Ridolfi, and on the election of Burgos and Pole; so the [Imperial] Cardinals, if they wish to show how much they are the Emperor's servants, must proceed steadily on this road, in which, if they persevere, I think they will be victorious; but they must none of them suppose that they can feign one thing and do another, for I vow to you that his Majesty will know even whether they make water in this Conclave (*che vi giuro che sua Maestà saperà sino se si piscia in cotesto conclave*).

Rome?, 8th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

618. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Everybody is of opinion that there is not the slightest hope of having a Pope, not even in the course of a month, so the wagers at the bankers' shops continue to be very brisk. The Cardinal de Bourbon was left on Sunday at Florence, and comes on his journey bespattering (*squazando*) the whole world, for it is impossible to imagine worse weather either above or below, owing to the late heavy rains, so that here the Tiber has commenced alarming people. Nor do I know whether after Bourbon's entry, the Conclave will decide, for there is no such appearance, as both factions have again taken oath not to yield one to the other; and the Imperialists swear they will die with Pole on their lips, and never propose any one but England, to whom they all give way, and every morning they continue giving him their 23 votes. Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa] has 22, the French saying that they also will die in Conclave.

The French faction, however, has many candidates, though they obtain but few votes, save such as are given in jest, which on two occasions caused them such alarm, that now they will not even hear

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of it; so that Medon (*sic*), who yesterday had one single vote, complained of Trent [Madrucci], saying that at least had he given him his vote, he [Medon] should have had 31 votes, and been thus made Pope. They delay starting (*correr*) their first-rate candidates (*i grossi*) until the arrival of Bourbon, and they are so many in number, and of such a sort, that they might therefore come to a rupture, though even these Imperialists have used foul language to each other—Crescentio to Pacheco,*—because Pacheco wished to propose to him Trani [Giovandomenico de Cuppis], who is of the French faction, and perhaps as a joke, had 21 votes. Farnese and Santa Fiore also abused each other because Santa Fiore chose strongly to favour Salviati; and Sermoneta, who is of the French faction, in like manner vituperated Farnese. The language is said to be of such a sort, that I hope it is not true, and that the Conclavists being tired, narrate the worst they know.

They moreover played a practical joke on well nigh all the Cardinals, who having assembled in the "Loggia," the two factions —(one at one end and the other at the other)—took the aforesaid oath, and found themselves locked in during upwards of three hours, being told that they should not be let out, without their Pope; and had not the master of the ceremonies chanced to have another key, they would have made them stay there a long while. It is now 41 days since they were shut up in Conclave, and the Cardinals there are in number 46.

Rome, 8th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

619. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST," of the Farnese faction, enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 11th January.

This morning, Pole lost two votes, and was on a par with Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa], who since many days has always 21 votes, which is not surprising, as your Lordship knows that our side always reckoned on the loss of four votes, including these two of Visco (*sic*) [Crispo?] and Cibo. Doria and another were also to do the like, but even they will not suffice by their seccession to prevent the designs of the opposite party from being thwarted. The obstinacy of the latter and the perseverance of the former is such, that we have no longer any hopes of getting out of Conclave, unless it be without a Pope; and you other reverend prelates, who see these disorders, and whose business it is to apply a remedy, disregard them, without attempting to devise any good scheme for their dispersion, before yet greater disturbance arise; but all may rest assured that if man will not provide, the Almighty will, infallibly.

Rome, 10th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

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* "Sono stati tra loro a brute parole, Crescentio con Pacieco, imperochè Pacieco gli volea proponer," etc. Marcello Crescenzij, a Roman, and Pedro Pacheco, a Spaniard, were both made Cardinals by Pope Paul III. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 236, 280.)

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Jan. 10.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

620. NEWS-LETTER from a CONCLAVIST, enclosed in the Venetian Ambassador's despatch, dated 11th January.

The obstinacy (*durezza*) increases; humanly speaking, there is as yet no visible end, unless the Sovereigns agree to charge their agents here to come to a decision, of which it seems that there is some hope and intention.

The Emperor has written that after the Epiphany he will send an envoy to the most Christian King about this matter. Since yesterday England has lost two votes, namely Visco (*sic*) [Crispo ?] and Cibo, who were long beleaguered (*batagliati*) by the French, and Doria is about to become their third colleague. The cause is not materially affected by the reduction of 23 votes to 20, but it encourages the opposition, who are very determined to resist; 17 prevent election, but there remain 20 sure votes, who will not heed Genoa.* Nothing is thought of but the means whereby one party may thwart the other, and it is said that in this Conclave there have been more pioneers (*guastatori*) than Sultan Solyman had at the siege of Rhodes. The letters from Flanders are dated the 30th and 31st ult., and exclude and include all the candidates mentioned heretofore, greatly recommending Burgos [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], and it is thought he will choose to run another course (*un altra lancia*), but they also confirm the injunctions *ut supra* to remain staunch to Pole, as is and will be the case, so long as it shall please God. The two chief factions (*masse*) during the last few days, have held congregations in which they reciprocally excluded each others' candidates, so that they neither attend to any treaty of concord, nor do they think of it. Recourse must be had to the Lord God, as for the present no other remedy is or can be visible.

On the 10th of January, in the stink and stench of the Conclave (*nella puzza et fettore del conclave*) at the fifth hour, Visco (*sic*) [Crispo or Crispi ?]† had 13 votes, nine from the French, and four from the others.

Rome, 10th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

621. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

I enclose copies of advices (*polizze*) [written in the Conclave by "Conclavisti," or attendants of the Cardinals] from the 7th down to yesterday; this last being written by one of the most judicious persons in the Conclave. Today I have not yet been able to procure any intelligence.

The "advice" of yesterday contains all the authentic news hitherto attainable (if authentic it can be called); and what I collect from other sources is, that the Cardinals Cibo and Visco (*sic*) [Crispo ?], who seem to have deserted England, are again in hopes of

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* Query, Innocenzio Cibo, a Genose (nephew of Leo X. who created him Cardinal), died at Rome in 1550. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 9.)

† Query, Tiberio Crispo, *alias* Crispi, *alias* Crespo, natural brother of Costanza Farnese, made Cardinal by Paul III. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 271–272.) The secession of Crespo from Cardinal Farnese is mentioned by Matteo Dandolo in his report of Rome. (*See* Alberi, series 2. vol. iii., p. 346.)

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being Pope, although Cibo promises, that whenever there is a possibility of England's election, he will not fail him; but Visco will by no means return to England. It is also asserted that seven or eight of the Cardinals are arranging secretly to give their votes (*sui accessi*) to Cardinal Pole whenever they see him in a way to succeed (*in termine di poter riuscire*), and that the Emperor was to send to perform an office with the most Christian King in favour of England. Nor does his Imperial Majesty recommend Burgos [Francesco Mendoza y Bovadilla] because he wishes him to be elected, but in order to facilitate the election of England, Cardinal Farnese having written to him about the difficulties he encountered with regard to Cardinal Pole's election. In his letter to Cardinal Farnese, dated the 31st December, the Emperor replies, praising him much for the mode in which he has proceeded, and warning him that it should not be called obstinacy, but constancy; he urges him to persevere in supporting England as long as he can, and when it seems impossible to accomplish the election of Cardinal Pole, he is to turn his thoughts to some other person, who must be an honest man (*homo da bene*), not hostile to his Majesty, and favourable to the private interests of the Farnese family; and with such choice his Majesty will be satisfied.

In the congregation held by the French Cardinals amongst themselves alone, their chief the Cardinal de Guise admonished them earnestly (*efficacemente*), in their King's name, not to elect England, and that should any of them choose to do so, they were to tell him so, and assign their reasons, which might be such, that were three or four of them of this mind, he likewise would favour his election (*gli condescenderebbe*). Thereupon they all pledged their faith to him, not to vote for Pole, to whom Guise shows himself very adverse (*molto contrario*). Thus will they continue awaiting letters from the King, and perhaps from the Emperor likewise, in reply to what the Cardinal of Trent wrote him, which seems to have been in favour of Salviati, and possibly also to what Farnese wrote him subsequently. The wagers at the bankers' shops go jumping (*saltando*) and falling for Ridolfi and these others, but very low for all of them (*ma molto basse per ogn' uno*) [but heavy odds against all of them?], which shows that not even these merchants, although they have many Florentines in Conclave* and obtain the very best information, have anything more to rely on The highest wager current is 60 per cent. that a Pope will not be elected during the whole of this month, and 26 per cent. during the whole of February; but God can do more in one hour than all human discourses in many.

Rome, 11th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

622. NEWS-LETTER from a CONCLAVIST of the Farnese faction, enclosed in the Venetian Ambassador's despatch, dated 11th January.

This morning Pole had twenty-one votes, as yesterday morning, and so had Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa]. Since last evening some-

* In attendance on the Cardinals, and who were termed "*Conclavists.*"

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thing, with which I am not acquainted, has been said about Ridolfi, but as no particulars are heard, no hope is placed in him, although some persons declared that he is not amongst the candidates excluded by the Emperor; yet this seems unreasonable, as his case is the same, or even a stronger one, than that of Salviati.

Rome, 11th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

623. NEWS-LETTER from a CONCLAVIST of the French faction enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 11th January.

The affairs of the Popedom (*del Papato*) are going as they went many days ago, and although Cibo and Visco (*sic*) [Crispo ?] have deserted the Imperialists, they, however, remain with 21 votes on each side, both of which will make noise and not hit the mark (*et non coglieranno*) unless they coalesce.

In the last letters from the Emperor's Court neither Monte nor Ridolfi were excluded, which is very good news; all are exerting themselves (*et [illegible]' uno si aiuta*), and affairs are even rather brisk. In two days they will improve, as according to report the Imperialists will lose two more votes, but the matter depends entirely on Farnese, who will not decide.

Rome, 11th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvi, p. 129, tergo.

624. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their last letters from France, dated the 1st instant, announce the appointment by the most Christian King of four commissioners, the King of England having nominated a like number, that they may all hold a conference to treat and adjust the disputes between their two Kings concerning the restitution of Boulogne to the most Christian King for the money which the deceased King [Francis] bound himself to pay the King of England.

Ayes, 191. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

625. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Enclose a summary for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12. "Annali" Venetian Archives.

626. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The last despatch sent hence to Rome was dated the 5th instant.; his Majesty disapproved entirely of supporting the canvass for the Popedom of the Cardinals Salviati and Santa Croce, to which Cardinal Farnese seemed inclined, having found means, should either of them be elected, to make sure of Parma and the Council of Trent.

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Orders have been given to favour the Cardinal of Burgos, and should this not be possible, then the Cardinal of England. A sharp reproof has been given to Don Diego, telling him that he has more at heart his own private interest than the service of his Imperial Majesty; this proceeded from the Duke of Alva and the whole Toledo family, who are extremely dissatisfied with him.

The news of the release of the Protector of England was heard here with no little regret, as it will apparently be the ruin of the Earl of Warwick, with whom his Imperial Majesty has an understanding (*praticha*); and it has been hinted to me, on authority, that the arrest of the Protector, and these late risings in London, had their root in this Court. Here they are awaiting the result of the negotiations for peace between the most Christian King and the English. The English Ambassador here has been allowed the use of 700 German horse should he need them, though it does not seem they have been sent for.

Brussels, 12th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

627. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday morning the Cardinal de Bourbon [arrived from France], and he also entered Conclave, saying that he did so without ambition, and should quit it without passion. Together with him seven attendants were admitted, so that by this time there must be a good 400 persons in Conclave, the servants being so familiar with the Cardinals that very often they do not even doff their bonnets to them. In the scrutinies, they continue giving their 21 votes to England and the same number to Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa]; and now, even in Conclave amongst the Cardinals themselves, wagers of amber rosaries, perfumed gloves (which no one can do without), she mules, chains, and even of money are made, some of their Lordships wagering that we shall have a Pope before the end of this month, and some later. The Duchess of Parma [Margaret of Austria] sent the Cardinal of Trent [Christopher Madruccio] an amber chaplet, telling him that he well knew how to make such a Pope as would be confirmed by the Emperor.

At the bankers' shops the wagers on the Cardinals are at a low ebb, 16 at the utmost for the favourites, namely, England, Ridolfi, and Salviati; but 62 per cent. is wagered that the Pope will not be made in the course of this month, and 22 per cent. that neither will February witness the election. Forty-eight days have now elapsed since the Conclave was closed, and it now numbers 48 Cardinals, who may indeed be said to be at large, rather than locked up; for their dispatches go and come by the ordinary mails as if they were each of them free in Rome, and not confined in Conclave; and the servants, whether sick or sound, depart and return at their pleasure. The Cardinals Santa Croce [Marcello Cervini] and Bologna [the French Cardinal of Boulogne], who are also sick, will come back when the voting commences in earnest. It is heard from the Treasurer that since the Pope's death 300,000 crowns have been spent.

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By letters, dated the 4th instant, from the Emperor, it is heard that his Majesty was in good health; and with regard to particulars [relating to the Conclave], discourse varies. Some say he wrote that if unable to succeed in electing Cardinal Pole, he referred himself in everything and thoroughly to the College, provided they elect a man of worth (*un homo da bene*); and that he has written to Madame [his natural daughter, Margaret of Austria,] and to Cardinal Farnese, that they are to be of good cheer (*de bona voglia*) about the affairs of Parma, as he will cause them to have it, let the College elect what Pope they will, but that Cardinal Farnese must be staunch to Pole (*ch' el stia fermo su Polo*), next to whom (*appresso il quale*) he writes in recommendation of Burgos, exhorting Farnese not to act like his grandfather [Paul III.], who made a show of doing one thing and then attended to another (*che mostrava di voler far una cosa et poi tendeva ad un' altra*), because if he [the Cardinal] acted in that way, he [the Emperor] likewise would then fail to support his interests.

It is said that whenever Salviati shall choose to canvass (*vorà correr*) he may rely on 26 or 27 votes.

By the news-letter of a "Conclavist" in attendance on Trani [Giovandomenico de Cuppis, Cardinal Archbishop of Trani] written to a friend of his, it is heard that owing to the discord and obstinancy in Conclave, there is no hope of electing a Pope in the whole course of this month, so the writer recommends his correspondent to make wagers on February; and he says that the affairs of the Cardinal of Trani are proceeding very well. Yesterday they scrutinized (*fu scrutiniato*) Bourbon [Charles de Vendôme] who had 19 votes; England, 21; Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa], 22; and today Morone* had 24, and two *accessi*, given, it is supposed, in jest rather than in earnest.

It is said that Farnese and his 21 voters have held congregation, and determined to remain firm and united, *usque ad mortem*.

Rome, 15th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

628. NEWS-LETTER from a "CONCLAVIST" enclosed in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador, dated 18th January.

There is not a single Cardinal without firm hopes of becoming Pope, by means of this their deceit, and everything remains in confusion. The votes are as usual, 13 for Morone, 21 for Pole, and 22 for Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa].

Rome, 17th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

629. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On Thursday morning they again scrutinized Morone, but gave him only 13 votes; England has his 21; and Chieti his 22.

* Giovanni Morone, who was imprisoned by Paul IV. in Castle St. Angelo, on a charge of heresy. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 242.)

1550.

Yesterday I received a note from Cardinal Pisani, telling me that hitherto the Conclave has been intent on undoing, but is now beginning to do, so he hoped that in eight or ten days they will have done, and well. The Archbishop Cornaro also came to me in the name of his Right Reverend Cardinal [Andrea Cornaro, created Cardinal by Paul III.], to show me letters from his Right Reverend Lordship [written to members of the French faction?], apologising for having declared himself for Pole, as he chooses to satisfy his conscience, knowing for certain that he thus votes for a man of everlasting virtue (*un perpetuo homo da bene*), and does his country good service, as Pole is a great friend to the Republic, and that in similar cases no one will ever be able to command him, Cornaro, save God and his country.

Yesterday also, at the scrutiny (*servitio*), they gave Morone his 13 votes, 21 to England, 21 to Chieti, and 17 to Trani [Cuppis], who had arranged for more, as your Serenity will perceive by the enclosed news-letter. He prayed the Cardinals in the first place no longer to continue in this form, but to divest themselves of all private passion, and he was seconded most eloquently by Chieti [Caraffa], so that it seemed premeditated. Pacheco, seeing that no one spoke, replied that the Imperialists proposed to them a candidate [Reginald Pole], whom they rejected, solely because he was too virtuous;* whereupon their Right Reverend Lordships used foul language (*brutte parole*) to each other.

The enclosed brief news-letter will also show your Serenity what took place today, and I likewise send two letters written by the Duke of Florence, one to Don Pedro de Toledo, who is in Conclave with the Cardinal of Burgos, the other to Cardinal Farnese. The Cardinal of Boulogne is very ill, owing to the syringe (*siringa*), but says he will not die out of Conclave, so that he may not fail dying in the service of his King.

The wagers at the bankers' shops on the chief candidates do not amount to 13, but 63 [per cent.?] is waged that a Pope will not be elected this month, 22 [per cent.?] that the election will not be made in February, and 12 [per cent.?] against its being effected in March.

Rome, 18th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

630. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Farnese has informed the Cardinal de Guise that they [the Imperialists and Farnesians] have 22 united votes, which will always remain firm in rejecting Salviati, Ridolfi, Chieti [Caraffa], Trani [Cuppis] and Lorraine, or any other Frenchman; and Guise answered him that he and his party will never consent to any Spaniard or German, nor to Pole, nor Sfondrato, nor Morone, nor Carpi [Rodolfo Pio]. Old French Cardinals urge the young ones to persist in this, as they [the old ones] will do to the death for the service of their King. So at the bankers' shops they no longer

* "A chi non era oposto salva ch' el fusse troppo huom da bene."

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make wagers on Cardinals, but 88 is wagered that a Pope will not be made in January, 61 by the middle of February, 55 by the end of the month, 20 that the election will not take place during the whole of March ; and they even wager 8 that the Cardinals will go out of Conclave without a Pope. The greater part of those who [now] leave the Conclave are of this opinion, many of them departing sick, and almost dead, and their places are supplied by none but butlers and footmen. The stench is so great that Norsia, the first physician in Rome,* having entered Conclave, threatened them with plague on this account, and also with the "falling sickness," on account of the charcoal fires which they burn in the cells, and their maladies already commence with giddiness. Cardinal Ridolfi likewise, instead of going out of Conclave as Pope, took his departure last Monday as an invalid, and being seized with vomit it was suspected he had been poisoned, so that the Cardinals mutinied against the prelates, and would no longer allow their food to be placed by them at the wicket, but that it should be presented by their [the Cardinals'] own carvers. The prelates, resenting this, cleared themselves of the charge, so that they continue performing their usual office ; the senior Cardinal (*Revmo. Decano*) having admonished them to serve well, and to suppose (*et faccino conto*) that they are now commencing.

Rome, 22nd January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. "Annali," Library, Venetian Archives.

631. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor's adherents, perceiving Cardinal Farnese to be so staunch an Imperialist, and that the arrival at Rome of the French Cardinals was so long delayed, began firmly to hope that they might make either Burgos or England Pope ; and thus, at the persuasion of the Duke of Alva, and for their own advantage, the Imperialists commenced the negotiation accordingly, without writing anything about it to Milan. His Majesty is convinced that had it not been for the practices already commenced and the favour shown by his ministers to Salviati, Burgos would now be Pope.

Brussels, 23rd January 1550.†

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. "Annali," Library, Venetian Archives.

632. The SAME to the SAME.

By letters from Rome, dated the 15th, his Majesty was informed that Cardinal Salviati makes such progress daily, that it is considered quite certain he will shortly be elected Pope. So being unable to prevent this, it would be well for his Majesty to desire his servants to support him, that he may have some reason to

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* The person meant was Benedetto de Nursia, born at Norcia, one of the most famous physicians of the 16th century. He was in the service of Sixtus IV., and amongst his works was one entitled "De Conservatione Sanitatis."

† By this letter it appears that at the commencement of the conclave, and with the approval of the Imperial prime minister the Bishop of Arras, Don Ferrante Gonzaga, urged his brother the Cardinal of Mantua, Don Diego de Mendoza, and other Imperialists to support Cardinal Salviati, and the Emperor was of opinion that this first canvass

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acknowledge himself obliged to the Emperor. It seems that Salviati promises not to fail doing whatever his Majesty may deem expedient for the conservation and increase of our holy Christian Faith; and moreover he offers, in very bland language, always to be the best of friends to him. This intelligence gave great displeasure, and I am assured that his Majesty complained extremely of his ministers, and amongst the rest, of the Cardinal of Trent, who seems in Conclave to have taken upon himself to obtain from Brussels the Emperor's consent in Salviati's favour; whereupon his Majesty wrote him a letter of reproof (*una lettera rebufatoria*), desiring him for the future to attend to the execution of his Imperial Majesty's commands, and never again take upon himself to proceed or promise farther.

Brussels, 25th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

633. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

My last was dated Wednesday, as usual, and on Thursday Cardinal Cibo likewise went out of Conclave from indisposition, but is now better, and so is Ridolfi, so that they are expected to return this week.

Nothing more is said about the scrutinies—they are of one mould as usual; neither are the wagers mentioned; and yet it seems that the Emperor's orders continue in favour of Burgos, Pole, and Sfondrato, but that he would be best satisfied with Pole, as besides his being a virtuous man (*huomo da bene*), to him there are none of the objections which disparage the others;* and should the French Cardinals be unable to elect their King's nominees, they will at least let a man of worth be appointed;† but they are still awaiting advices and replies.

Rome, 25th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

634. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Informed him by their last that the most Serene Lord Turk [Sultan Soliman] was from day to day expected back at Constantinople. By letters dated the 22nd December, they now learn that on the 21st he presented himself at Scutari in front of Constantinople, where he embarked on board a four-banked galley very handsomely decorated, and together with two other galleys and many "palandre" and other vessels, proceeded to Constantinople accompanied by the Magnificos the Bashaws and a great numberoof the Turkish grandees. On landing he mounted his horse with great agility, and in very good health, as appeared by his countenance, and rode to the Seraglio, the guns of the city and of the ships in the harbour saluting him with repeated discharges; and he was also accompanied by a great number of janissaries and other

* "Non ha alcuno di contrarij che hanno gli altri."

† "Et quei di Francia che quando non se possi far di proposti da sua Christianissima Maestà se faccia pure un huomo dabene."

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people. Have chosen to give him immediate notice of this return, for communication as usual.

Ayes, 18. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

635. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Duke Ottavio has sent Gioan Alphonso, his chamber attendant (*cameriero*), to Cardinal Farnese to tell him to make the best Pope he can for their family, as there is but little to hope [from the Emperor ?] about Parma, though it is nevertheless asserted that whenever Farnese shall desert England, his 21 voters—with the exception of a very few—will not follow him in favour of any other candidate. They declare that they are not to be bound to him with regard to others, but at liberty to go by themselves to those they like best, so that but a very few votes would remain at his disposal; and this is the cause of his obstinacy (*durezza*) in not deciding on any other candidate, as he could no longer say that he [Farnese] had elected him.

The people of Spoleto have retaken their castle of Cereto, which the Pope had annexed to Camerino, so there likewise they are in arms. To quell these disturbances, the Conclave has elected six Cardinals, one for each nation, videlicet, Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa, Roman], Augsburg [Otho Trusches, German], Bourbon [French], Pacheco [Spaniard], Visco (*sic*) [Crispo ?],* and Pole [English].

The Conclavists, who yesterday and today quitted Conclave, declare, apart one from the other, that there they consider the election of a Pope hopeless (*che in Conclave ogni altra cosa si spera che di vedere un Papa fatto*). The scrutinies are made every morning as usual, when they give their 21 votes to Chieti [Caraffa] and Pole, but not many to the others, and not in earnest (*da seno*). It is said they are still awaiting letters from France.

Rome, 29th January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

636. COPY of a LETTER from a CONCLAVIST, enclosed in the despatch of Matteo Dandolo, dated 1st February.

We are effecting the reformation, and matters are being straitened in every quarter, so as to do what they have failed doing hitherto. The necessity for making a Pope is acknowledged, but as yet things stand so that there is little hope of speed, as the French choose to have one after their own fashion, and would be content with Trani [Giovandomenico de Cuppis], Salviati, or Ridolfi, as they are well nigh quite convinced that they cannot hope for a Pope of their own nation, though they made but a feeble attempt; and Ferrara [Hippolito da Este], who was apparently thinking about this and canvassing for them, is likewise almost persuaded.

The Imperialists would wish for Burgos [Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Archbishop of Burgos], Sfondrato, or Morone; and Farnese with

* The name is written distinctly *Visco*, and the paragraph implies that he was not an Italian, but there is no mention of any Cardinal *Visco* in Panvinio or Cardella.

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his voters—who are however few—are on their side. Even they have not much hope in their candidates' success, but they trust to tire out the French, who are at present more determined than ever to remain in Conclave, as by letters from their King they are now desired not to return to France, unless they make a Pope in their own fashion; and he writes again in favour of Ridolfi, who would be more to the taste of Cardinal Farnese than either of the other three, and this has been his constant opinion. But to secure himself against Salviati's being Pope, Farnese was compelled so to bind himself by words and letters to the Emperor, that he cannot retract; yet does he sometimes evince the intention of doing so, and most especially because the French assure him that he cannot have Parma without them, nor without making a Pope to their mind; and because they have sent money into Parma, nor will they fail supplying him.

Farnese is also very dissatisfied with the Emperor, who would fain keep Parma for himself, giving him as recompense an annual rental—in the air—of 40,000 crowns; and the Imperialists would also wish him to cede his claims on Piacenza. For these reasons Cardinal Farnese and Ottavio have determined not to make war, and to await the new Pontiff, especially as they perceive the difficulty of keeping possession of Parma, even if they took it. The last messenger from Ottavio to Cardinal Farnese announces the same dissatisfaction, the resolve not to continue the war, and his wish to come to Rome; for being unable to obtain Parma, he purposes asserting that the cession of Castro,* as prejudicial to his children, is null, in virtue of a protest made by "Madame" [Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma,] at the time of said cession; and these two brothers [Ottavio and Orazio] will come to blows, which will be their final ruin.

St. Angelo† has told Farnese‡ plainly that in this matter he will so contrive that no one will desert Castro [Orazio Farnese], and that his [Alessandro Farnese] enemy Salviati shall be made Pope; so that affairs are in great confusion. But Farnese [Alessandro], nevertheless, will not yet decide, and no later than last evening they broke with Guise, to whom he [Farnese] had given hopes of a decision. He seems still bent on his own candidates, and desirous of making either Sfondrato or Monte, Pope; but all his adherents will not follow him, even with regard to those two; nor can he succeed without the votes of the French Cardinals. In conclusion, each side is obstinate, but should Farnese decide (as he frequently causes it to be hoped or feared he will), no one will please him better than Ridolfi; and of this there are a thousand indications.

Rome, 31st January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

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* Castro had been given to his younger brother Orazio Farnese.

† Rainuzio Farnese, the youngest of the four brothers, born in 1530, made Cardinal by his grandfather on the 16th December, 1545.

‡ Cardinal Allessandro Farnese, the eldest of the four brothers, born in 1520. (*See* Chiusole, Genealogie.)

1550.
Jan. 31.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

637. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

The letters written by me to the Senate are divulged here, news which I had not given for certain being moreover represented as such. I now inform your Lordships that Cardinal Cibo, after the conversation held with me, as already written, desired his attendants to withdraw, and then continued expatiating on the wretched condition of the Sacred College, and of all Italy, both one and the other having submitted in this so necessary and exalted (*degno*) an election to submit to the decision of these two Princes [the Emperor Charles V. and Henry II., King of France]. That the Emperor has already so much [territory] in Italy that he might be satisfied, which is so far from being the case that his ambassador [Don Diego], under the pretence of paying him [Cibo] a visit, protested to him in his Majesty's name, that were either Santa Croce [Marcello Cervino], or Salviati, or Ridolfi elected Pope, the Emperor would not acknowledge him.

After this, Cardinal Cibo inveighed somewhat, but gently, against our Cardinals*, because being members of so free and well-constituted a Republic, they had rendered themselves subject, the one to the Emperor and the other to France, adding, "It cannot be denied that England is a very virtuous man (*un grand' homo da bene*), but nevertheless Italy ought not to be deprived of so important a post;" and he [Cibo] therefore complained of Cardinal Cornaro rather more than of Cardinal Pisani.

As Cardinal Cibo is an Imperialist, of which he makes profession, as known to everybody, he prays and beseeches me to keep this a most profound secret, as it would be his ruin if divulged, though he could not refrain from these remarks, because he is at the same time an Italian, and will remain so until death, and by reason of his affection for the Signory, sole relic of Italy's pristine happiness (*sola reliquia di quanto bene che hebbe Italia già mai*). I limited myself to a general reply, thanking his right reverend lordship for his confidential affection, and commending his good intention of being a good Italian. Your Excellencies must also remember that his nephew was beheaded at Milan by the Emperor's order, on a charge of having an understanding at Genoa, (then dependent on Fiesco), against the person of Prince Doria. So I consider it my duty to acquaint you with these particulars in order, that, if communicated to the Senate, the strictest secrecy may be enjoined, as if divulged, this personage, so well affected to the State, would suffer much; and I also, perhaps, to the detriment of your service, for the sake of which, however, I hold my life in little account. Nor will I omit telling you that although many blame our Cardinals for this their fixity of purpose (*fissezza*), they are also praised by many who say they are true gentlemen, and show themselves such, like their noble country, which never fails

* Namely, Andrea Cornaro and Francesco Pisani. Andrea Cornaro, the staunch adherent of Reginald Pole, died at Rome in 1551, when he was 40 years old. His body was removed for interment to Venice, where his monument is still visible in the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore.

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in a given promise; and Michiel has told me, Cardinal Pisani said in Conclave, that he sought to make a Pope of the French faction (*fattione Francese*), knowing that he should thus benefit his country, which shared the fortunes of France in resisting the Emperor's greediness and thirst for universal monarchy.

Rome, 31st January 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

638. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador to Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Amongst the orders issued by the Cardinals in Conclave was one for the expulsion of some 70 conclavists, noblemen and gentlemen, secretaries and agents of sovereigns, and merchants, who were of no service there, and rather impeded and troubled negotiations by sending out false advices, and receiving others of the same nature. Many of these personages were more than glad to come away, to free themselves from the inconveniences [of confinement]. Amongst them was the nobleman Messer Zuan Michiel,* son of the most noble Messer Jacomo, who was there with Cardinal Cornaro; and besides giving me many particulars about the Conclave, he visited me on behalf of his right reverend lordship, praying me most earnestly to give him some light whereby to guide himself, and should I not choose to do so officially, at least for love, and on account of our relationship, as he is still fixed and firm for the Right Reverend of England. It seemed to him he would thus comply with the demand made by me to him in the name of the Senate, whose despatch I showed him, charging him in these such very important times to elect a man of worth and good for the Christian Commonwealth (*un huomo da bene, et buono per la Republica Christiana*); and by doing so he considered that he was acting conscientiously, and obeying your Highness. He was of opinion that the Right Reverend of England had the qualities required, and would be serviceable to the Signory, knowing for certain that he is the Republic's very great friend; and although aware that for this he [Cornaro] has been slandered, his conscience tells him, and God is his witness, that his vote was induced by no other motive than the honour of God, and the service of the State, with regard to which others can neither command nor dispose of him; praying and beseeching me to tell him officially, or at least privately, whether he is to abandon the Right Reverend of England, and to whom he is to adhere (*s'el se die partire da esso Revmo de Inghelterra, et a che si debba attachare*).

I enclose a news-letter written last evening by one of our great friends in Conclave, before they knew of the death of Cardinal Ridolfi.

Rome, 1st February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

* This nobleman resided as Venetian Ambassador in England from 1554 to 1557, and his despatches from the Court of Philip and Mary will be printed hereafter.

1550.
Feb. 1.
"Annali," Library, Venetian Archives.

639. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From what I have heard, his Imperial Majesty wrote back to Rome yesterday very angrily, that they were not to support Cardinal Salviati, but remain staunch to Burgos or England; so here they think that a long time will elapse before the election of the new Pontiff.

Brussels, 1st February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

640. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

I have heard from a friend of mine that Don Diego [the Imperial ambassador] said the Emperor would never acknowledge Cardinal Salviati for Pope;* and not only was he previously odious to Don Diego (*lo aborriva*), but the Emperor moreover reproved him for not preventing the election as he ought to have done; and the Cardinal of Mantua [Ercole Gonzaga], who at first assisted Salviati, and wished him success, almost as much as if he himself had been the candidate, is therefore now not only unable to wish for him (*non solo per ciò non lo può volere*), but compelled to be his adversary. It seems that they are attending now to Sfondrato, and he is more talked of than the others; nor can anything else be asserted.

This morning Master Realdo,† late lecturer at Padua, opened the body of poor Ridolfi, who, it is heard from several quarters, would have been Pope; and he [Realdo] assures me that he found his heart, liver, bowels, and stomach so injured (*guasto*) and spotted, that had he given him the poison with his own hand, he should not be more sure of the fact.‡

Don Diego has this day received letters from the Emperor dated the 22nd ultimo. His Majesty expresses surprise at the forms used by the Cardinals in this election, and seems to wish for the despatch, but no longer urges it. He is firm about the candidates excluded by him, especially Santa Croce [Marcello Cervini],§ and provided one of his [the Emperor's] adherents be elected, he does not care much more for Pole than for anyone else (*non si cura molto più di Pollo, che di un altro*).

Rome, 5th February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

641. The SAME to the SAME.

At this hour [the 6th after sunset], a great and sudden noise of people and armed men has proclaimed through the streets, by

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* Salviati was connected with the royal family of France through Catherine de Medici.

† Colombo Realdo, native of Cremona, a famous surgeon and anatomist; *see* his folio volume "De Re Anatomica libri quindecim, Venetiis, 1550."

‡ According to Cardella (vol. iv. p. 63.) Cardinal Redolfi died of apoplexy.

§ The Emperor resented the removal by Cervini of the Council General from Trent to

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torch-light, the election as Pope of Cardinal di Monte,* to whom having sent my secretary and others of my household, they were unable to pass the Castle, but met the French ambassador returning from the Palace, and he confirmed the news to them, positively; notwithstanding which I afterwards sent the secretary quietly to his house, to ask him in my name for particulars, that I might send them to your Highness.

The secretary having now returned, brings back word that he could elicit nothing save that he is "made," and when he inquired "How," the answer was, "How are Popes made?" I sent the secretary from the French ambassador to Don Diego likewise, and whilst with him he [Don Diego] received a news-letter (*una polizza*), giving him the same intelligence, namely, that Monte was Pope and that the Cardinals were "adoring" him; and he desired the secretary to tell me that I might despatch the news to your Highness, as he has it for certain; and that he also will do the like, for that whereas at this hour the "adoration" may be announced, so subsequently tomorrow morning may the publication of it be communicated; and I have therefore thought it my duty not to fail doing so.

Rome, 7th February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

642. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

At the sixth hour this night I announced to your Serenity, by the courier Zuan Bon Raspa, the election of the High Pontiff, then effected, in the following manner.

On the evening before last, the Cardinals Farnese [Alessandro] and Guise agreed that he, Guise, should propose to Farnese a candidate of his Farnese's party, to whom he, Farnese, was to give his votes; Farnese on the other hand proposing a candidate of the French party to Guise, who should give him his votes. Thereupon the Cardinal de Guise proposed Cardinal Santa Croce [Marcello Cervino], but Farnese apologized, saying he should be too glad to accept him, but that he was overmuch excluded by the Emperor, so that by no means could he accept him, but that they must think of some one else, for which he took time. After consulting with his party, they determined on the Cardinal di Monte, which being announced last evening to the Cardinal de Guise, he accepted him joyfully; and so all having assembled together in the chapel, Farnese and Guise commencing, they all went to adore him as the Vicar of our Saviour, with the exception however of the Right Reverend Cardinals of Trent [Madruccio], Pacheco, Mantua [Ercole Gonzaga], and Cueva,† until after his Holiness's return to his cell (perhaps after receiving a reply to the note sent to Don Diego as mentioned in mine of this night), when they went into his cell

* In his "Report," Dandolo says that so firm was his belief in the election of Cardinal Pole, that on that night he placed more faith in one single voice which shouted "*England*" than in the many cries of "*Monte.*" (*See* Alberi, series 2, vol. iii. p. 347.)

† Bartholomeo de la Cueva, born in the Diocese of Segovia, elected Cardinal by Paul III., 19th December 1544. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 261.)

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to do the like. They complained to Farnese, who excused himself by saying that his Holiness is not amongst the candidates excluded by his Imperial Majesty; and, when they declared he was, Farnese said he never had it in any letter from the Emperor, and that he [Farnese] had not chosen to await the election of one who would be hostile to him (*et chè non havea voluto espettare che se gli facesse un suo inimico*). Thus the Imperialists have broken most completely with the Farneses. With regard to Parma, his Holiness, after his election, swore to the articles stipulating its restoration to Duke Ottavio, and signed them as Pope, promising Cardinal Farnese that within a week he will send a Cardinal or a dignified prelate thither, to make the consignment accordingly.

This morning early, in chapel, his Holiness was also elected by scrutiny, and chose for himself the name of *Julius the Third*, it being said that he is of the same nature as Julius the Second;* and from the balcony (*finestra*) the Senior Deacon announced the "*Gaudium Magnum*" between the 14th and 15th hour. And thus, preceded by the Cardinals, he was taken to St. Peter's, on whose altar they seated him after making the prayer; and the *Te Deum* having been sung, they went to kiss his feet, hands, and mouth; the usual prayers and "antiphones" being recited; whereupon, after blessing the people, his Holiness withdrew into the palace, and the Cardinals went to their homes with very haggard countenances.

Rome, 8th February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

643. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Don Diego, who on the night of the Pope's election did not appear very joyful, followed the counsel given of yore by the Moor (*il Moro*) [qu. Doge Christopher Moro, or his namesake the Governor of Cyprus?] and on the following morning, went so early to his Holiness, that he was robing (*che ella si vestia*); and immediately on seeing him enter chapel, he having said "Here am I Don Diego" (*ecco Don Diego*), the Pope replied, "Be not so alarmed, Signor Don Diego" (*non tanta paura Signor Don Diego*). When he offered to kiss his foot, his Holiness would not allow it, saying it was neither the time nor the place, but embraced him and made him rise. After congratulating the Pope briefly, Don Diego asked him to repeal the writ of outlawry against Redolfo Malatesta Baglione, which demand was most graciously granted; and after returning thanks, and drawing aside, he said with a laugh in an under-tone, "It is possible I may not care to kiss him again;" but nevertheless I have heard from one single individual of the many to whom I put the question, that he did kiss him at the Altar of St. Peter, after the Cardinals and together with the Barons.

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* Matteo Dandolo in his "Report," said that Julius III. was by nature very choleric but also very kind hearted, "so that his anger comes to an end sooner than the words that express it, and the Cardinals of Mantua and Trent, who would never give him their votes, were much better rewarded by his Holiness than any of those who supported him." (*See* Alberi, "Relazioni Venete," series 2, vol. iii. pp. 353–354.)

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This afternoon I went to visit the Cardinal de Guise, who is lodged with the Cardinal of Ferrara, and they took me lovingly between them on three chairs, and commenced giving me a most "*dolcissimo*" account of their negotiations, in Conclave, in which it must be confessed that the French showed themselves more adroit than usual, using many clever devices (*molti bei tratti*) and exhibiting much patience. Amongst other things, it is said that both parties negotiated and lived together so lovingly, and more as if they had been brothers, although opposed to each other in their object, and yet during 72 days there were 47 or 48 Cardinals assembled together, the like never having been heard of at any former Conclave. It may therefore be hoped that the Lord was amongst them, and that this election took place through the Holy Spirit, the consent having been general, unexpected, and sudden; so that although the Cardinals were very tired, the election is nevertheless considered miraculous by everybody.

Rome, 9th February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

644. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

During this election, one single merchant in "Banchi," by name Ceuli Banchieri (*il Ceuli Banchieri*), has made upwards of twenty thousand crowns, by wagers.

Rome, 12th February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta,) v. lxvi. p. 129, tergo.

645. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard by his letters of the 22nd December of the safe arrival at Constantinople of that most Serene Signor, with the Sublime Porte.

By letters from their ambassador in France, dated Melun the 30th ultimo, are advised that the English Commissioners who were to cross the sea for the conference with the Commissioners of the most Christian King, concerning the agreement now in course of negotiation between their Majesties, had already arrived in France, and the French Commissioners were proceeding to meet them.

Will acquaint the "Bailo" with what reaches them concerning the result of the conference.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 6. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

646. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On Monday morning, the son of Signor Camillo Ursino, together with his agent Piovene, and Count Pier Maria dal Sacrato, whom he has sent to kiss the Pope's feet, presented themselves to his Holiness with a letter, the copy of which I enclose. Whilst reading it, the Pope dwelt on the important passages, always commending Signor Camillo, who, he said, warned him admirably about this restitution of Parma [to Duke Ottavio], but that he could not do otherwise for

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the maintenance of the peace of Italy, and that had Cardinal Pole been elected Pope, he would perhaps have done the like (*che il Rev^mo. Polo havea ad esser lui il Papa, che forse ne harebbe fatto l'istesso*); but as God had chosen to make him bear this burden, perhaps as penance for his sins, he will perform it, amongst other things, by doing everything possible to preserve peace amongst his Christian flock, and above all in Italy.

Rome, 19th February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

647. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send the enclosed summary for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. ?
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., File no. 50.

648. PETITION from the MURANESE GLASS MAKERS in LONDON, in the pay of Edward VI., to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Most Excellent Lords, Chiefs of the most illustrious Council of Ten.

Your most faithful servants, poor glass makers from Murano, who were compelled by extreme necessity and very great poverty —owing to the malignity, or rather to the great cruelty (*grande impietà*) of the masters of the furnaces, who, rather than give them work, enjoyed seeing them pace the quays of Murano dying of hunger, in very great misery, they and their wives and children,— to determine to accept no small sum of money, and to go and work in Flanders and England, before the Act passed in your most excellent Council forbidding anyone to go and work in foreign parts, namely; Iseppo, son of Antonio Casseler, Marco Terrible and his son Piero, Gracioxo, *alias* Disperato, Baptista son of Michielin da Chiari, Alvixe di Albertino, Hieremia Pixani, and Sebastian Zanon, summoned by an edict of the Council of Ten, dated 18th of September last, to return to work at Murano within eight months; who, finding themselves in the hands of foreign lords (*Signori alieni*), although they often wished to depart from them "*de plano*," and not seeing the way, endeavoured to escape thence (*dellì*), to tender obedience to your Supreme Council; on which account they have suffered so much, that unless it were death they could not suffer more, for they were seized and imprisoned in the depths of the Tower, living on bread and water, and then taken out, and kept under custody and penalty of the gibbet in case they departed without having worked out* the money received from said Flemings and English, which is to be worked out in two years and a half.† They, therefore, first of all ask pardon on their bended knees, and then implore the Chiefs, who are always replete with pity and clemency, to commiserate their lamentable circumstances, caused by extreme poverty, and the wish to support their wives and children (of which last they have each four or

* Senza haver *livrato*.

† Il qual vien ad esser livrato fino ad anni dui e mezo.

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five), for whom they have sold their freedom, so that they are worse off than men chained to the oar; and well may it be truly said that the monies received by them were accursed and of evil import, as for a mere trifle of support for their families, they have well nigh lost the gracious favour of the Signory, besides all their grievous hardships.

They therefore petition the State and the Council of Ten to prolong the term assigned in the said proclamation, so that they may be enabled to return to their allegiance, and not lose the Signory's grace, and incur the penalties and censures decreed by the State; offering to die of hunger rather than ever again receive wages or engage themselves, out of Murano, but live under the beneficent shadow of the most Serene Signory, and rather beg their bread thus, than ever go again into foreign parts. And they humbly recommend themselves to the Signory's good grace.*

[*Italian.*]

March 1.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 2, tergo.

649. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Are informed by letters from France and England, that both sides have sent commissioners to Boulogne to arrange the disputes between the two crowns, and it is said that an adjustment will take place.

The Duke of Mantua died lately. He was a young man 17 years of age, who last summer married a daughter of the King of the Romans, and took her to Mantua.

Ayes, 181. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 8.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

650. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of the 18th ultimo, giving very full account of what is passing in England, for which they praise him greatly, [but as they contain certain matters of importance which are not written in cipher, and might therefore occasionally cause inconvenience and give him trouble, they desire him for the future, when writing anything which he may consider important, to make his secretary put it into cipher, both in the original letters and in the duplicates, as the process cannot but secure their interests and his own honour].†

Ayes, 19. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 9.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

651. The SAME to the SAME.

To communicate the enclosed summary as usual.

[*Italian.*]

* This document has no date of time or place, but was evidently drawn up in London, in the month of February 1550, as will be seen by the allusion to the ambassador's letter, in the act passed by the Council of Ten on the 13th June 1550.

† Cipher within the brackets.

1550.
March 15.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

652. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On Monday in Consistory, his Holiness made a very fine discourse, in the first place thanking the Cardinals who had conferred on him the pontificate, and saying that he hoped in God through their assistance (without which he did not purpose doing anything of importance) so to direct it, that they will not repent of what they have done. After mentioning that he had sent for the Reverend Pighino* about the Council, he advocated reform, promising to commence with his own household and personal expenditure; and first of all he would reform the "Datario" and the "Penitentiaria," for which purpose he appointed six Cardinals, naming the senior Cardinal and Chieti [Gianpietro Caraffa], Bishops; Sfondrato and Burgos [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], Priests; and Cibo and England [Reginald Pole], Deacons.

Rome, 15th March 1550.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 9.

653. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

In addition to the advices contained in the accompanying letters, inform him that the Pope [Julius III.] having been elected [on the 8th February 1550] was crowned with great honour, all Rome applauding his election.

By the last advices from France and England, understand that the Scots and the French troops have taken by storm an important fortress in those parts called Portogir (?), which was held by an English garrison, who were all put to the sword.

The Protector of England, whose arrest they notified to him in a former letter, after remaining many days in prison, has been released, but does not interfere in the government of the kingdom.

Ayes, 202. No, 1. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

March 20.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

654. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

It is reported from France that the agreement with England is far advanced; that his most Christian Majesty gives 400,000 crowns immediately, and will have back Boulogne, with all the forts, ports, and places taken in that neighbourhood since Boulogne was captured; and the English are also to give back all the fortresses and places taken from Scotland, against which subsequent advices state that war has been proclaimed in Flanders, the Flemings purposing apparently thereby to obtain compensation for many losses incurred in those seas through the Scots; and God grant that the war be not instigated by others, as your Serenity will hear more authentically from your three ambassadors.

Rome, 20th March 1550.

[*Italian.*]

* Sebastian Pighino. (*See* Dandolo's printed Report, p. 354.)

1550.
March 29.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

655. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Today I went to visit the Duke of Urbino to know if I could have this palace of his for your Highness's ambassadors [extraordinary]; and as the Duke of Ferrara [Hercules II.] is lodged on the floor above him, both under the same roof, I thought it well not to omit visiting his Excellency likewise. He came most graciously to meet me, accompanying me through all his rooms, keeping me always on his right hand for the honour of your Highness. When the complimentary phrases were ended, he said, "Lord ambassador, let us leave them aside, and begin to talk of the affairs of the world," which he certainly discussed at great length, like a very sage and experienced statesman; and then passing to the good news received this morning of the peace concluded between France and England, he gave me the letter which he held in his hand, dated Valery [*en Caux*?], a place on the ocean in the centre of that island (*per mezo quell' Isola*), where the peace was concluded. Although it contains the articles as in my penultimate letter, yet being addressed to the Duke, and dated the 19th instant, I think it well to send it, giving a gratuity to the courier, and also that that you will have further details through the enclosed packet to the Duke's ambassador (containing, I suspect, a letter from the Duke to the French ambassador at Venice), and that its contents will prove more veracious than those of the Signory's resident in France. But all the French partisans here are making very great bonfires and rejoicings and discharges of artillery at all their dwellings. Little else passed between us, owing to the number of Cardinals who were visiting him, but he showed that my visit to him was most acceptable, and thanked your Highness for it, making many professions of being your good son and servant, and above all a good Italian, and thanking the Lord God infinitely for preserving the most excellent Signory for the protection and assistance of such part of Italy as she holds (*di quel tanto che de Italia si tiene*).

Rome, 29th March 1550.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

656. The SAME to the SAME.

I sent my last on Saturday night by the ordinary courier, giving him such a gratuity as seemed to me suited to the news of the peace between France and England; and on Sunday morning I went for the palms as I said I would. Being in the place assigned to us ambassadors near the state bed (*letto del paramento*), I perceived on his Holiness's arrival that he did not give me the usual good greeting (*buona ciera*), and after looking at me twice or thrice with somewhat of a frown he said, "Call Monsignor Crescentio," and when he went to him, his Holiness, turning towards me, "Lord Ambassador, come hither, for I choose you to be witness;" and then turning to Cardinal Crescentio he said, "Make a clause in the bull *in Cena Domini*, the strongest and most explicit (*espresso*) ever made against laymen and republics who allow themselves to lay taxes on the

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mani ove non deveno)." Becoming very red in the face he quoted to him the passages of the decree and of the canons according to which he was to draw it up properly, and express it well under [the penalty of] all possible censures. To me he added, " We choose you to be witness, and principally for your Republic and others who choose to stretch out their hands " (*che vogliono slongar le mani*), muttering a few other words which were perhaps more intelligible than his Holiness meant them to be, complaining of your Highness, but he did not wish to speak out, and possibly regretted the display of such violent anger, which was so great that for the moment I did not think fit to say anything further, most especially as all the Cardinals were there, a great part of them being very near, and many ambassadors; so I withdrew to my place, making the usual obeisance; but shortly afterwards, having been called by the master of the ceremonies to carry his train, the Pope looked at me again with his usual gladsome countenance (*lieta ciera*), and perhaps more joyfully than usual.

Rome, 31st March 1550.

[*Italian.*]

April 2. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

657. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday at my audience of the Pope I asked him about the affairs of the world, and he replied that he had heard nothing further, saying, " These French go talking about this their peace with England; as yet we do not quite know what it may be."

Rome, 2nd April 1550.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 14

658. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

On the 2nd instant the reverend French Ambassador came into the College and announced the receipt of letters from his most Christian Majesty, enjoining him, as he considered the Signory his true and perpetual friends, to communicate to them the peace concluded between him and the King of England, assuring them that all his greatness and felicity will ever serve for the advantage and benefit of the Republic. The ambassador communicated to us the articles of the peace, and left with us a copy of them in Italian and French.

This they heard with becoming satisfaction, owing to the auspicious result of his Majesty's affairs, he having thus recovered Boulogne and his other places.

Ayes, 212. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Deliberazioni Senate (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 14, tergo.

659. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from their ambassador in France, dated the 1st instant, are informed that peace has been concluded between his most Christian Majesty and the King of England, who restores to the French Boulogne and other places of theirs held by the English in

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Picardy; and restores in like manner the places in Scotland, that kingdom being also included in the peace, which was solemnly proclaimed in Paris on the 31st ultimo. Although convinced that the French ambassador will have given notice hereof to the Sublime Porte, have nevertheless not chosen to omit performing their usual friendly office towards the most Serene Signor, by acquainting him with such news as comes to their knowledge.

Ayes, 174. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

660. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On going to the Pope for the usual audience, he received me still better than hitherto, inquiring whether I was pleased to be out of Lent and with this Easter fare; and he said he had letters from France of the 30th ultimo, announcing the proclamation of the peace with England, which was made with very great rejoicings.

Rome, 12th April 1550.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

661. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

In their letters of the 8th ultimo, told him that he was to desire his secretary to put into cipher such matters of importance as announced to them by him in his dispatches. Have this day received those which he wrote on the 21st and 25th of that month, containing particulars of the greatest importance, relating to the Government of England, and to other affairs, the greater part of which are out of cipher. Although certain that he had not then received their letters, nevertheless, as this matter is of extreme consequence, they repeat what they said, charging him to be very cautious about this; and for the future to have all important matters written to them in cipher.

[*Italian.*]

April 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

662. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The result of this day's Consistory was universally expected to be the election as Cardinal, of the "Prevostino,"* but not a word did his Holiness say about it, it being supposed that he was dissuaded by the Cardinal of England, who remained with him last evening until after the 3rd hour; and after his departure the Pope was seen to be in a great rage for a long while, and he is expected to make

* The "Prevostino," who bore the name of Innocenzio del Monte, was created Cardinal by Julius III. on the 31st May 1550, the appointment being reprobated publicly in Consistory by Cardinal Caraffa, as had been done previously in private by Cardinal Pole. The "*Prevostino*," when he received the red hat, was in his eighteenth year, and in Dandolo's printed Report (p. 355), it is stated that when Julius III was Legate at Parma, this minion was taken by the future Pope, "*in camera e nel proprio letto.*" Cardinal Caraffa's protest is recorded by Cardella (vol. iv. p. 298), but Dandolo's despatch contains the sole notice of Cardinal Pole's becoming conduct on this occasion.

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him, after the Whitsuntide holydays, together with some others, as he has constantly said that he will do so by all means.

Rome, 18th April 1550.

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

663. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 29.

664. The DOGE and SENATE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have heard lately, much to their satisfaction, of the conclusion of the peace between his Majesty of England and the most Christian King. To congratulate the King on their behalf.

Have received his letters of the 18th, 20th, and 22nd ultimo. Commend his diligence.

Ayes, 180. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 30, tergo.

665. The SAME to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from France, dated the 26th April, are informed that on the 25th April the English—in execution of the peace—consigned the city of Boulogne to the agents of the most Christian King, together with such ammunition (*munitione*) as stipulated, so that the peace between them is confirmed.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

666. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday I sent to ask the usual audience of his Holiness, but he sent me word that he was not yet sufficiently well to transact business, and that if I had anything of importance, I was to let him know, and he would send me his secretary, Dandino. Later in the day the Pope got up, and having seated himself, passed the day with a few of his intimates (*domestici*); and after giving audience to the Cardinals Pole and Farnese, he dined in the hall adjoining his chamber.

Rome, 10th May 1550.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

667. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to [DANIEL BARBARO] the Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have heard of the good resolve formed by the Patriarch of Aquileia [Giovanni Querini] to renounce that Patriarchate in his favour. Exhort him to accept this dignified and honourable charge, as he will thus do what is agreeable to the Republic. Send him

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the Right Reverend Patriarch's letter, and also a draft, according to which he can draw up a commission [or power ?] to accept the renunciation.

Aloys^{s} Contarini, C.C.X.
Jeronimus Priolus, C.C.X.
Alexander Bondimerius, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

June ?
MS. St. Mark's Library Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place.

668. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [INNOCENZIO] DEL MONTE.

Were it not for the hope reasonably entertained by me, that the affection which has moved our Lord to promote your Right Reverend Lordship to the Cardinalate, will also induce his Holiness to use all care and diligence to protect you from all such crosses and perils as are wont to accompany dignities and high offices at such an age (*in questa età*),* I should not dare to congratulate you on this your elevation, as I do; relying chiefly on this hope, and at the same time praying his Divine Majesty to vouchsafe to favour in this matter the goodwill of his Holiness, by giving your Right Reverend Lordship the grace to acknowledge this care on the Pope's behalf, as a far greater benefit than any dignity or advantage that you have received or may anticipate from him. And know that you have no other means of evincing your gratitude to God and his Holiness at the same time, than by endeavouring, with the aid of the Divine grace, to be such as daily more and more to justify (*comprobare*) the opinion and hope of you entertained, by his Holiness. To this I exhort you with the utmost earnestness, offering you my services as I am bound; and I humbly kiss your hands, praying our Lord God always to have you under His holy protection.†

Rome, June ? 1550.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xix. p. 118. tergo.

669. GLASS MANUFACTORY OF EDWARD VI.

Motion made in the Council of Ten about Venetian glassmakers employed by Edward VI.

That to gratify the most Serene King of England, it be conceded to the under-mentioned glassmakers there, who were summoned to return hither within the period of eight months, that notwithstanding said proclamation, they may continue working in England until the expiration of the term of their contract (*mercato*) stipulated with said most serene King, which will expire in about 18 months, as stated in the ambassador's letter from England, dated the 24th February last. On the expiration of that term of about 18 months, they must immediately return hither, under the penalties in the proclamation aforesaid. And be the Signory's ambassador in England written to accordingly, so that

* Innocenzio del Monte was seventeen years of age when created Cardinal on the 31st May 1550. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 297.)

† It was customary for the Cardinals to congratulate any new member of the Sacred College on his election, nor could Cardinal Pole exempt himself from this tribute in the case of Innocenzio del Monte, whose nomination disgraced the Pontificate of Julius III., but as seen by entry No. 662, date Rome, 18th April 1550, Cardinal Pole did his utmost to dissuade the Pope from this act, which was also loudly vituperated in Consistory by Cardinal Gianpietro Caraffa.

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he may explain to the King, that for his Majesty's satisfaction (*gratificatione*) they have thus chosen to make this concession. The ambassador to act in such wise with his Majesty, that at the period assigned, leave be given them; and that he do also desire said glassmakers to return at the time aforesaid.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.*

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

670. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

On Monday, in Consistory, the Pope conferred the legation of Viterbo on Cardinal Cornaro, with a monthly pension [to be derived from it] of 100 crowns for the Cardinal of England, who, since upwards of a month, is out of Rome. Heretofore he had 150 crowns per month upon that legation, but it is expected that they will give him 50 on the "Datario," until through this legation or some other, they can give him farther supply.

Rome, 14th June 1550.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x. Printed in v. iv. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," pp. 53-65.

671. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF BADAJOS [FRANCISCO NAVARRETE].

Apologises for having so long delayed, contrary to his wont, answering his loving letter, especially as the Bishop had written a second, sending a most eloquent messenger, Pedro Frago, whom he allowed to return to Trent,† without taking the reply which he had promised him. Perhaps the cause of his not having been ready to answer, was the excessive praise with which Badajos overwhelmed him in his letter, so he lays the blame of the delay in part upon the Bishop, and will now pay the fine for his neglect, by giving him his, Pole's, own portrait; requesting he will believe it to be a true one. Should he find it fall short of what some people say, he is not to attribute it to modesty; as to convince

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* In the Domestic Calendar (1547–1580, p. 256), there is an account of a report made to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, by Armigill Waade, dated from Belsize on the 7th August 1565, concerning "Progress of the manufacture of glass and pottery under Cornelius de Lannoy (*sic.*) [de Lauony?] Clumsiness of the English glassmakers." Enclosed in the report, is a "note of payments made by Arm. Waad to Cornelius de Lannoy (*sic*) on account of the glassworks."

The glassworks at Belsize in 1565, are thus seen to have been a government establishment, and probably the very same as the one first set on foot by the Protector Somerset, in the first or second year of the reign of Edward VI. As the petition of the glass makers to the Council of Ten proves that their contract bound them to Flanders, as well as to England, I infer that De Launey was a Flemish speculator, who persuaded Somerset to embark in these glassworks, of which he continued to be the director in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

In Cunningham's London Handbook, there is the following quotation from Stow.

"The first making of Venice glasses in England began at the Crotched Friars in London, about the beginning of the raigne of Queene Elizabeth, by one Jacob Venalinie (*sic*) [Vercellini?] an Italian." (Stow by Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1040).

The "Parti Comuni" of the Council of Ten, now show that "the first making of Venice glasses in England" began in the first or second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.

† By Sarpi's annotated History of the Council of Trent, it is seen that Francisco Navarre, *alias* Navarrete, was one of the 12 Spanish prelates who refused to approve the suspension of the Council on the 28th April 1552. (Ed. Amsterdam, 1704, p. 360.)

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him of his own impartial sincerity, he will indeed also mention such things as may perhaps do him honour. For instance, the Bishop in his letters praises him for greatness of mind and fortitude. On reading those words he was of opinion that those who accused him of pusillanimity and indolence (*ignavia*) were less far wrong; and he certainly believed that those were nearer the truth, who considered him alarmed by the heaviness of the burden, and therefore less inclined to bear it, attributing this however not to that timidity which proceeds from a pusillanimous mind, and arises spontaneously without any cause, but from that fear which from just causes sometimes seizes even intrepid men (*eo timore qui justis de causis in fortes etiam viros cadit interdum*). From this sort of fear Pole's mind was not altogether free, but as he did not covet the honour before the Conclave, when not goaded by fear, which he owns to having felt very strongly later, so does he yet more disclaim any merit for intrepidity.* Badajos will say "Is it then untrue what I knew from the letters of others, that at the time of the papal election (*cum de Pontifice maximo deligendo ageretur*), when the votes (*sententiæ*) of so many persons demanded you alone, and most earnestly insisted that honour or burden (for either epithet may be applied to it) should rest on your shoulders, you canvassed no one (*neminem a te ob hanc causam pensatum*), you solicited no one (*neminem rogatum*), nor did you give any sign of joy or desire (*appetitionis*)?"

This Pole admits, adding that not only did he ask no one to favour him in this matter, but when many favoured him spontaneously, he requested them no longer to insist on electing him alone (*ne in me uno eligendo pertinatius agere vellent*), but that from amongst so many eminent men they should elect the one who would be most serviceable to the church, who if preferred to him—whoever he might be—Pole would not only bear it patiently, but value their choice as much as if it had fallen on himself. This he said to one and all when the tide in his favour ran strongest, and having promised Badajos to acquaint him with the truth of the business, he will not conceal this, lest it be attributed to modesty. But the Bishop rejoins, "If the case stands thus, does it not clearly show that the honour was not only not held in such account by Pole as by others who are wont to revere and admire it, but that he openly despised it, and by this same contempt displayed greatness of mind?" But, as already shown, he was not deterred from desiring the popedom by the weight of the burden or by fear, but by the individual character given him by God (*ita fuit illa persona quam mihi Deus imposuerat*); nor did he assume it spontaneously, but having received it from his maker, he acknowledged and sustained it, not unwillingly (*non invitus quidem et agnovi et gessi.*)

This character he will sketch when describing what he felt, when

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* Tamen quia antea etiam honorem illum non appetebam, cum nullos hujus timoris stimulos sentirem, quos quidem postea maximos et acerrimos sensisse me fateor, id circo neque hujus rei causam timorem fuisse dico, neque eos qui timidi Personam, multo vero minus qui fortis mihi tribuunt animi mei affectionem et habitum qualis eum fuerit expressisse.

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first many votes were spontaneously offered him, or rather what he did not feel, being no more affected by them than if he had been one of those asses which, not having received any innate sense of it from nature, neither desire honour, nor despise it.* Insists on the aptness of this simile, narrating to the Bishop that when a most distinguished cardinal promised him all his influence, which was very great, to secure his election, Pole, as if the words had been addressed to an ass (*jumento*), remained quite silent; whereupon the Cardinal seeing him so mute, added that he gave him time to consider, for which he ought at least to have been thanked; and although Pole showed subsequently that he was not quite dumb and corrected this failing of taciturnity, yet at the moment he quitted the Cardinal like a sort of mute ass.† But that he was made of the ass species,‡ which nature entirely deprived of all sense of honour, is yet more proved by the very grievous and most bitter calumnies with which (as written by Badajos) he was assailed at the same time, and which took not the slightest effect upon him. The Bishop, with his usual indulgent partiality, attributes this to magnanimity, but in like manner as the sense of honour gave way to the ass's sense (*jumenti sensus*), so did this last prevent him from being disturbed by any fear of contumely.

But in like manner as these and other things which happened to him at that time sufficiently show that this character (*hanc personam*) was assigned (*impositam*) him by God, so was he never more convinced of it, than on that night when two cardinals invited him on behalf of the Conclave to allow himself to be conducted to the chapel where the Pope is elected, that they might test their election, styled adoration, of him; on hearing which mandate he will confess to the Bishop, he verily bethought him of that ass's colt§ (*illius aselli*) standing tied at its master's door, which Christ sent the two apostles to loose and bring to Him that He, seated on it, might enter the Holy City. Thus did he think within himself when he heard the commission of those two, and that they were come to take him from that place to the right on entering the portal of the principal chapel, where he stood, tied as it were to his master's door, his cell being thus situated. So he listened to them as if they had been sent by Christ, as they came from those to whom Christ gave the right and power of electing his Vicar upon earth, and considered himself the ass's colt (*asellum*) already mentioned by him, this species presenting itself most especially to his mind when thus thinking of himself. And should it perchance seem to some that he laid aside this character because he did not allow himself to be taken away immediately, whilst others may perhaps argue that he truly sustained the asinine character, by not embracing their offer at once,

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* Nihilo non magis afficiebar illorum vocibus ac si unum ex illis jumentis fuissem quæ honorem propterea neque desiderant neque spernunt, quia nullum ejus sensum a naturâ insitum habent.

† Ab eo discessi tamquam muti jumenti speciem.

‡ Quod si jumentum ejus generis factus essem quod natura omni sensu honoris penitu- privavit, atque hujus rei magis etiam illud argumento est, quod de gravissimis atque acerbissimis calumniis, quibus eodem tempore patebar, scribis te audivisse.

§ *See* Matthew xxi. 2.

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yet did he never refuse that consent,* but, to say the truth, he greatly feared the night and darkness.† Will not argue farther whether he did right or wrong in this matter, and merely purposes acquainting the Bishop with his conduct.

It therefore seeming to him that the darkness of the night was ill suited to the loosing of that ass (*illud jumentum*) on which the Saviour entered Jerusalem in broad daylight, he requested that the matter might be delayed until the dawn; but when two other Cardinals vested with the same authority came to him showing that they required nothing but what was usual, just, and legitimate, with regard to the hour, Pole then said he would be at their orders, whereby it seemed to him that he resumed the character of an ass (*ad jumenti personam rediisse*); though, to say the truth, scarcely had they departed ere he began to repent him of his assent, and therefore sent a messenger forthwith to the chief negotiators of this matter, requesting that if possible the consummation (*res integra*) might be deferred until the dawn; and the messengers found that of their own accord they had at length formed the same opinion. The Bishop will perhaps say that if nothing further ensued, if Christ did not use this ass (*jumentum*), why is it to be supposed that he assigned (*imposuit*) its nature (*personam*) to Pole; but if it was not Pole's lot to carry Christ publicly on his entry into the Holy City, this does not show that he is not invested with the character of his ass,‡ but that the Lord had no need of this ass.

The indifference of Pole in the midst of so many hopes and fears, was a Divine favour. He was alarmed at the sight of the pontificate, viewing it as divested of all honour and riches, and well nigh naked,§ and this prevented him from advancing whilst the favour of the Sacred College forbad him to retreat. That the term sacred is applicable may be proved by the fact that this conformity of opinion (*consensus*) lasted, not days, but whole months; but of the many who entertained it, and they certainly formed a very great part of the College, no one was found during so long a period to take any steps either with Pole himself or through his attendants concerning their own private interests. Pole was assuredly convinced that such conduct could proceed solely from men who had given their suffrages to the [Christian] Republic and to the Church, that is to say, to God himself, and to Christ the spouse of the Church, consecrating their souls and votes entirely to this cause. Perceiving their perpetual constancy, their extreme affection for him, such as children show their father, they striving solely for this, that he should have the supreme honour and be assigned the place of

* Et si aliis fortasse videri possim hanc ipsam personam deposuisse propterea quod non statim ab illis me solvi sim passus, et deduci, atque hic fortassis alii vere me jumenti personam gessisse arguant quod non statim tantum consensum sim amplexus, non statim ab illis me deduci—quo vocabar—permiserim, ego vero consensum illum nunquam sum aspernatus.

† In Beccatello's Life of Cardinal Pole it is stated that he feared lest the darkness might cause doubts about the authenticity of the voting tickets and encourage fraud.

‡ Me non ejus jumenti personam gessisse.

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father to them, and again considering (what he may term) his sterility with regard to effecting this unanimity, having well nigh nothing in common with them save intercourse in the College—neither country nor kindred—with many of them having scarcely a private friendship, while with very few indeed was he linked by habit and custom, nor with any of them could he claim the merit of benefits conferred, which in matters of this sort are usually of great avail; when therefore he considers his own manifold deficiencies, and how much was wanting to produce or encourage this unanimity, the Bishop may suppose how often he said to himself the words of the prophet in the person of the spouse who was first barren and then became fruitful, "*Ego sterilis et captiva et transmigrata, et quis mihi genuit ipsos?*" The conformity of opinion with regard to his election he therefore attributed to Divine providence, and feared to combat it, yielding like an ass (*ut jumentum*), entirely under the guidance of the Lord, to be led whither it should please him. The Bishop may thus congratulate him on having escaped unhurt from so great a contest, not through his own strength, but by the help of God.

Badajos is surprised that on the night when Pole received unexpectedly the news that the parties had at length agreed to put him aside and elect another, he not only was not in the least disturbed, but seemed rather to rejoice as it were. The reason was this: the disputes about the election were at an end, Christendom was relieved from the anxiety of suspense, and God had at length declared his will. Ought this to have caused Pole the slightest vexation? Had this been the case he would have shown plainly how unworthy he was to bear this burden. Assures the Bishop that of the many and great benefits vouchsafed him of the Divine goodness, none gave him greater joy than this, that when the parties decided against conferring on him the gift and honour of the Popedom, he had the means of experiencing in his own person how graciously, how munificently the Lord treats his asses (*jumenta*).* Hopes that throughout the rest of his life he may have the same delight in renouncing honours. Has not yet decided whether he is more indebted to those who hesitated to take him from the manger to bear the burden, or to those who at the commencement strove so earnestly to subject him to it, save that the latter first caused him to know the manger, and to taste the fodder presented to him there.† The precious, sweet, and salutary fruit derived by him from these circumstances will certainly seem as incredible to those who never bore the burden of the Lord (*onus Domini*), as what is written by Apuleius in his fable of "The Golden Ass"; but by the mercy of God the utter truth of the fact is hourly impressed upon him. What he would never have written to others, Pole has chosen to confide unreservedly to the Bishop of Badajos, who from his youth upwards has dedicated

* Mihi data est facultas privatim experiendi quam benigne quamque liberaliter Dominus sua jumenta tractet.

† Nisi quod hi quidem auctores fuere, ut ipsum præsepe primum cognoscere, et pabulum in eo mihi appositum gustarem.

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himself to the yoke of the Lord, and by whom Pole knows he is loved *in visceribus Christi;* and writing as he is to a person well acquainted with the Court of Rome, he considers explanation on many points unnecessary.*

Bagnarea, 17th June 1550.

[*Latin,* 366 *lines.*]

June 20. Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

672. The CHIEF of the TEN to [MATTEO DANDOLO] the Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Their most beloved noble Ser Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., ambassador in England, has sent them the power of attorney, made by him in England, to accept the renunciation by the Patriarch [Giovanni Querini], save that in England they would not insert the clause where mention is made of the Pope's Holiness (*eccetto dove si fa mentione in essa minuta della Santità del Pontifice*). As on this account the instrument may possibly not be admitted at Rome, their said ambassador has drawn up another, appointing an agent in Venice, with authority to make in his name another power of attorney, according to the form of the draft sent by him (Dandolo). Enclose the two, desiring him immediately on the Patriarch's arrival at Rome to acquaint him with the whole, so that after obtaining the necessary information, choice be made of one of the two "powers" admissible at Rome, praying his Lordship to despatch this matter. To give him every assistance and favour, both with the Pope and in all other quarters. Should his Lordship be still out of Rome, to acquaint him with the whole by letters. In the "power" drawn up at Venice, it being necessary to mention that Macasuola is to be substitute for the Proctor (*che ha il Macasuola di sustituir il procuratore*), lest had they copied the instrument made in England, in virtue of the aforesaid power (as is occasionally done), some difficulty be made at Rome about the words "*Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ supremum Caput,*" they have said "*as proved by the instrument seen and read by me, notary.*" But as an act of superabundant caution, in case it should be chosen at any rate to see the document, they inclose it, so that he may make such use of it as necessary; in which case he is to apologise for the ambassador [Barbaro], who, being where he is, could not obtain the instrument in any other form; demonstrating moreover that this would not matter, as it is not registered anywhere, the attestation having been merely made by the notary, and seen by their secretary.

With regard to the words "Revdus et Magcus D. Daniel Barbarus Clericus Venetus," warn him that he is not a clergyman, but in these cases it is usual to give the term of six months in which to become a clerk, as is well known (they are aware) to the Patriarch and to him (Dandolo).

Nicolò Justinian, C.C.X.
Petrus Maurocenus, C.C.X.
Bortº Zane, C.C.X.

Lectæ Clarmis D. Saps utr. manus.

[*Italian.*]

* Neque tamen cum ad eum scriberem qui esset expertus, pluribus explicanda censui.

1550.
June 27.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X. File no. 4.

673. The CHIEFS of the TEN to [DANIEL BARBARO] the Venetian Ambassador in England.

In addition to the accompanying letters from the Council of Ten and Junta, inform him that for greater security it would be well that he should have another power of attorney (*instrumento di procura*) drawn up by his secretary, although not a notary, according to the draft which they sent him, to be used in case the one which he transmitted them, or that which they are drawing up at Venice, be not admitted at Rome for the reasons alluded to in his letters. The deed to be witnessed by Venetian subjects, and sent as speedily as possible.

Nicolò Justinian, C.C.X.
Petrus Maurocenus, C.C.X.
Bortº Zane, C.C.X.

Lectæ Clarmis D. Sapˢ utr. manus.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File no. 7.

674. The CHIEFS of the TEN to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in ENGLAND.

Have received his letters addressed to them on the 8th instant, and perused the power of attorney sent by him, accepting the renunciation of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, as also the other, whereby he (Barbaro) appoints a commissioner to draw up another power in Venice in case the first instrument be inadmissible at Rome.

Will send the power of attorney to Rome that the writing may be duly legalized, nor will the State fail hereafter, when opportunities offer, to do what they can for his advantage and benefit, as due to his qualities and the affection demonstrated by him towards the Republic.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

Papalists were ordered to withdraw.

[*Italian.*]

June 28.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 49.

675. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR and BAILIFFS (BAYLIS) at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from their ambassador with the most Christian King, in date of the 19th ultimo, are informed that his Majesty, was at Boulogne superintending the repairs of that city, as also of the other places recovered by him, in virtue of the peace made with the most Serene King of England.

Ayes, 198. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

July 14.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 7.

676. MOTION made in the COUNCIL of TEN and JUNTA.

That the resolution formed in this Council on the 10th of April concerning the renunciation of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, and the letters on this subject received from Rome, and other letters written by this Council and which have arrived whether from Rome or England, and the writings presented by the Magnifico Antonio

1550.

Barbaro, as now read to this Council, be communicated to the Senate.

— 10 — 8
— 11 — 15
— 6 — 4

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

677. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in ENGLAND.

Send him the summary of advices, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 3. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

678. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF URBINO.*

The very courteous invitation given him orally by the Cardinal of Urbino before his departure from Rome, and which was repeated twice by letter, to pass the summer heats in those cool and pleasant places, was enhanced in such wise by the Father Abbot, the bearer of this second letter, and by his description of the virtues of the person who invited him, that great must be the impediment when so near at hand to prevent him from proceeding farther (before he leaves Bagnarea) to delight in the virtues of the person so much eulogized, although the season for enjoying cool air be past. Compliments the young Cardinal on the virtuous life led by him; assures him that the only sure way to acquire and receive true virtue is to acknowledge with all due respect its author; this is the first virtue, and the guardian of them all, for which reason solely the Romans represented virtue with face and hands raised towards heaven, to indicate on what its origin and maintenance depend; and by so much the more should this be observed by us, as we are enabled more distinctly to know the fountain of all grace and of every virtue. Assures him that he knows none from whose noble disposition, developing itself to the praise of every virtue, he can promise himself more than he does from his.†

Bagnarea, 3rd August 1550.

[*Italian and Latin.*]

Aug. 9. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

679. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in ENGLAND.

The Rev. D. Peter [Vannes] arrived lately at Venice, having been appointed by the King of England to reside with them as his ambassador. Caused him to be met, honoured, and welcomed on his arrival.

Yesterday his Lordship had audience of the College,‡ accompanied by a great number of senators. After presenting his

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* Giulio della Rovere, Bishop of Urbino, born A.D. 1534, created Cardinal A.D. 1547, July 27th, brother of Guidobaldo II. Duke of Urbino.

† By Cardella's biography of this Cardinal (vol. iv. pp. 287–289), it seems that he did not disappoint the expectations of Cardinal Pole. He died at Fossombrone, A.D. 1578, aged 44 years.

‡ In the Foreign Calendar, 1547–1553, the first notice of Peter Vannes at Venice is

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credentials, he stated his commission with great gravity and prudence, bearing ample testimony to the King's goodwill towards them.

To inform the King and the Lords of his Council that the mission and statement of the aforesaid Reverend Ambassador were most agreeable to them. He is personally dear to them by reason of his learning and eminent qualities and parts.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

680. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF URBINO.

I sent your Right Reverend Lordship the "*imagine*" of Socrates, for the end designed occasionally in Scripture, by recounting and proposing to us examples of the heathens who have had some shadow of virtue; not that we should take example from their life, but to incite us, we who are called to be partakers of the light and splendour of life eternal, not to allow ourselves to be surpassed in any respect by those who have not had so great a grace; as by doing otherwise, we greatly shame ourselves, besides the wrong we do our Heavenly Father, who has given us and proposed for our example and sole master, virtue itself, namely, His Son, who, to reprove the negligence and offence of those who, having the wisdom of God in the midst of them, do not care to give ear to it, came upon earth to teach man the true path of happiness; whereas Queen Sabba [Queen of Shebah or Sebah] came from the uttermost parts of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon, who was a mere man (*puro homo*). And thus our master teaches us that we must strive to excel the heathens in every virtue, and for this reason he sometimes lays before us their virtues, as when exhorting us to love, not only our friends and benefactors, but also our enemies, saying, "*Si enim diligitis qui vos diligunt, quam mercedem habebitis? nonne etiam publicani hoc faciunt? Et si salutaveritis fratres vestros tantum, quid amplius facietis? non et Ethnici hoc faciunt?*"* giving us to understand by these words that we must endeavour to excel the heathens in every sort of virtue which they have seemed to possess; always taking God as sole example, and following the light of the Son given us by Him; and he therefore says in conclusion, "*Estote perfecti sicut et Pater vester cœlestis est.*"†

Your most illustrious Lordship is now acquainted with the cause which induced me to send you the corporeal bust (*il volto corporale*) of Socrates, so that when seeing the portrait of his mind, as depicted by Xenophon, whose works you are (I am told) now reading, it may serve as a memento, stimulating you not to allow yourself to be surpassed by him in any particular having any shadow of virtue, or its similitude. Of such in that course of reading you will find many, and some very beautiful ones, most especially if you read that book which is, I remember, entitled by Xenophon Apomnemoneumata, and translated by Cicero, thus, "*De dictis et factis Socratis,*" where you will see an excellent opinion "*de rebus*

* St. Matthew's Gospel, chapter v. verses 46, 47.
† St. Matthew, chapter v. verse 48.

1550.

humanis," from a very well regulated mind; following the light of nature, and the time, it seemed so grand and beautiful, that the two greatest and most eloquent philosophers who ever lived—Plato and Xenophon—emulating as it were each other which should best express the meaning (*animo*) and conceits of Socrates—made it their whole study, and used the power of their abilities and language to represent . . . . . .* [by their?] writings, the veracity of that man, who never wrote anything.† But neither are these men, nor this virtue, so great, as to exempt your most illustrious Lordship (as already mentioned by me) from considering it a shame, not to surpass them in every particular, both in the knowledge of the true and blessed life, as also by producing such fruit as follows that knowledge; having besides the natural, the heavenly light, given us by God, in his Son, who is the splendour and the symbol (*carattere*) of his Divine substance, and given us for our light, our guide, and our example, with the promise to give us moreover strength to follow it, whenever we ask it in our aid with our whole heart, as I am convinced your most illustrious Lordship frequently does; this my opinion being caused by the Divine virtues which I see thus early germinating in you; and with this I end, kissing your hand, and recommending myself always to your good favour.

Bagnarea, 15th August 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place.

681. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

The favour which your Majesty has been pleased graciously to confer on me, of a pension of 2,000 ducats on the See of Burgos,‡ is the more acceptable to me as it proceeded from your mere courtesy, without my having sought it in any way, so that my obligation to you is the greater; not indeed that from this, or from any other similar gift which might be anticipated by me from your goodness and magnanimity, could I become a more affectionate servant of your Majesty than I ever have been, nor more anxious to serve you, I as am bound by much greater causes and respects, though I must not fail thanking you, as I do from my heart; with all due respect kissing your hands, and praying our Lord God long to preserve and prosper you for the benefit of Christendom.

[Bagnarea? August? 1550.]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 7.

682. The CHIEFS of the TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

By his letter of the 2nd are acquainted with the office performed by him with the Pope, about the renunciation of [the Patriarchate

* Blank in manuscript.

† Some letters of Socrates were printed at Paris in 1637, and it is said that when in prison he versified Æsop's fables, but the work does not exist.

§ The preceding letter being dated in August 1550, and the one which follows the present letter being apparently of the same period, I infer that this pension was given in the year 1550, but in Beccatello's Life of Pole, this pension is mentioned as if its grant had preceded that of the Abbacy of Cavello in November in 1540. These pensions on the

1550.

of] Aquileia [in favour of the ambassador Barbaro]; and how his Holiness replied graciously, evincing the wish to do what was agreeable to them.* Did not answer sooner, as they were expecting a fresh mandate from England.

In his letter of the 9th, the ambassador writes about a certain imputation alleged by the rivals and adversaries of the Patriarch, to his adherents, concerning his religion, impugning in like manner that of the Signory's ambassador in England. Are assured on good authority in Venice, that this charge was made by the nephews of the Patriarch, of the Querini family, and by their agents, and although the Chiefs believe that it will prove vain, and without foundation, and that nothing will be said to the ambassador about it, they nevertheless desire him, in case the Pope or others mention the subject to him, to reply stoutly, evincing surprise, and assuring them that both the Patriarch and the ambassador are Catholic and religious men, and lead good lives, making it intelligible that these calumnies have been circulated by the Patriarch's nephews, who wished their uncle to renounce the patriarchate to them, they being the children of one of his sisters; but his Lordship has chosen to prefer the ability and integrity and sound tenets (*bona dottrina*) of Barbaro, to relationship and consanguinity.

To notify the name of the agent of the said nephews at Rome, and who those rivals and adversaries of the Patriarch are.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

Members of the Council of Ten and Junta, not entitled to ballot on this motion, to withdraw.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 67.

683. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Mons. de Selve, the ambassador sent to the Signory by the most Christian King in lieu of Mons. de Marviglier, has informed them in his Majesty's name that having paid the English the 200,000 crowns, and the hostages being released, he now finds himself at perfect peace with England and Scotland, so that those three kingdoms may be considered one, by reason of the perfect union and understanding between them.

The ambassador is therefore to congratulate the King heartily on his prosperity, both on account of his being united with England and Scotland, and also on the tranquillity of his kingdom, which causes them such great comfort and satisfaction as becomes their observance towards his Majesty.

Ayes, 194. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* In the letters of the Venetian Ambassador Matteo Dandolo, it is stated that the Patriarch Giovanni Querini, and his successor Barbaro, were both suspected by the Papal Court of Protestantism, and objections were made to Barbaro's election because he had resided in England.

1550.
Sept. 20.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

684. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Julius III., to the CHIEFS of the TEN.

As the Pope's indisposition continues, I have been unable to speak to him about the Patriarchate of Aquileia, but have impressed almost all the Cardinals favourably with regard to the Reverend Patriarch [Giovanni Querini], and the most noble Barbaro, even Burgos [Juan Alvarez de Toledo]; for to say the truth I found that many of their Lordships had received slanderous notices of them in the matter of heresy. In defence of Barbaro I availed myself advantageously of what he did in England when he had mass performed in his own house. Burgos and others, who are charged with the matter, prayed me much to request your Excellencies to give orders enabling the exercise of greater diligence (*diligentia*) [rigour?] about the said heresy (*heresia*) [Protestantism?] throughout your territory, as otherwise they perceive it to be in extreme peril, and no good will ever be done at Brescia so long as a certain statute remains in force about wizards (*strigoni*), whereby it is enacted that the doctors of that city must take part in drawing up the processes against them; and thus Brescia being so infected, it is impossible to find any, save such as, being concerned with the infected, assist and defend them, so that in this way they will never do anything about it.

Rome, 20th September 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

685. The SAME to the SAME.

The Pope tells me that his Nuncio with the Emperor* has had a long conference with his Majesty about the Council, coming to the conclusion that it should be held as soon as possible, the Emperor adding that otherwise, should he not speedily get out of "that Germania" (*di quella Germania*), he shall leave his bones there; so he sent to demand of his Holiness the "bull" and the day of intimation [of the Council]. The Pope told me that in his reply, dwelling on the Emperor's determination to get out of Germany speedily, he told him that should his Majesty choose to do so, he [the Pope] will positively not reassemble the Council at Trent, as he will not allow his prelates again to incur the peril to which they were subjected there, for in the Emperor's absence a revolt of the Germans might some day cause a very serious catastrophe; but that, should his Majesty choose to remain there until the close, his Holiness would not fail to do what he has promised him; and to show his Majesty that he will not lose time, he has sent to call the Cardinals Santa Croce [Marcello Cervino], Pole, and Morone, who are charged with the matter, to draw up the "bull,"† and that the day of the first session is to be the first Sunday in Lent. In

* This Nuncio was Sebastian Pighino. (*See* Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.)

† The substance of the "Bull" is given in the History of the Council of Trent (p. 289, French translation, edition Amsterdam, 1704), but Sarpi does not say who composed it, and as very little is known of Cardinal Pole at this period, the notice is worth preserving.

1550.

conclusion his Holiness said to me that thus, by address, he believed nothing would be done about it. (*Et in questo fine cosi destramente Sua Santità mi disse creder, che non se ne fard niente.*)

Rome, 27th September 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6.

686. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Senato Terra, v. xxxvii. p. 57, tergo.

As it is fitting to comply with the reasonable wish of Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., ambassador in England, who demands the election of his successor, he being near the close of his legation, in which he has served with ability and diligence:

Put to the ballot, that another ambassador be elected, the person elected being forbidden to refuse under the penalties contained in the last act of the Grand Council.

The ambassador to receive 150 golden ducats per month (of which he is not bound to show any account) for his expenses; and to keep eleven horses, including those of his secretary and his servant.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

Read to the Senate on the 24th September 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5.

Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 4.

687. The CHIEFS of the TEN to [DANIEL BARBARO] the Venetian Ambassador in England.

It has come to their knowledge through several channels, that an English gentleman in Venice, by name Robert Stafford, has behaved in an unbecoming and discourteous manner to the reverend ambassador [Peter Vannes] of his English Majesty, and in his Lordship's own habitation, regardless of the post filled by him of ambassador from that most Serene King, although neither by him [Vannes] nor by any of his attendants has he been either offended or provoked in anything.

Heard this with much displeasure, and sent for the gentleman, and reproved him as his temerity deserved, admonishing him to abstain [from such conduct] for the future, lest they have cause to proceed further against him, as they would have done at present, had not the ambassador interposed, requesting them to do nothing more.

To acquaint the Lords of the Council with this.*

Ayes, 14. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.

Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

688. The DOGE and COLLEGE to DANIEL BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Enclose a summary of advices, for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

* For other notices of Sir Robert Stafford, *see* Mr. Turnbull's Calendars, Reign of Edward VI. p. 52.; Reign of Mary, pp. 69, 79, 264, 282, 283, 294, 299.

1550.
December ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place.

689. CARDINAL POLE to the PRIOR of the MONASTERY of ST. PAUL, in ROME.

Not having had any intelligence from the Rev. President, concerning what took place at the Chapter, nor any reply to certain letters written by him, most especially to what he wrote in recommendation of Messer Sebastiano . . . . . he expected, as mentioned by him to the Prior, that some of the abbots of the Order on their way through Rome would be charged to supply the omission by word of mouth. But the Rev. Abbot of Subiaco (*Subito*) [*sic*] whom he supposes to be the last, having now passed without letters or any other commission, he has chosen to acquaint the Prior with this, that he may write about it to the Rev. Father President, giving him to understand that should the affairs of the Chapter have had a good result, it would have pleased him to have been acquainted with the fact by the President, to congratulate him on it, as was his wont in former years, and also that he might be enabled to answer Messer Sebastian, who, as the Prior knows, remains suspended, until through Pole's medium it be ascertained what has been done in his case. With regard to the Father Abbot of St. Paul, he by several letters has requested Pole to consent to his return to Rome. In reply, announced his wish for all the monks of the congregation to know that as for himself individually, he shall always be content with any determination they may make, though on the other hand, for the benefit of the congregation, he cannot but lament whenever he sees anything take place of a contrary nature. Certainly thought it desirable both for Father Don Prospero and for the congregation that some honourable and fitting post should be assigned him, as he always complained of the climate of Rome; and it was also seen by experience that he was less suited to the management of St. Paul's Monastery than he would have been to that of any other place; this being the opinion of Pole, who also believes that the "*Padri diffinitori*" have received similar information through several channels.

Is therefore the more surprised at their not having communicated to him their reasons for making this decree, as there may be some sufficient cause, with which he is as yet unacquainted, though, be this as it may, Pole will always be glad to see him, should he return to Rome, and in the meanwhile is sorry to find St. Paul's Monastery without its Abbot, Prior, and Cell-keeper (*Cellerario*).

Father Don Mattheo of Brescia wrote to the Cardinal of Urbino from Braia, requesting him to obtain Pole's consent to the return of Don Prospero to Rome. Is surprised at this on two accounts. In the first place, to himself individually, it does not matter in the least whether one monk or another come to Rome; and secondly, because it does not seem fitting to him to employ any other medium than their own, for intercourse between the Prior of St. Paul's and himself; and the letter of Don Marco [Mattheo?] was written at such a time, that had Pole chosen to answer it, his reply would not have arrived until after the dissolution of the Chapter. In short, assures the Prior, that whatever is for the benefit of the congregation will always be most to his satisfaction, as may he thinks be already

1550.

clearly known to all the monks by facts; and amongst other advice given by him to the monks—always to that end—was the following, that they should have especial care, both at Monte Cassino, and in Rome, to appoint not only good honest men, but experienced persons, suited to negotiations in these parts. *Bene valete.*

[Rome, December? 1550.]

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Original Letter-book, Venetian Archives.

690. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Julius III., to the SIGNORY.

Ascanio Colonna is harassed (*travagliato*) by the Pope on account of his son Fabritio, who makes many demands of his said father Ascanio, under favour of Don Diego, who, on this account likewise, does not quit Rome. The Pope sent several times for Signor Ascanio from his estates, and at length, when he came, required him to give Fabritio at least 12,000 crowns annual revenue in landed property, that he may convey thither his wife, the daughter of Ferrante Gonzaga, and secure the dower to him (*et assicurargli la dote*), and also pay his debts, which amount to 25,000 crowns. Signor Ascanio seems content to make over the estate to him, and to give security for the dower, but not to pay his debts, as they were contracted by gambling and other dishonourable proceedings. The Pope has appointed the Cardinal of England [Reginald Pole], Camillo Ursino, and Don Diego, to mediate an adjustment between them; and a great personage, a Frenchman, complained to me of the Pope's wishing to enforce the cession of territory to Signor Fabritio, who will be here fortified at the gates of Rome, in the name of the Emperor and as his vassal. He told me he had complained of this to the Pope, and that from France and other places he was informed that the Emperor purposes making himself master of the whole of Tuscany, and that the former confidence and good understanding between these Imperialists and the Duke of Florence no longer exists; and that his Most Christian Majesty has appointed 24 captains, and chooses to be prepared should the Emperor die, as they understand he is ill; nor does this French personage believe that King Maximilian intends by any means to cede the [Imperial] dignity which belongs to him.

Rome, 6th December 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

691. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Crescentio tells me that [in congregation?] they were silent about Barbaro's embassy in England, a place deservedly odious; so for the love of God let him come away immediately, as it would be too great an ignominy for this Holy See, were a person elected to such a Patriarchate to remain there any longer.*

Rome, 18th December 1550.

[*Italian.*]

* The Republic wished to obtain for Daniel Barbaro, ambassador in England, the Patriarchate of Aquileia, through the resignation of Giovanni Querini, whose nephews opposed the measure; and they or their adherents accused Barbaro of Protestantism.

1550.
Dec. 27.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 83.

692. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

Received his letters of the 18th, 19th, and 20th, and are acquainted with the very loving office performed by the Pope in consistory by proposing the renunciation of the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

In consequence of what he tells them about the good offices of the Cardinal Crescentio, and his authority and favour with the Pope, have thought fit to write to him, as by the enclosed copy. To present the letter, and to inform him that according to his suggestion, they are writing to their ambassador in England [Daniele Barbaro], to take leave of the King, and return to their presence forthwith.

To give thanks in like manner to such other Cardinals as he may think advisable.*

Ayes, 195. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1551.

1551.
Jan. 3.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 18.

693. DOGE FRANCESCO DONADO to KING EDWARD VI.

As Daniel Barbaro, his ambassador in England, is compelled to return to Venice, has written to him that, after taking leave of the King and performing the customary offices of an ambassador at the close of his legation, he is to proceed to Venice. Has ordered Giacomo Soranzo, the ambassador appointed in his stead, to prepare for the journey to England forthwith.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 17.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of year or place.

694. CARDINAL POLE to the LORD ASCANIO COLONNA.

Most illustrious Lord,

By your Lordship's letters I am informed of your wish that the 9,000 crowns, which I had always intended giving to the Signora Doña Vittoria your daughter on her marriage, may be now consigned to the Viceroy of Naples [Don Pietro di Toledo], on account of the dower promised to his son Don Garzia, you having stipulated and promised thus to do; and although before you made that promise I should have liked to have had it intimated to me, as I think you ought to have done, knowing that this my intention proceeded from my mere good will, I have nevertheless taken everything in good part (*in ogni*—sic—*parte*), and still remain as firm in this intention as I have always done. Although as you are aware the Lady Marchioness [Vittoria Colonna] your sister, was induced to leave these moneys in my hands that I might succour the poor people of my country, who constantly apply to me, as the said Lady announced to credible witnesses, I determined to dispose

* At the close of the year 1550, the Senate induced the Patriarch of Aquileia to take

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of the sum to assist your Lordship, with these moneys, to marry the Lady Doña Vittoria, at the time when you were banished; nor, although you were subsequently restored to your territories, did I ever change my purpose, which I am ready to execute, whenever the said Lady and the Signor Don Garzia di Toledo shall contract marriage, at which period I will not fail to remit these moneys into the hands of your Lordship, or of the Lord Don Garzia, or of such person as you shall be pleased to order; you giving me due security that, in the event of the demise of the Lady Vittoria without children, the said 9,000 ducats be repaid, and applied to such pious purpose here in Rome as I shall ordain.

[Civitella ?] 17th January [1551.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xix. p. 198, tergo.

695. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That to Zuan Francesco di Franceschi, who is going as secretary to England with the Signory's ambassador Ser Jacomo Soranzo, there be given two years' salary at the rate of 16 ducats per annum—32 ducats—he not to receive any further salary until the whole be accounted for.

Ayes, 12. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

696. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning, early, I went to his Holiness, who received me almost immediately, with a joyful countenance, saying, "Ambassador! last night I had a more sudden attack than ever from this traitress gout (*da questa traditora gotta*)." I condoled with him in your Serenity's name, and at the close of the audience, after kissing his foot, I asked him if he had determined on a successor for the bishopric of Brescia, and whether I was to write anything about it to your Serenity. He answered me, "We will tell you the truth; we believe that the four persons who have been nominated are all worthy men, but we think of turning our mind (*ma ne par di attacarsi*) towards the one we know, who is this our Messer Alvise* de Prioli; it is true that I do not yet know what we shall do; whether he will accept it, for we would not wish to have him proposed and that he should then refuse it; for he lives in solitude, studying philosophy and theology. We know him to have every good quality that can possibly be desired, but even if he possessed no other than that of having resided so long a while with so holy a Cardinal" (alluding to the Cardinal of England) [Reginald Pole], "it would fully suffice us for giving him this charge, and even a greater one."

Rome, 26th February 1551.

[*Italian.*]

* Alvise or Luigi de Priuli, the bosom friend of Cardinal Pole, whose eyes he closed at Lambeth Palace. Pope Julius III. styles Priuli "*ours*" because he resided at the Papal Court with Cardinal Pole, and was probably with him at Civitella when this letter was

1551.
Feb. 28.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X., v. xix. p. 199.

697. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That at the earnest request of the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, he be shown the armoury halls of this Council, and the jewels of St. Mark's Sanctuary.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.
Senato Terra, v. xxxvii. p. 100, tergo.

698. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

As it is necessary to dispatch our noble Giacomo Soranzo, ambassador elect to the most Serene King of England, and give him the means for preparing to go on his legation:

Put to the ballot, that of the moneys appointed for the ambassadors there be given to our aforesaid noble, 600 golden ducats on account of his expenses for four months; and 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, for the purchase of horses; and 30 ducats for coverings and trunks; and as a donation for his secretary, 50 ducats; and for two couriers 40 ducats, at the rate of 20 ducats for each; he being allowed to take with him, at the Signory's risk, silver utensils to the value of 400 ducats, to be estimated by the office for the new accounts according to the Signory's orders.

Ayes, 127. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

Read to the whole College on the 17th February.

[*Italian.*]

March 13.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X., v. xx. p. 1, tergo.

699. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

That of the moneys appointed for the ambassadors, there be given to the nobleman Ser Jacomo Soranzo, ambassador elect to the most Serene King of England, 600 golden ducats on account of his expenses for four months; and 150 ducats at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, to purchase horses; and 30 ducats for coverings and trunks; and 50 ducats as a donation for his secretary; and 40 ducats for two couriers, at the rate of 20 ducats each; as carried in the Senate and College; and be he given 200 ducats for couriers, and the dispatch of letters, and to spend, if requisite, in boats, escorts, guides, and safe-conducts, with the obligation to render especial account of them.

Moreover be the treasurer of this Council and his successors enjoined—out of the limitation fund set apart for ambassadors,—to give said ambassador's agents, on the expiration of the three months after his departure hence, at the commencement of the fourth month, the salary appointed him for one month, namely 150 golden ducats, so that he may always have the money for one month in advance, and thus successively from month to month.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 28.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 101.

700. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate for the commission to be given to Giacomo Soranzo, ambassador to the King of England instead of their most beloved Noble Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., elected Patriarch of Aquileia.

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To proceed with speed to England to the King's Court, and after obtaining all necessary information from his predecessor's secretary, who has remained there, to present the credentials to the King, and congratulate him on his welfare. To tell his Majesty that persevering in their ancient friendship and goodwill, they have appointed him ambassador resident there, in the room of Daniel Barbaro. To recommend the Venetian merchants in England to his Majesty, and to render them always all necessary assistance and favour in his power, for the benefit of their traffic and merchandise.

To visit all his Majesty's councillors, presenting credentials from the Signory and performing such offices with them as shall make known to them the Signory's goodwill and affection, and he is to apply to them about all such business as he may have to negotiate there.

The Secretary, after remaining with him a few days, and having given him all necessary information, to return home, but to leave such writings as required, according to the accompanying letter, addressed by them to him.

Is not to omit paying such visits as becoming to the other personages of the Court and Lords of the Council, according to their respective grades and authority, so as by these civilities to render them well inclined towards the affairs of the Signory and of their merchants.

Whilst at that Court is to endeavour, by all possible application and vigilance, to endeavour to learn its negotiations, and the events of the realm, giving especial notice of them daily.

If on his way to England he should find himself in any place with any prince or personage whom he might, for the interests of the Signory, think it fit to visit, he will not fail to perform such offices with them as becoming, according to their respective grades.

Have appointed him for his expenses 150 golden ducats per month, and give him four months salary in advance; also 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, for the purchase of horses; 30 ducats for coverings and trunks; and 20 ducats for a courier, as usual.

Ayes, 196. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

March 28.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 102.

701. The DOGE and SENATE to ALVISE AGOSTINI, Secretary from the Signory with the King of England.

Are sending their nobleman Giacomo Soranzo to reside as ambassador at the Court of the King of England, and to visit his Majesty's councillors and other lords. To give him such information as necessary for the Signory's interests, and leave him the writings required for the Embassy. To return to their presence, they being satisfied with his diligence in writing to them since the departure of their ambassador [Daniel Barbaro].

Ayes, 196. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

1551.
April 4.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 104, tergo.

702. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from France, dated 9th March, the King was at Blois, where an ambassador had arrived from the King of England on account, it was said, of difficulties relating to Scotland.

Ayes, 144. Noes, 37. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian.*]

May.
MS. in the Venetian Archives.

703. REPORT by the most noble Messer DANIEL BARBARO (afterwards Patriarch elect of Aquileia) of his Legation in ENGLAND, delivered in the Senate in the month of May 1551 [on parchment].*

Considers as a very sure proof of the wisdom of the Venetian Republic, their rejection of whatever redounds more to the benefit of the Sovereign than of the people, or of what does not maintain equality, and that whatever is found to be good in the polity of other commonwealths should be all condensed, enjoined, and observed; in that of Venice; and amongst the other means adopted to obtain this result, he is of opinion that one of the most praiseworthy is the law whereby the Signory's envoys on their return from foreign missions are bound to give account to the Senate of what they find worthy of notice in the domestic and foreign policy of the powers to whom they have been accredited.

In obedience to this law, will acquaint the Senate, as briefly as he can, with what he could learn of the government of England during his eighteen months' residence there, bearing chiefly in mind the three points of religion, law, and soldiery.

Succession to the Crown of England.

The country is at present subject to the King of England by right, as the eldest hereditary male heir to the crown. In default of the male line it passes to the female line; but as the sovereignty is undivided, the eldest daughter becomes sole heir; or to the next of kin, should there be no daughters.

Besides the succession and heirship, the consent of the Lords and Commons is requisite, so that, before the King's coronation, the people are solemnly asked thrice whether they approve of the King-elect; and the election being confirmed unanimously, the confirmed King takes oath to observe the laws; and is thus crowned, consecrated, anointed, and hailed King. It is indeed true that, after the confirmation, the King may have to quell insurrection on the part of the nobility, should they consider themselves in any way wronged, as they are many in number, and consider themselves no less noble than their Sovereign; but ordinarily the people love their King, and put up with anything to retain him (*per conservarlo*), especially when he keeps the promises made them.

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* The delivery of this "Report" to the College is alluded to at p. 98 of the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, thus:

1551, April 30. Venice. "This day, Signor Daniel Barbaro has had his first audience of the Seigniory, and is understood to have reported very honourably of the King's Majesty and their Lordships."

The Venetians made their reports first to the College, and then to the Senate. The report to the Senate was probably made on the 1st or 2nd of May 1551.

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If the King comes to the crown at mature age, the government is conducted by his Majesty in person and by the Lords and Commons who sit in Parliament. If a minor, as at present, they give him governors or protectors, though at present this title of Protector has become generally odious, the uncle of the present King having been deprived of it, for the reasons written in the reporter's letter to the Senate, dated 6th October 1549; in addition to which, it was the

Henry VIII.'s will.

intention of the present King's father to leave the care of his son not to one individual, but to several persons with equal authority, although this was not practised, owing to the neglect of many or to the extreme *diligenza et curiositd* of one alone, who, in his (Barbaro's) time, ruled everything, whence arose endless confusion.

The late King had considered the great danger which threatened the kingdom in case the nobility maintained the power it then possessed; and also that it was not safe to give his son, who at the time of his death was ten years old, in ward to a kinsman; so first of all, by strange modes, he chose to depress the nobility, leaving them their titles and depriving them of all jurisdiction, so that there is neither duke nor lord in the whole realm who can by law put any one to death, nor who derives his entire revenue from the places of which he is lord.

To secure his son and the crown, the late King also gave equal authority to sixteen [regents?], not making any of them chief, that they might rule the ward and the realm; which was in truth well judged, had not all his orders, by some misfortune unknown to the reporter, been altered after his death, so that his last will and testament was published in another form than the true one, and everything is going daily from bad to worse, nor does aught remain,

Character of Edward VI.

save the reputation of the present King, who is of a good disposition, and the whole realm hopes the best from him, as he is handsome, affable, of becoming stature, seems to be liberal, commences interesting himself about public business, and in bodily exercises, literary studies, and knowledge of languages, appears to surpass his comrades and competitors as also his own years, in number 14.

Coming now to the three things which constitute the foundation of commonwealths, will treat first of the administration of justice.

Laws.

The laws of England, called "common," are observed in part according to ancient usage, partly taken from civil law, and partly enacted by the parliaments.* In like manner as these laws are various and diverse, so are the awards various and diverse, and they are administered in certain places called "courts," and at certain times of the year, and juridical days (*giorni giuridici*), called "terms."

The King's Bench.

The first and principal court is called the King's Bench, where four judges-jurists (*giudici jurisperiti*) sit "*pro tribunali*," the first of whom is called the Chief Justice (*il giudice capitale*) of all England. These judges constitute the court of judicature for criminal cases, such as lese-Majesty, homicide, violation of women,

* Le leggi d'Inghilterra, che comuni si chiamano, sono parte osservate per antica usanza, parte prese dalla ragione civile, parte statuite nelli parlamenti.

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theft, arson, and in short, any transgression perpetrated by force, as anything done against the Majesty of the Crown is considered an act of violence. The formulas of actions, therefore, and such processes as appertain to that Bench, are called the placets of the Crown.

Mode of trial by jury.

The mode of judging, is as follows: whenever any of the aforesaid misdemeanors occur, 12 men of the province where it took place are summoned in the King's name to make inquiry about the crimes committed there; and to them all prosecutors have recourse, and after being sworn to tell the truth make their complaint in form of a charge (*in forma di un libello*) called "indictment," containing a list of the witnesses, evidence and proofs. After mature consideration of the charge (*libello*), if the 12 consider it inadmissible, they tear it up immediately; but if admitted, they send it to the judge inscribed thus, "true bill," that is to say, veracious charge ("*billia vera*," *cioè libello verace*). The judge then endeavours to arrest the culprit, to whom the charge is read on his appearing in court, the witnesses and other proofs being produced; after which evidence the prisoner defends his cause without counsel (*avvocati*), because in capital causes the English do not admit counsel (*avvocati*). If the culprit denies the fact, 12 others are then summoned, he being at liberty to reject them, but if accepted, they are sworn to speak the truth; and after drawing aside and discussing the process, if they acquit the prisoner (*il reo*) of the charge he is immediately released, but if pronounced guilty, they send him back to the judge, who enquires whether he has anything else to say in his defence, which may be the case, should he have been already acquitted of the charge, or should he have the royal pardon and can show it in writing, or that he be in Holy Orders; but if he has no other defence, they then pass sentence according to the criminal code; so that if convicted of high treason, he is hanged, and after dismembering and disembowelling him, the parts being committed to the flames, they finally cut off the head, the body being quartered; women being burnt for this crime. Other malefactors make atonement on the gibbet.

Torture.

This mode of judicature appears to the English perfectly just and safe, as they affirm that torture is a violent and compulsory method, which often induces a man to confess what he has never committed, nor ever thought of doing; and injures both the body and life of an innocent person; and they are also of opinion that it is more just to release a guilty person than to condemn one who is innocent. This is the Criminal Code.

The Common Pleas.

There is another Court, called "of the Common Pleas," in which four justices sit, being installed with great ceremony; and the principal one is styled Justice of the Bench. This Court decides civil disputes, not such as regard the Crown, but those relating to the Lords and Commons, as for instance, tenements, land, debts, damages, and other private injuries.

Serjeants-at-law and barristers.

The suits of this Court are pleaded by certain barristers-elect (*certi avvocati eletti*), called serjeants-at-law (*servitori della legge*) They have no grade of LL.D., like those who study civil law in the universities, but have the grade of serjeants-at-law (*servitori della*

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legge), which is the special grade of those who have studied the common law (*leggi proprie*) of England, nor in other countries is it customary to confer an especial degree for the laws of that kingdom. The barristers (*avvocati*) are made with great ceremonies, which it would be long to narrate; and what with banquets and presents they each spend some 1,600 crowns on receiving their degree, though on the other hand it is true that in no other place do barristers (*avvocati*) gain more than they do in England, both because they are few in number there, and also because none others can be employed. Moreover, very great respect is paid them, in proof of which they do not doff their white coifs even in the King's presence; and from these barristers the justices are generally chosen. When the case is pleaded, which the English denominate "issue of the action" (*essito nell' attione*), should the dispute be *de jure*, the matter is decided by the justices (*giustitiarij*); if *de facto*, they summon 12 men from the site where the dispute arose, and after putting them upon oath, civil disputes between the nobility and the people (*i grandi e la plebe*) are decided according to their verdict.

The Exchequer.

The King of England, besides the privy purse and treasurers of the household, has also the public fisque (*il fisco publico*), called Exchequer, which the reporter believes to be a corruption from the Latin word "*statarius*," as the entire grandeur of the realm is based on money. In this Court four judges sit, with the title of Barons of the Exchequer, the chief of whom is eminently learned in the law (*giurisperito*). There also sit constantly the chamberlains (*camarlinghi*), the auditors (*i ragionati*), the tellers (*i collettori dell' entrate*), the clerks of the pells (*i notari*), the scriveners? (*scrivani*), who transact the affairs of the Exchequer (*che procurano le cose del fisco*), in which no slight disputes arise between Sovereign and subject, so that a person once involved with the Exchequer, can with great difficulty and loss of time succeed, and only after having in the first place well emptied his purse, according to the proverb, "Quod non capit Christus, capit fiscus." Judgment is given throughout according to the common law (*legge comunale*), and the terms are kept according to the four seasons of the year, as in the other courts. The revenues of the Exchequer are reserved, not so much for the civil list of the Sovereign, as for the public profit, because they are crown property; but of these and other revenues more will be said hereafter.

The regal power.

The King of England exercises two powers (*due potestà*); the one, royal and absolute, the other, ordinary and legal. With regard to the first, in cases where the laws of England are either too severe, or require a certain equity, the Lord Chancellor represents the person of the King, with regard to distinguishing the cases, and his decisions are as valid as if they issued from the King's own mouth.

The Court of Chancery.

The Lord Chancellor has a court of his own, called the Court of Chancery, or the Court of Conscience (*il foro di coscienza*), where sentence is passed, not entirely *de jure*, but according to a sort of equity, and the proofs of the cases are not referred to the twelve, but to the Chancellor himself, who, after examining the witnesses,

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secundum allegata et probata, gives his judgment. Under the Lord Chancellor is the Vice-Chancellor, called "Master of the Rolls," and his assessors.

The Star Chamber.

Certain cases of extraordinary importance are moreover referred to a place called the Star Chamber, where the King appears in person. In this chamber there are always in attendance certain jurists called Referendaries, or Masters of Requests, who receive the petitions and complaints of the oppressed poor, which are presented to the King, and heard and determined in a place, called the Whitehall. Matters of importance, however, relating to the Sovereign or the people, are referred to the King's Privy Council, consisting, as decreed by the late King Henry, of sixteen great personages; and

Proclamations.

whatever they decide there is published by edicts and proclamations, which have the vigour and force of laws, provided they do not extend to capital punishment, or to the disinheritance of any one; or that they be not in effect repugnant to the ancient statutes. Those who disregard these proclamations are imprisoned, but not for life, and the decrees remain in force at the King's pleasure, and during his reign; and this is what relates to the King's royal and absolute power.

Summonses to Parliament.

With regard to that which is ordinary and legitimate, it is subject to the municipal civil laws of England, enacted by all the estates of the realm, which assembled together form the Parliament, as follows. When the King has determined to make new laws and to repeal the old ones, or to lay on some tax, or in short to regulate the whole State, he by certain writs (*brevi*) addressed to the lords and bishops of the realm, desires them to be ready in a certain place on a certain day, to treat matters concerning the

Elections.

common weal. He also desires the lords lieutenants of the counties to elect two plebeians, styled by them burgesses, from every city and castle to come to the Parliament in lieu of the people. And as it was dangerous to convoke the entire population at large, as their contradictory opinions might give rise to tumult and sedition, the number is thus limited, and amounts to about 300, so that all may pass off quietly. In the next place, each county elects two men of the equestrian order, who are called knights of Parliament (*soldati del parlamento*), and answer for all the inhabitants, both patricians and plebeians; so that the entire number consists of two parts or classes, one of the lords and bishops, the other of the burgesses.

Mode of holding Parliament.

When they are assembled in the place appointed for this purpose, which is very vast and extremely handsome, after celebration of the mass (*dopo celebrato il sacrificio*—sic) the King makes the Lord Chancellor state the causes which have rendered it necessary to assemble the Parliament. In the next place, the King desires the inferior order, that of the burgesses, to elect as usual an able and eloquent member to announce their suits (*cause*) and grievances (*gravami*). This mover (*costui che propone*) is styled Speaker of the Parliament, because as president of that order he prescribes the mode and place for speaking (*il modo ed il luogo del parlare*). These orders being separated one from the other, they commence regulating matters, as aforesaid; and first of all they inscribe in a book whatever has to be treated, after which they read the book three times in three days,

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one day always intervening between each reading, for the purpose of giving time to the House in question to consult. The book having been read, any member who pleases is at liberty to speak, but in turn, one after the other, nor is it allowable to interrupt any one speaking. The arguments on both sides having been heard they proceed to vote, and all those who assent to a motion exclaim "Aye, aye," those who reject it exclaiming "No, no." If the number of one side is doubtful the Speaker counts it one by one, and thus the majority conquers the minority, and the deliberation being noted in a bill (*libro*), is sent by three or four members selected from that House (*ordine*) to the Upper House, wherein the whole affair is discussed in like manner. If the bill (*libro*) is disapproved they immediately tear it, if approved, it is kept until the last day of Parliament; when in presence of the King all bills of the sort (*tutti quei libri*) are read; and if the King assents to them they all become so many lasting and immutable laws; but if any of the bills do not please the King, they then say that the King will consider, and the matter is referred to another time. And this is altogether the routine of the Parliament.

Convocation.

The English have also another assembly, styled "Convocation," in which bishops and ecclesiastics alone sit; they treat nothing but religious matters, and their decisions are styled "provincial constitutions" (*costituzione provinciale*), the motions being made, and the business being transacted in the same form as that of Parliament; and the mover of the motions is styled Prolocutor of the Convocation.

These parliaments, when held juridically, are calculated to allay all tumult and sedition; they are useful and secure, as measures adopted by popular opinion and consent, because they render the royal and absolute power, legitimate and ordinary, all members of parliament having full liberty.

The Privy Council.

The office of the Councillors is to mediate between the people and the Sovereign, reminding him that he should keep the promises made on his election; but at present there are many abuses (*disordini*) in this system, first, because many things which ought to be referred to Parliament are decided in the King's Privy Council, as was the treaty of peace lately contracted with the French, and especially the restitution of Boulogne, which the country felt bitterly; and

Popular complaints.

also because the petitions and complaints of the people being manifold, Parliament, though always promised them, is put off from time to time by a thousand excuses, because the government (*i signori*) have no wish to keep their promises; and even if they do assemble Parliament, they commence with the despatch of such business as turns to their own profit and advantage, and that being accomplished, they adjourn the two houses, and thus cajole the kingdom.

Such is the general legislature of England, nor is it necessary to give especial account of the officials who inspect the country, as it would be tedious, and also because, except in name, there is no difference between the syndics of Italy and other regions, and those of England; but he will tell of a certain legislation practised in

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London and some other towns with regard to municipal government, and the administration of justice to the populace.

Municipal government of London.

In 1181, when Richard Cœur de Lion, with other princes, wished to make the crusade against the Infidels and provide funds for that purpose, the people in London supplied him with a considerable sum, on which account, many privileges were conceded to the Londoners, including that of the government of the city, which then commenced having the form of a republic, and constantly proceeding from good to better, became noble and wealthy. The whole

The Companies.

population is divided into "companies," termed in Venice "schools" or fraternities (*scuole o fraggie*), of artificers; as, for instance, all the woolmen purchase from the King the privilege of forming companies amongst themselves, holding their meetings, forming their statutes (*mariegole*), regulating the price of cloths, preventing others from exercising the trade, and so forth, in order that everything may be conducted methodically; nor can any one enter these companies, until he has served those of the trade during six or

Apprentices.

seven years. These individuals are called "apprentices," signifying that their lot is equal, though compared to servants, as whilst learning the trade they serve the masters, who exercise jurisdiction over them as if they were slaves, but when the years of servitude expire, they become *ipso jure* citizens of London, although some others obtain the denizenship sooner.

Women likewise take the same service, and from all parts of the kingdom a great multitude of people flock to London, and there acquire wealth, honours, and matrimonial alliances; and what has been said about woollen manufactures is applicable to all the other trades.

Then the whole city, including noblemen and new men, elect their senate, their "Podestà" or Lord Mayor, and two tribunes or Viscounts, called by them Sheriffs, all of whom are for the purpose of administering justice (*dar ragione*) to the people.*

Election of Lord Mayor.

The city is divided into 24 parts, called wards, each of which is ruled by its senior and most respectable (*più onorato*) member, styled "alderman," signifying "old man" or "senator." From these 24 the mayor is elected, long before he assumes the office, which is annual, nor may it be held during more than five consecutive years. On his entry, he takes oath before the Chief Baron of the Exchequer to observe the laws faithfully; he issues a public invitation, and with very great pomp and magnificence gives a feast, at which upwards of a thousand persons are seen sitting at table, at one and the same time, being waited on with marvellous silence and method (*ordine*). He robes in scarlet, his sword is carried before him, and he appears in public in great state. On completing the term of his magistracy, he is knighted, but loses the title of "Lord," though during her life his wife is styled "Lady," which signifies "gentlewoman" (*signora*), and she also dresses differently from the other [city?] women.

* Che si chiama Mer, cioè Maggiore; due Tribuni detti Visconti, et da loro schivi (*sic*); e tutti questi sono per dar ragione al popolo.

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The like offices are also held in the other cities, but not with so much dignity, save in the city of York, which is on a par with London.

The jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor embraces many things which it would be long to enumerate, but it does not extend beyond certain boundaries within the city. He punishes certain crimes, appoints the town watch, provides for an ample supply of victuals, and in short, rules the city.

This is the close of what relates to the administration of justice; and although he could narrate many other things about the magistrates both of the towns, villages, and boroughs, yet as he has written diffusely about them elsewhere,* and as it would be but little to the purpose to allude to them on this occasion, he will merely say that the greater part of the offices of the realm of England are the same as those instituted for the like purposes in other countries, the difference being merely that of names.

Education.

Will now discuss the matter of religion, premising it by a few words about the education (*disciplina*) of children in England, as a matter of importance, for legislation and justice.

On the death of their husbands, mothers, however old they may be, re-marry, and take the greater part of the property elsewhere, neglecting their children, and many of them, even those who are wealthy, desert the cities, and go and reside with their families in the villages, where they have no opportunity for instructing their children, still less for sending them, as they used to do, to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where there are many colleges, founded by deceased kings and noblemen, for the benefit of students, who, residing there not a little at their ease, devoted themselves to literature, and became learned and virtuous; but now, few quit their homes, and those few are plebeians. The property goes to the eldest sons, the juniors being as it were their servants, and if not utterly idle, they take service with the King or become soldiers; but they no longer acquire learning, although they get more pay, because at present the care taken heretofore in this important matter of education is at an end, as the reporter will moreover state in another place.

Religious opinion.

Religion is as it were the heart of man on which life depends, an excellent principle, as seen in all republics and governments (especially in monarchies), whereby to regulate (*moderare*) men's minds, and make them acknowledge God as the giver of kingdoms (*stati*) and victories. This is not the case with the English, amongst whom there is nothing more fickle (*incostante*) than religious opinion, for today they do one thing and tomorrow another; and now those who have accepted the new creed (*la nuova legge*) as well as the others are dissatisfied, as shown by the insurrection of '49; and in fact, had they now a leader, although they have been grievously chastised, they would again rise. On the other hand the Londoners are more inclined to obedience, because they are nearer the Court. In short, the English err in

* The work here alluded to is not known to exist either in print or manuscript.

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their religion, and in their opinions about the faith, the ceremonies of the Church, and obedience to the Pope; and the origin of so many evils was Henry VIII., the father of the present King.

Marriages of Henry VIII.

Henry had lived twenty years with Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand King of Spain, and aunt of the present Emperor, she having first been the wife of Henry's brother Arthur, who married her at the age of fourteen years, and died five months afterwards. By Catharine, Henry had a daughter named Mary, now thirty-six years old; and having no sons, made her heir to the crown; but discord and a suit at law (*lite*) about the marriage of Catharine and Henry having subsequently arisen, the King, after much strife, having renounced the Pope's authority, repudiated her, and thereupon immediately married Anna Boleyn, a lady (*una donna*) of the court, of whom he was enamoured. Of her was born Elizabeth, who is now living, and who is eighteen years old; wherefore Mary was compelled to renounce her hereditary rights, with which Elizabeth was invested; and the rage conceived by Henry against the Pope from having had his suit for divorce rejected, coupled with the evil persuasions of Lord Cromwell then in very great favour, had such an effect upon him, that he made Parliament declare him Supreme Head of the Church, after Christ, in the realms of England (*nelle terre Anglicane*), where the annats, tenths, and dispensations were all assigned to the King; and those who opposed these measures were beheaded. In the meanwhile the first repudiated wife died, and Anna Boleyn having been condemned for adultery was beheaded, and next day the King married his third wife, Jane Seymour, sister of the Protector. Of her, was born in 1537, Edward VI., who now lives and reigns; and she died 12 days after the delivery, so that then in '40, Henry took his fourth wife, Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves; she also was repudiated a few months afterwards, and is now living in England near London on a certain pension. In lieu of Anne, he took Catharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk by the brother's side; she likewise being beheaded in '42 on a charge of adultery. So he then came to the sixth (*onde alla sesta sí venne*), by name Catharine Parr, a widow of not very high birth, who after Henry's death, having married again, died childless.

The title of Supreme Head of the Church.

In this confusion of wives, so many noblemen and great personages were beheaded, so much church plunder committed, and so many acts of disobedience perpetrated, that it may be said that all that ensued, and is still going on (which to say the truth is horrible and unheard of)—all, I say, is the penalty of that first sin.

Religious observances.

This detestation of the Pope is now so confirmed that no one, either of the new or old religion, can bear to hear him mentioned; and indeed in the Litanies which they sing in Church they say in English, "From the deceit and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, Lord deliver us." However much the Council may be talked of, England will send no one to it, although the country ought to be represented there, as it was to the Council that Henry VIII. appealed with regard to the sentence against his divorce; and whenever they can suppose that anything is ordained by the Pontiff, they immediately abrogate it at the suggestion of Bucer,

Influence of Bucer.

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who was in very great repute with them, but is now dead, as reported to him (Barbaro) on his journey by the Archbishop of Cologne, with whom he passed Palm-Sunday. The English however eat fish on Friday and Saturday, and in Lent, for the sake, they say, of enabling the fishermen and poor people to gain their livelihood; so that, in order not to act according to the Roman custom, they purpose changing the Friday and Saturday for two other days in the week.

Church revenues.

Of the Church revenues and property they have made sheer plunder and one enormous act of sacrilege. They have two Archbishops, one of Canterbury and the other of York. The former [Thomas Cranmer] is in great repute, as head of the new religion (*nuova legge*), and is styled Primate of the Church (*Primate della Chiesa*); there being 18 bishoprics under him; but York has only two; nor are there any other bishoprics. The Bishops have not much to spend, as their revenues have all been curtailed.

The dissolved Monasteries.

Nothing more is said about the Abbacies, they being all suppressed and their revenues annexed (*incorporate*) to the Crown; some being given to and usurped by the nobility, who convert them into palaces; furnishing them with the church-ornaments [when there are any, and rendering them heirlooms in their families (*see Correr MS.*)].

The parishes in like manner, which in the reign of Edward III. were upwards of 40,000, are now but 25,000; from which must be deducted certain prebendaries bestowed on meritorious persons, both natives and aliens, who are however not bound to do any duty, save that of fealty (*fedeltà*) to the King; and under this name, the nobility (*i signori*) have usurped many, incorporating them with their hereditary possessions. But nothing is so mischievous as the destruction of the Abbacies, which maintained a great part of the population, were a refuge for the poor, a convenience for travellers, and profitable for the Sovereign in time of war. And this is the summary of what he can tell about the disobedience of the English to the Pope, besides their demonstrations of contempt for him, in paintings, comedies, and in all their amusements.

The poor.

Church ceremonies.

With regard to church ceremonies, it is true they have retained many of them; introducing many new ones, under pretence that the nature of the times requires this, as some had become idolatrous and superstitious, because the pastors had not at first opened their eyes to them.

The Prayer Book.

Now in '48, a book was printed in English, compiled (*composto*) by the King's command, by many bishops and lettered men (*litterati*), and subsequently confirmed by Parliament; which book is entitled, "The Public Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and Ceremonies." It was then ordered that according to the precepts (*gli ordini*) of this book they were to observe the same form in the churches in England, Wales, and Calais. It mentions those places, because in Ireland, and the islands subject to England, where the English tongue is not understood, no obligation is imposed. In the colleges (*studj*) and universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, they allow them to read the prayers, in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, to encourage students; but the service of the Lord's

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supper is read nowhere but in English. They officiate in the churches in the evening and morning; so that all the psalms are read 12 times annually, and the Testament once, except certain chapters of the Apocalypse. On holydays (*nei di solenni*) they read a compendium of the Litanies without commemoration of saints.

They use bells and organs, but neither altars nor images, nor water, nor incense (*non acqua, non fuoco*), nor other Roman ceremonies. In all the churches on the walls, which are whitened for this purpose, below the royal arms, they inscribe certain Scriptural sayings.

Baptism.

Having detailed the mode of officiating in the churches, will proceed to the administration of the Sacraments. They choose baptism to be performed in the churches on Sundays and holydays, in the presence of the sponsors, to whom the minister says a few words, exhorting them to pray for the infant to be baptized, and to answer for it. They sign the child with the cross on the breast and head, plunge it (*l' attuffano*) thrice in the water, and anoint it; but the oil is not consecrated either in this or any other Sacrament; and in case of need, they can baptize at home. They do not administer the communion before Confirmation, which is in like manner performed without the consecrated oil. The purification of women is performed 20 days after delivery in the churches, whither the women go to thank God.

The Communion.

On the day before the Communion, or on the day itself, the communicants are bound to present themselves to the priest before the morning service or immediately afterwards, and acquaint him with their intention, and should any one of them be known to have led an infamous and scandalous life, the priest warns him not to go to the Communion until after he has declared his repentance and determined to mend, making reparation for his offences and promising to do so. That is ordained in the book, but not observed, having been done for appearance sake. When they communicate the priests wear their surplices; they dismiss the non-communicants from the choir (*coro*), take as much bread and wine as may suffice, and if the wine in the chalice is not enough they mix it with spring water. The bread is coarser than what is used at Venice, and of circular form without images; and they make a general confession, which is preceded by a very long homily (*lunghissime parole*).

They choose one person in each family to communicate every Sunday; so certain merchants treat it as a joke, and are in the habit of sending one of their servants; and the parish priests do this to obtain alms.

Marriage.

They have also ordained the solemn form of marriage to be performed in church by the priest, the bride and bridegroom being present. They allow the priests to marry, and their primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has a wife; this being tolerated even in foreigners, such as Bernardino di Siena, who last year had a son.

Even extreme unction is administered with unconsecrated oil, and if the danger is imminent they tell the sick man that if he repents heartily and affirms that Christ died for him, he has then communicated in the spirit, although he do not take the Sacrament through the mouth.

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The two first offences against these regulations are punished at the option of the judge, but the third subjects the culprit to perpetual imprisonment. These and other similar things were done and ordained in the year '48; but then in '49, by royal authority, another book was published and confirmed in Parliament, containing the form of conferring holy orders; nor do they differ from those of the Roman Catholic religion, save that in England they take oath to renounce the doctrine and authority of the Pope.

Vestments.

They read certain other "lessons" (*lezioni*) from Scripture, by authority of the [ecclesiastical] ministry, and use sacerdotal garments;

Bishop Hooper.

and therefore they lately condemned Bishop Hooper (*il vescovo Uper*), who would not consent either to the Sacraments or to the habits, saying that they are ceremonies of the Old Testament, and a Jewish and idolatrous observance.

Has nothing more to say about the ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and is at a loss to narrate the contradictory opinions entertained in England about the faith, both with regard to the most Holy Trinity and the Angels, as also about the creation of the world, the humanity of Christ, and the efficacy of the Sacraments; for as they have perpetrated many excesses, and consequently incurred the just excommunication and malediction of the Church, he believes that all the rest of the sins committed by them, through their heretical dogmas, the losses suffered by them, and the fear they feel, without knowing its cause, are nothing but a penitential sin (*un peccato penale*) and a conflicting sentiment, imposed on them as a

Preaching.

divine judgment. No one preaches or lectures publicly in theology, until after he has been examined by the archbishop, or approved and sworn by the bishop. It hence ensues that without further law or statute, the preachers and public professors of theology propound to the people one sole doctrine, according to the will of their superiors, so that the greater part of their sermons and lessons (*lezioni*) consists in abusing the Pope, in preaching the repudiation of wives, and maintaining whatever their masters choose. For these causes, they lately condemned the Bishop of Winchester, a very worthy man, and who led the best of lives; they deprived him of his bishopric, which was perhaps his greatest sin, as it yielded him a rental of 12,000 crowns; and some other bishops who will not

Sects.

conform to their opinions are to be sacrificed in like manner. In addition to this, there are divers sects all over the country, where there may be said to reign the confusion of tongues, a dissolute license, a manifest scourge from God, by giving refuge to all the fugitive apostates from France, Italy, and Germany; and had the ambassador to give a name to their heresies, as the followers of the chief of them consider the mass idolatrous by its consecration, and as they do not admit the real presence, he thinks they might be styled Sacramentarians. This much will suffice with regard to religion, on account of which they had the audacity to enter the reporter's house, in violation of ambassadorial privileges, seizing the priest who was celebrating mass for him at home, as written by the ambassador to the Doge in his letter, dated 24th July last.

The Army.

Will now pass to the offensive and defensive military power of

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the English, and show how they are inclined towards their neighbours and the other powers.

The military discipline of the English is according to the fashion of their forefathers; for, immediately on war being declared, the forces are mustered by the royal command in each of the counties, originally 39 in number, to which 12 were subsequently added from Wales, each being ruled by a nobleman, styled the King's Lord Lieutenant, appointed for one year, to enforce the royal commands.

Musters.

The villages, castles, and all the other places, send the whole of their male population capable of bearing arms, from the age of 15 years to 40, and from 16 to 60, who are all mustered on a spacious plane, where they perform their military exercise with such arms as they possess, in the presence of the commanders (*magistrati*) appointed for this purpose. The stoutest and most robust are then selected, and England has in fact men of strength and well proportioned; and were they equally able to endure a long run of fatigue and privations, believes that no militia could equal that of England.

Of these able-bodied men, some serve on foot, others on horseback. Those who are neither tall nor short, but of agile frame, are mounted, and divided into two classes, one of light-horse, the other of men-at-arms, consisting for the most part of gentlemen rather than of others, as they are better able to bear the expense and to provide themselves with good horses.

Of the light cavalry, part are armed in the Albanian fashion, and the others with a shirt of mail and a sallet (*mezza testa*), and a light long spear, and they use any sort of horse, as they never charge, save in flank, and they are called demi-lances (*lancette*).

Archers.

The infantry is formed of taller men and divided into four sorts. The first is of archers, who abound in England and are very excellent, both by nature and from practice, so that the archers alone have often been seen to rout armies of 30,000 men. The second is of bill-men, their weapon being a short thick staff (*asta*), with an iron like a peasant's hedging bill, but much thicker and heavier than what is used in the Venetian territories. With this, they strike so violently as to unhorse the cavalry; and it is made short because they like close quarters. The third are the harquebusiers, who are good for little, as only a few of them have had practice south of the Channel; and this sort, together with the fourth, which consists of pike-men, has been more recently added to the ancient militia of England.

Of these four sorts of militia, they can raise an army of 100,000 men, 20,000 of whom will be very excellent archers, 20,000 cavalry (of whom scarcely the fourth part men-at-arms), and the rest harquebusiers and pikes; but on no occasion, or very rarely indeed, are they in the habit of mustering this entire force, because if they

The French and the Scots.

make war on the French the northern counties do not stir; if opposed to the Scots, the southern provinces are not mustered; but if threatened from several quarters, they then appoint four commanders, one for each of the four parts of the kingdom, so that

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from whatever point the enemy may come they meet a commander-in-chief and his army.

Henry VIII.'s successes.

Confirms what he stated previously about the father of Edward VI., who, at the age of 25 years declared war on the French, and took Terouenne and Tournai. After worsting the French (and he had 60,000 paid troops in France and England), he routed the Scots and killed their king, who with that opportunity had invaded England. At that time he had 6,000 archers in Spain to aid Ferdinand [the Catholic] in his attack on Navarre, and the English fleet numbered 120 sail; in addition to which, many powers have been assisted with men and money by the English, who, if they employed foreign soldiery, paid dearly for them.

The military commanders (*magistrati*) are as follows:—The captain-general fills the first post; the second is held by the marshal, who in the general's absence, fills his place; the other is the provost of all the cavalry (*il proposto di tutta la cavalleria*); and there is the treasurer, the master of the militia, the master of the ordnance, the colonel, and many other inferior officers whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

Mode of battle.

The infantry is divided into companies of 100 men, who have their captain, lieutenant, ensign, and serjeant. The cavalry is also divided into squadrons of 100, and officered in like manner. The cavalry use trumpets, the infantry use drums; and legitimate war is always announced by a herald. When the army takes the field, the camp is fortified with waggons and barricades (*impedimenti*), and should the enemy be near at hand they dig trenches, with earthworks (*argini di terra*), and place the artillery in suitable position. They have two sorts of watchmen, one of cavalry, called scout (*scolta*), the other of infantry, called sentry. On receiving notice of the enemy's approach, the whole camp immediately raises the English cry of "Bows! bows!" which is the nation's last hope, and they all rush to a spacious place called the camp square (*la piazza del campo*), and there await orders.

In the camp they also pass sentences, both capital and civil, but summarily and "*de plano*," over which the marshal of the army presides, with the assistance of certain lawyers, and this tribunal is styled the court-martial (*la corte della guerra*).

The Navy.

Will now tell of the navy of England, whose position being insular save where it touches Scotland, the English, therefore, by reason of their numerous harbours and islands, have a very great quantity both of ships and sailors, and are very powerful at sea (*e nel mare vagliono assai*). In case of need they can fit out 500 vessels, of which upwards of 100 are decked; and many men-of-war (*e molte per uso della guerra*) are stationed permanently in several places. There are also some 20 ships which they call "galleons," not very high (*non molto alti*) [out of the water?] but long and wide (*ma lunghi e grossi*), with which, in the late wars, they fought all their battles.

They do not use galleys, by reason of the very great strength of the tides in the ocean, so that as the reporter was told by the Prior of Capua [Leone Strozzi], when he went with six galleys to

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fetch the Queen of Scotland,* the navigation of those seas differs from that of all others, as unless the tide be favourable the wind is of very little use. On the shores the sea rises to the height of a tall house, so quickly that it is marvellous; for it chokes (*ingorga*) the mouths of the rivers and swells them to a distance of 70 or 80 miles up stream, so that two galleys are always kept in readiness for whatever may occur.

The Admiralty.

The naval affairs are directed by the Lord High Admiral, one of the chief officers of state, on whom many magistracies and offices connected with the fleet depend; and they issue awards from a tribunal of their own called the Admiralty Court, whose jurisdiction embraces maritime affairs exclusively, and what occurs on the high seas, they taking cognizance of whatever relates to piracy and shipwrecks; and their sentences are based on civil law, and the president of the court is a lawyer.

Pirates.

The punishment inflicted on corsairs is to hang them in such a way that their toes well nigh touch the water, so they are generally hanged on the banks of rivers and on the sea shore.

"Wreck of the sea."

The claims on wrecked property are in like manner decided according to the laws of England, which decree that such as is stranded belongs either to the King or to the proprietor of the soil near the shore if the King concede it† but with regard to the other things,‡ the laws are more humane, even in the case of enemies, as all aliens, and especially merchants, are fully authorised to go all over the kingdom; and if of a hostile nation, enquiry is made first of all how Englishmen are treated in their country, and as they do by others so is it done by them. In conclusion, all men registered for military or naval service, are exempt by law from all taxes on real and personal property (*sono essenti dalle leggi quanto appartiene a tutte le possessioni, et beni, tanto mobili, quanto stabili*), and live under the King's protection; but touching naval commanders, Barbaro would be at a loss to name a pair, but says there is the Earl of Warwick [John Dudley], who is sage and brave, and the Privy Seal [John Russell Earl of Bedford], for land service, but does not know how good they would prove at sea, nor what other admirals England could supply.§

Naval Commanders.

This is the entire form of the military discipline of the English [on sea and land], and would be perfectly devised if the soldiers were suitably exercised before being required for active service, as is the case with the sailors, who constantly keep the sea clear from Flemish and Breton corsairs, and especially from the Scots, who, being very needy, observe neither peace nor truce, but for all that, they dare not molest the English villages (*luoghi*) and harbours.

Fortresses.

Will now give an abridged account of the fortresses of England,

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* In July and August 1550 (*see* Foreign Calendar, pp. 51, 53).

† Se il Re lo concede, query, if the land was granted by the crown.

‡ "Ma nelle altre cose," goods found at sea; flotson?

§ Ma quanto aspetta ad huomini da capo Io non ne saprei nominare un paro. Evvi il Conte di Warwick, savio et animoso, et il Privisillo da terra. Ma da mare non so, come sariano buoni, ne qual altro ci fosse.

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derived from a distinct and detailed description obtained by him with great difficulty and at great cost.

Towards the German ocean (*verso il mare di Fiandra*) within Scotland, is a small mud-built village on the sea, called Lauder* [Lanfort], the only one remaining of the eight captured by the English at the beginning of the last war.

They keep a captain and 50 men there, with artillery and ammunition for its defence.

Berwick.

Coasting thence towards England the frontier town of Berwick presents itself. It is fortified in the modern fashion, and the works are still in progress; does not believe it to be strong, compared with the fortresses of Italy, as may be ascertained by the drawing.† The place is guarded by a colony of Englishmen, established there a long while since; there are some thousand men within, and it is provided with everything necessary. The governor has a guard of 400 men, who are his own servants, so that the King spends little for them. The governor is one of the chief noblemen of England, and he has also 200 demi-lances (*lancette*). Off this coast is Holy Island,‡ where there is a stronghold (*una rocca*) built on a rock, facing east and south, ill designed, but well supplied; where, in time of war, an admiral of the North resides, with an amount of vessels at the King's option; but in time of peace the place is held by a captain with only 40 men.

Dover.

Proceeding thence along the coast as far as Dover (the ferry-port from Calais), there is no fortress where the King need spend anything for garrisons, as the inhabitants of the territory perform that office and burn beacons on certain eminences, as a signal for mustering the forces immediately. Dover is strong, solely from its position and very extensive seaview, and by reason of certain casemates (*caverne*), where they keep the guns commanding the harbour, as the castle, being very high, cannot defend it. In this place, they keep a captain who remains below, and a warden who resides in the castle, the two together having but 100 men, as all the inhabitants of the town keep guard themselves. All persons bound for England from Boulogne or Calais, make this passage as the shortest, the distance being 30 or 40 miles.

Isle of Wight.

After weathering the head-land of England, proceeding along the southern coast, the Isle of Wight presents itself, the garrison consisting of a governor with but few troops, the local militia sufficing; and it is provided with supplies of every sort, the place being important, and the defence of the whole southern coast, as far as the headland of Cornwall, which is 300 miles from Dover by land, and the broadest part of the island.

The Scotch Borders.

Having made the point of Cornwall on the Irish Channel, along the coast to the northward there are several harbours, such as Bristol and Chester, the passage port for Ireland, nor is there any other stronghold, or very expensive station, the aforesaid regulations sufficing. It is true that at Carlisle on the English border

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* *See* Hume, vol. iii. p. 310. Ed. London 1744.
† The drawing does not exist in the MS.
‡ The Holy Island of Lindisfarne.

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towards Scotland, they have a captain with some 200 horse and foot, and he keeps strict watch over the town as in time of war it is usual to do, and the peace is always precarious. The borders of England and Scotland are divided by the river Tweed and the Cheviot Hills, in which space is Wark (*Warch*), where there is a captain with 50 horse and 50 foot. It has been strengthened lately, as at first it was [merely] a round brick tower, with a poor castle to the south. It is now enlarged and fortified, so that it has withstood many bombardments. It is very well defended towards the north by the Tweed, and is amply provisioned. Three miles from Wark is Roxburgh (*Roesprun—sic*), distant 12 miles from Berwick (*Albarrich*), both which places are garrisoned likewise.

Isle of Man.

In the whole of England there is no other important fortress, as the chief strength of that realm consists in its inhabitants. The very famous and extensive (*assai nominata e grande*) Isle of Man has no fortress, save its male population, the subjects of the Earl of Derby, a most noble and very great personage, and much beloved. In time of war, however, the English have never had any scarcity either of artillery or military supplies (*munizioni*), excepting of late when the affairs of the government were less well directed; and many fortresses were erected in places which could not be victualled without an army of 10,000 men, thus causing great confusion and incredible cost, which will embarrass the country for many a day. It is true that no better nor more useful expense could be incurred than that which is now being made for the

Calais.

custody and defence of Calais; a very strong and most secure place, where the English have firm footing on this side of the Channel; but they have need of veterans, and men inured to hardship, because the English know not how to lay siege, nor can they endure sieges, although in other respects they are most obedient to their commanders. Such are the means of offence and defence possessed by England, but the true mode of waging war in either fashion, is by money, and with the revenues and resources (*comodità*) of the country, of which he will now give account.

Wool, tin, lead.

With regard to the territory, nature has endowed it with great beauty and productiveness (*bontà*), and amongst its chief endowments it has very fine and most excellent wool. It is also rich in metals, such as tin and lead, in very great quantity, so that besides the home consumption, they export annually to the value of 2,000,000 of gold, to Antwerp, as to a centre whence it is distributed in various parts. There are animals of every sort, and such a plenty of pasturage, that 1,000 sheep may be fattened for a crown. In some places grain abounds, and there would be much more did not the natives shun fatigue; but they satisfy their wants and seek nothing more (*ma sono accomodati, e non cercano di più*).

Wales, and the Welsh.

The principality of Wales, which is given to the King's eldest son, is very rich in meadow land (*campagne*), and one of the most fertile provinces; but by so much the worse cultivated, as the inhabitants are more ill-disposed (*più maligni*) than the rest of the population, and they are given to theft (*e dediti ai latrocinj*); and the Welsh boast of being the true aboriginal Britons, preserved from the many invasions of many nations who at various times

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occupied the island, which was subjugated by the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and others. Although England produces neither wine nor oil, yet, besides having a sufficient supply of both one and the other, through the facilities of navigation, they might dispense with those importations, availing themselves of beer in lieu of wine, and of butter and rape oil instead of olive-oil. They make salt in several places, nor is it taxed. They have an abundance of firewood (*fanno legne in abbondanza*), and a great quantity of leguminous produce, saffron, and fish; so that quarters (*alloggiamenti*) are very good and convenient, a manifest proof of the fertility of the country.

The King's revenue.

Besides the King's ordinary revenue, he has all that of the church property; because, having (as aforesaid) suppressed the monasteries, the possessions of the monks were confiscated, and in this manner King Henry doubled his revenue; and the Exchequer-officials in ordinary being unable so immediately to collect the proceeds of the ecclesiastical revenue, which was so much increased, he instituted

Court of Augmentations.

the "Court of Augmentations" [to collect the additional revenue] which thus lapsed to the Crown; nor is this court less litigious than the first Court of Exchequer, as law-suits arise constantly about leasehold property. There is the president, styled the "Chancellor of the Augmentations," with some lawyers and accountants; some of whom have care of the exchequer, and others attend to the dispatch of the suits. To this court are added the possessions of criminals condemned for high treason, who by the laws of England lose all their property besides their lives; and any person convicted of homicide or theft forfeits to the lord of the manor (*al patrone del fondo*) all his inheritance, one year's rental being reserved for the King.* After the Pope was deprived of all authority, the rental of one year and one day of all vacant benefices, as paid heretofore to his Holiness, was assigned to the King by Parliament, as also the tenth part of the fruits of every year;

Court of First Fruits and Tenths.

which gave rise to "the Court of First Fruits or annates, and of the Tenths," over which a Chancellor presides with assessors, writers (*scrivani*), and officials (*ministri*), who prevent any one from taking possession of an ecclesiastical benefice, unless the Court receive security for the annate and the annual tenth; and they pass sentence concerning suits of this sort. From the revenues of these courts, the crown receives annually 800,000 crowns, which include abbacies, monasteries of friars and nuns, the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, the first fruits and the tenths, hospitals, colleges, free chapels and chantries; although there is much usurpation and robbery (*rapine*) on the part of the officials, who do not allow the whole account to be seen, ill gained property necessarily making a bad end; and certain great personages are said to have had as many as 30 prebends.

There is also another source of revenue, which originated from a good cause but subsequently became iniquitous. In the year

* In the MS. at the Archives, the words are "e se alcuno è convinto ò di furto ò di omicidio, satisfa." The paragraph in the copy of the report in the Correr Museum runs thus, "et si alcuno è convinto di omicidio ò di furto satisfa al patrone del fondo de tutta la eredità riservando al Re il frutto d' un anno."

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1220, from the goodwill borne by the people to Henry III., who having come to the throne poor, and being also obliged to send troops for the conquest of the Holy Land, it was conceded him that whenever a feudatory of the King died leaving children under the age of 21 years, the property and the children were to be in ward to the King, he, in the meanwhile, enjoying the whole revenue. These fiefs were many, very few estates being held otherwise than under the King, so that the system proving very profitable to the Crown, not only did all future sovereigns exercise this prerogative, but it was also claimed by all superiors of fiefs, and moreover confirmed to them by law. But if originally a very good institution, as the King derived advantage from it, while the wards were taken charge of and educated like the King's sons and becoming very able men (*uomini valentissimi*), so at present is the thing brought to such a pitch that worse is impossible; for the marriages of the wards whether male or female are given and sold at the option of the feudatory, and should they wed without his consent the cost of their marriage license is trebled; in addition to which, the wards, on attaining their majority at the age of 21 years, pay a certain fine, called "*Relief*," to the master of the fief when they marry; so as almost all these fiefs are held from the King he derives a very great revenue from them, which is increasing daily, both from the wards and also through the sale of the marriages; so that King Henry instituted the so called "Court of Wards." The consequence is that the nobility degenerates from day to day, as everybody buys these wardships, giving an opportunity for the male and female wards to converse together and do what is unbecoming.*

Wardships considered as an evil.

The Court of Wards.

Another mischievous effect is also caused by this system, namely, that the wards, on coming of age, find their houses in decay, their woods felled, and their estates despoiled, precisely as if they had been ravaged by an enemy; so that, on this account likewise, the English nobility, having their possessions thus devastated, being put to great expense to recover themselves, and despoiled of their money, rarely become rich, and are often compelled to sell their paternal inheritance.

From these revenues the King may derive about 400,000 ducats, and will henceforth probably obtain much more; but in like manner as the first sort of revenue is impious, so is the second very injurious.

The Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, which lapsed to the Crown some time ago, yield 80,000 ducats.

Taxes, customs, and subsidies.

With regard to the duties and gabels there is little to tell, as the few taxed commodities, such as wool, lead, and tin; and wines on importation, do not yield 100,000 ducats.

This, in short, is the King's revenue, which amounts to one million and from three to four hundred thousand ducats, as appears by the registers of the customers and tax gatherers of many places

* "Dando occasione a figli e figliuole *di star insiem* e far delle cose che non stanno bene." In the MS. in the Correr Museum, "dando occasione à figli e figliuole di *maritarsi* et far cose che non stanno bene."

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and passage ports such as Bridgwater (*Briguarth*), Bristol, Boston, Dover? (*Donthe*), London, Newcastle, York, Chester (*Cicestria*), Kingston, Hampton, Sandwich (*Santve*), Yarmouth (*Jermouth*), and Poole (*Pulch*); and in this total are also included the subsidies, which are not imposed annually, but according to Act of Parliament. These subsidies are levied according to a valuation, and the English pay one half less than aliens.

Ireland.

From Ireland they obtain 28,000 ducats, but the cost far exceeds that sum. The truth is that there having been a mint in Ireland in which they coined sufficient silver for the payment of the King's garrisons there, it was farmed this year by certain great personages in company with some merchants, and they coin money, giving the King 80,000 ducats. Their rapacity induced them to do this, for they debase the coin, making two pieces of money out of one, so much to the detriment of the people and the merchants, that by this time no one knows how much money he has, nor have the merchants any longer credit, and they daily become bankrupts at Antwerp; and in truth the injury sustained by a kingdom or a commonwealth when the purity of its coinage and gold is not preserved is inestimable. But the merchants in Ireland prosper, as the soil is very good and the climate milder than England, being more to the westward. Ireland produces much leather, linen, kersies? (*grisi* sic), metals, and good horses.

The royal expenditure.

The expenditure is indeed great; first of all the salaried officials of the Court and of the King's household receive 200,000 crowns; and then there is the cost of twenty-two tables for those personages (*signori*) who are boarded at the King's expense, amounting to 180,000 crowns; and the service and state (*servizio e l' onorevolezza*) of those who take their meals at the Court daily is a very superb sight.

The King's sisters and the repudiated Duchess of Cleves, including the augmentations since the death of Henry VIII., receive annually for their board 16,000 crowns each.*

Defence of Ireland and Calais.

There are also the garrisons of several places, especially in Ireland and at Calais, those troops being paid as on foreign service; so that in Ireland the coast is very well guarded, as also the principal places, such as Waterford, Dublin, Cork, Carrickfergus, &c., &c., where the King has 3,000 infantry, including harquebusiers and archers, besides the cavalry, at an annual cost of 50,000 ducats.† In Ireland there is a Viceroy, with an allowance of 1,000 marks (equal to 3,000 crowns) for his board, there being also other officials, such as treasurers, chancellors, &c., at a cost of about 4,000 ducats.

For the fortresses the King spends 16,000 crowns; for the Tower of London, where the ammunition and the Mint are, about 4,000 or 5,000 ducats; for pensions extraordinary to persons away from the Court, and for the repairs of the palaces, some 10,000; and for the fortresses across the Channel, namely, Calais, Guines, Ardres, and a few others, about 40,000 ducats. In pensions extraordinary beyond

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* In the Archive MS. is written "the King's *three sisters*," but the copy of the report in the Correr Museum corrects the mistake as above.

† In the Archive MS. 4000 crowns; but 50,000 ducats in the Correr Museum MS.

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the Court, such as musicians, architects, artificers, engineers, and pay for foreign military commanders and others, as left by his father, 60,000; to keep up the Treasury Court (*foro fiscale*), and the Exchequer (*lo scaccario*), 60,000; for stores (*cose*) for the navy and the arsenal, 10,000 crowns (*sic*).

His Majesty has also some armed ships for the safety of the coast and the merchants, and if ten in number, they cannot cost him less than 100,000 ducats.

This is his Majesty's expenditure, which, with other petty charges, may amount to 900,000 ducats; but the residue is so burdened with interest and debts and securities that but little remains; and allowance must also be made for mismanagement and the plunder made by the chief officials, which is surprising; for, from 1537, when King Henry was declared Supreme Head of the Church, until 1547, the year of his death, what with gold, silver, jewels, crosses, chalices, images, copper, lead, brass, bells, paraments, and the like, he obtained about 5,000,000 of gold.

Moneys levied by Henry VIII.

From the confiscated estates of noblemen beheaded by him he got 160,000 ducats revenue, that is to say, 3,200,000 ducats, and he sold church property to an equal amount.

From his subjects he extorted (*cavò*) a subsidy of 4,800,000 ducats, payable in three years.

He imposed a benevolence (*un accatto*) on the whole realm, which yielded 2,000,000.

He levied a contribution amounting to 1,840,000 ducats, making a sum total of 20,340,000 ducats.

By this account it is seen that he was master of all the gold and silver of his realm, which was the cause of its ruin; as, besides the evil mode of obtaining the money, his caprices made him spend it as badly as it was acquired, ruining both the nobility and the people; and therefore he commenced building along the coast of England some 50 fortresses, which cost him 1,200,000 ducats.

Henry VIII.'s expenditure.

He made the port of Dover, and spent 400,000 ducats on the borders of Scotland at Berwick (*Barvi*), Carlisle, Wark? (*Whuor*), Newark? (*Zuwarche*). In Scotland, 160,000; in Portsmouth, 80,000; in Calais and other fortresses beyond the Channel, 800,000; in Upper and Lower Boulogne, in the harbour (*sic*) of the Old Man,* Boulongeberg (*Bolimber—sic*), Ambleteuse (*Anbertuol*), and Blackness, 500,000; in fortifying Ireland, 70,000; and for the construction of palaces, 1,680,000. When the King was abandoned by Reiffenberg,† he paid 480,000 ducats for 24,000 German troops. In building ships and making preparations for them, he expended 600,000 ducats; for the expedition against the insurgents who rose when they commenced destroying the abbacies, 1,600,000 ducats; 400,000 ducats were expended in aid of the Emperor, when he lately attacked the French; and 200,000 when he captured all the nobility of Scotland, and when the King died. In battering, taking, and keeping Boulogne, he spent 6,000,000, as he (Barbaro) was informed by the

French and Scotch wars.

* Nel Porto d'Olmar.

† "Quando fu piantato da Reufrannerch." For notices of Friederic van Reiffenberg, Captain of infantry in the English service, *see* State Papers, vol. xi. Index.

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Lord Chancellor [Lord Wriothesly]. When the French fleet came to the Isle of Wight, 800,000 ducats were spent After the war of Boulogne and its capture, until peace was made, the cost amounted to 800,000 ducats. When they went lately into Scotland, and were victorious by sea and land, it cost them 1,000,000 ; and for another armada by land and sea, another 1,000,000 was expended. Infinite sums were also spent in apparel, jewels, tapestries, and merchandize of many sorts, for the coronation of the new King. So as these costs, caused by wars, armadas, fortresses, insurrections, subsidies, etc., amount to 21,000,000 of gold, it cannot be supposed (as stated above) that any more remains of all the money which passed into the hands of Henry VIII.

This certainly seems monstrous, but considering how very many persons who had the management of the war have become immensely wealthy, and how recklessly the money is spent, and how many appetites his late Majesty had to gratify, this so vast an expenditure cannot be doubted. And what is more, King Henry, the master of such enormous treasure,—having been recommended not to coin money in the usual manner, and of the ordinary high standard, his advisers telling him that it would be exported, whereas by lowering the standard all would remain in the country, the treasure thus augmenting so as to form a permanent fund for the war with which he was threatened at the instigation of the Pope,—raised the price of foreign gold and coinage (*alzò gli ori e monete forestiere*), giving for such as was brought to the mint new and base money for that which was good, and thus keeping the gold for himself (*e così venne a prendere l' oro sopra di sè*). This caused incredible loss to the nobility and to the entire population, as with this example the standard becomes more and more debased daily, and they have well nigh come to coin false money, plating (*cuoprire*) copper with silver which is soon consumed ; so this infamous money has fallen into such disrepute that those who make purchases with it pay fourfold, and thus with good reason the ruin of the country is anticipated.

The coinage.

Insurrection.

This so exasperated the people that, what with the new religion and the usurpation of the common-lands (*usurpazione dei beni comunali*), the country rose against the great landed proprietors (*contro i grandi*) ; some of the nobility likewise being very disaffected ; so that foreign powers, finding the kingdom disunited, may avail themselves of some opportunity to attack England ; and unless matters take some good turn, the Emperor might possibly no longer choose to put up with the injuries done to his cousin, the King's sister: the Scots also resenting the peace, because it was less to their advantage than to that of France. And that the Doge may know something about the friendship between France and Scotland, the reporter informs him that the government of the country is monarchical and hereditary, as in England, but more liable to civil discord, by reason of the power and private feuds of the nobility. They use two dialects, that of the civilized (*i domestici*), which differs but little from the English ; the other of the uncivilized (*i selvaggi*), being quite different.

Description of Scotland.

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The King rules with the council of the nobles; they practise (*usano*) the civil laws, and hold parliaments in the English fashion; they abound more in men than in riches, as the King's annual revenue does not amount to 90,000 ducats, but so great is the population that should an invading army of 50,000 men suddenly make its appearance, it would be met in the field within ten hours, the population making bonfires from the hills, and mustering, armed with shirts of mail, and a sallet, a one-handed spear or sword, and a mace which they wield very dexterously, although with but one hand. On arriving at the field of battle, they leave their horses, which remain for the victor, never quitting the ground during the action. At a distance of every league there are two fortresses or strongholds (*rocche*), in which the people take refuge on the first outbreak of private feuds. The territory has no well-walled town. When the realm is under governors, owing to the King's minority, the Governor is as it were an absolute King; he exacts the revenues, and commands, and when he resigns his charge he is not bound to give account of anything; thus showing how unimportant the kingdom of Scotland is (*e quì si vede quanto poca cosa è il regno di Scozia*). And with regard to this, when he (Barbaro) was with the Earl of Warwick and returned thanks for the facilities afforded him for seeing that country, his Lordship said, "We are glad, for thou wilt have seen that the Scots alone are not a match for us." The Signory may rely upon it that the Scots have more cause to invade England than the English have to attack Scotland, which is a very poor country, and its inhabitants little industrious (*poco industriosi*), and delighting in robbery (*latrocinij*), rather than in toil. They have, however, very convenient and good harbours, nor is there any sea-town without a sufficient and convenient port, including one called Sichersand (*sic*), signifying sand of safety, because, however violent the storm, no ship can come to harm in that gulf (*in quel golfo*); nor is there a house in all Scotland distant more than 20 miles from salt water, as arms of the ocean enter it in very many places.

The government of Scotland.

Its commodities.

Scotland is marvellously mountainous, sterile, rugged, and marshy, and this is its safety. As half the country is without trees, they burn stones (*pietre*) and peat (*zeppe di terreno*), of which there is plenty. They have wool, and gold and silver mines, but know not how to work them. When he visited Scotland, the Queen [Marie de Guise, Queen Dowager] assured him that from as much earth as she could hold in her two hands she extracted nine ounces of good gold, and on her return to France purposed having the soil worked, hoping it would prove very profitable. The plenty and variety of fish in Scotland, as also the size of the whales and sea monsters there, are incredible. Will however now leave nature aside and come to art, as Scotland is in such a state that, having got out of the hands of the English, she is about to place herself in the power of the French. The whole safety of Scotland depends on three chief places; one near Dumbarton, a natural rock in the midst of many waters, separated from all the other peaks, lofty, rugged, and secure, and it is also well supplied with every artificial

Its fortresses.

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defence, and there the young Queen saved herself when the Protector [Somerset] sought to seize her.* The second is Leith (*Forth-Leith*) in the Gulf of Edinburgh, near which is the third place Inchkeith ? † (*l'Isola del Cavallo*). These two places, which the English hold in great account, were occupied by them at the time of the war [1549], but which they were unable to retain, for Leith (*Forthleith*) was retaken from them partly by force and partly by the stratagem of Mons. de Thermes, who was the most Christian King's lieutenant, and the Scots captured Inchkeith (*l'Isola*) whilst the English were fortifying it.

These fortresses, when in the hands of any sovereign, give him no less power than that of the man with his arms round another's throat whom he can thus strangle at his pleasure; nor could the Scots save themselves unless they raised fortifications elsewhere, which they *might* do by reason of their convenient positions; but they are incapable either of erecting fortresses or of defending them; and, as the French took Leith (*Forthleith*) and helped the Scots to recover Inchkeith (*l'Isola del Cavallo*), those two places are in possession of France. Nor do the Scots keep soldiers in any other fortress; Dumbarton alone having a garrison of 1,500 men, under a lieutenant, who does his utmost to guard the place, not for the need of Scotland but as a curb upon England, so as not to be attacked in the rear (*per assicurarsi dalle spalle*), and therefore the place is abundantly supplied with all necessary stores. So that thus, and by the marriage of the Dauphin to the young Queen, the King of France begins to have a right to that realm, dispossessing the English entirely; in addition to which, his policy is very adroit, for the Queen Dowager having gone to France, taking with her the chief nobility of Scotland, the King bought them completely; so that in France there is neither Scottish duke, nor lord, nor prelate, nor lady, nor dame, but who is munificently bribed by the most Christian King.

Its relations with France.

Such are the means employed by his Majesty, who, finding himself very rich, and wishing to assume other undertakings, shows that he does not purpose leading an idle life, but has lofty aspirations.

The relations of England with France and the Emperor.

From this, the dispositions of England and France may be conjectured; but the one makes no demonstration from inability, and the other, either because she cannot now attend to this matter, or from unwillingness to rouse the Emperor, who, neither upon the complaints of his cousin [Mary Tudor] nor by reason of the peace made with the Scots, from whom he claimed compensation for the infinite damages done by them to Flanders, nor for any other cause, has ever chosen openly to evince his resentment against the English, who well know how much they deserve it, nor would it fail to alarm them if they thought he had leisure to meddle with their affairs.

Will not allude to other powers, as there are none who from neighbourhood or from claims have anything to do with England.

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* In July 1548.

† The Island of Inchkeith was taken and retaken in 1549. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Foreign

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The Signory is supposed by the English to be friendly to them; they delight at being reminded of this friendship through the Doge's ambassadors, and hold it in very great account, so that his ministers are well received, as was the case with himself (Barbaro).

Endeavoured to serve the State to the best of his ability, and to represent it honourably; and, although he spent much of the little he was able to deprive his family of, he nevertheless thinks he has made a great gain. The King honoured him by the grant of a part of his armorial bearings, giving him the "rose,"* and also made him a present of the 1,000 crowns placed by him at the Doge's feet; nor does he dare ask them of his Serenity as a gift, either by reason of the expenses he has incurred, or on any other account, save as a mark that the service performed by him has been agreeable to the State, and that it may encourage him to serve his country in whatever position and grade the Signory may be pleased to place him. And without disparaging or acting invidiously towards any other official, he will not conclude without commending the service rendered him by his secretary, Luigi di Agostino, whose diligence and fidelity to the State do not yield to those of any other foreign minister in the Signory's employment; and he recommends him to the Doge more warmly than he does himself.

Grant of arms by Edward VI. to D. Barbaro.

[*Italian.*]

May 13.
Senato Mar, v. xxxi. p. 92.

704. MOTION made in the SENATE by Ser Carlo Morosini, Procurator Sage of the Council, and Ser Sebastian Venier, Sage for the Mainland, for a grant to the late Ambassador in England.

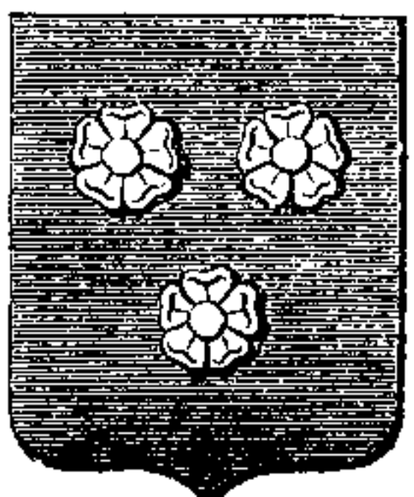
Their beloved noble, Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., has at great cost, as seen by his letters written from time to time, and according to the "Report" now made by him, filled the post of ambassador to the King of England during 18 months, nor should this Council fail to render him such ample demonstration of gratitude as usually made to other ambassadors.

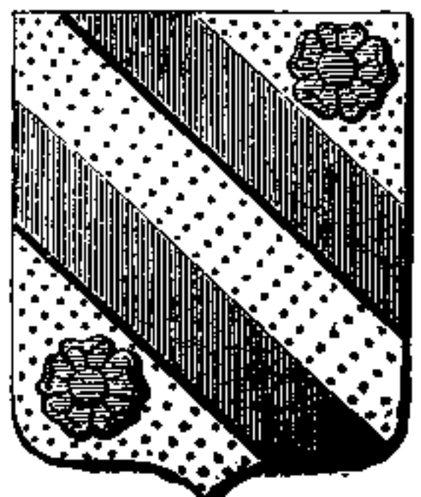
Put to the ballot, that the 600 doubloons (*doble*) given by the King to the ambassador aforesaid on his departure be freely granted to him.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 25. Neutrals, 3. *Expulsis affinibus.*

[*Italian.*]

* Of the nine Barbaro shields engraved by Coronelli, two bear the rose of England, as hereunder.





1551.
June 12.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File no. 8.

705. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME.

According to the collation of the patriarchate of Aquileia in the person of the Right Rev. Barbaro, it is assumed that he was a churchman at the time, which was not the case; so, lest hereafter this collation be disputed, we, with our Council of Ten and Junta, charge you to endeavour to obtain from his Holiness a declaration confirming said collation as if he had been a churchman from the first, especially as he was at the time in England, where he could not receive holy orders. The ambassador is to endeavour that the declaration be in efficient form, and to transmit the same to the Chiefs.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian.*]

July 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 135, tergo.

706. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

On the 7th instant the Turkish fleet, numbering 137 sail, passed the channel of Corfu, having made every friendly demonstration, and steered westward.

This notice to be communicated also to the foreign ambassadors at Venice.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 145, tergo.

707. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

By his letters of the 19th ult. have heard of the agreement between the Kings of France and England, and of the marriage of the latter to his most Christian Majesty's daughter. Subsequently the French Ambassador acquainted them with the agreement by order of his King, who, considering them his good friends, is certain they will derive satisfaction from his prosperity. Desire him to congratulate the King on the agreement, and conclusion of the marriage.

Is also to congratulate the Queen, and to give notice of these offices to the Constable.

Ayes, 205. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 154.

708. The SAME to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of the 18th ult., announcing the communication made to him by the Lords of the Council, of the marriage of the daughter of his most Christian Majesty to the most Serene King. To go to his Majesty and congratulate him in their name on the marriage, in accordance with the good friendship they have always maintained with his predecessors, and still have with himself. To assure his Majesty that they will at all times derive satisfaction from his prosperity.

Ayes, 199. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

1551. Sept. 9. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

709. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summaries for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxvii. p. 158.

710. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Understand by their last letters from France, dated the 15th August, that the most Christian King was at Fontainebleau, and had stipulated the marriage of his daughter to the King of England; and as they are both minors, the French Princess will be taken to England to remain there until the consummation of the marriage.

Ayes, 188. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X. File no. 8.

711. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letters addressed to them on the 17th ult. have heard what he had to tell them about their most faithful Sebastian Cabot, which pleased them much. Commend him greatly for his diligence in giving them a detailed account of his qualities and parts. Desire him in reply to let Cabot know that they are extremely gratified by his offer. As to the request made to the ambassador by the Lords of the Council* about the credits and recovery of property claimed by him, to say that the Signory wishes to do whatever may be agreeable to the King and their Lordships; but as no one in Venice knows Cabot, it would be necessary for him to come in person to identify himself and prove his rights, the matters in question being of very ancient date. Gave this same answer to his Majesty's ambassador, who made the demand of them in accordance with his (Soranzo's) letter.

To communicate the whole to Cabot, that he may ask and obtain leave to come to Venice. To favour the suit, that Cabot may return to them as soon as possible, and in the meanwhile to endeavour to obtain from Cabot as many particulars as he can about his design respecting this navigation,† giving the Chiefs especial notice of the whole.‡

Ayes, 25. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

712. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summaries for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

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* In Foreign Calendar, date Venice, 12th September 1551 (p. 171), there is the reply of Peter Vannes to the Council "touching Sebastian Cabot's matter," as mentioned in Sir Thomas Hardy's Report on Venetian Archives, p. 8.

† The north-west passage?

‡ On the margin of this draft there are the words "in ziffra," signifying that it was to be put into cipher.

1551.
Oct. 13.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

713. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

By letters from Antwerp and London dated the 20th and 22nd ult. have heard, much to their regret, that his most Christian Majesty's fleet has captured two Venetian ships, bound to England with Malmsies, one of which is supposed to be the "Ragazona." Some say they have been taken to Britanny, others into "Abla nova" (*sic*). Although they consider it certain, as stated by them to the French ambassador at Venice, that this seizure will have greatly displeased his most Christian Majesty, and that he will have immediately ordered the release of the vessels, as becoming the Republic's observance towards him, they nevertheless desire their ambassador to go to the King immediately and to make two demands of him, the one (should the ships not have been already released, which they however cannot believe) that they be set at liberty forthwith, without any loss, so as clearly to show how much he regrets the seizure, on account of the Signory's friendship; the other, that he will give such orders to the Magnifico [the Constable ?] and his other ministers, that henceforth the same regard be had for Venetian vessels as is had for those of France, which are well treated everywhere, so that they may navigate in safety.

Ayes, 19. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

714. The SAME to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By advices from London and Antwerp, have heard of the seizure by the most Christian King's fleet of two of their ships, one of which is the "Ragazona," bound with Malmsies to England; and that, on hearing this, he (Soranzo) complained to the French Ambassador, who thereupon wrote to the Admiral and to the Constable of France for the release of said ships. Commend him greatly for this, and should he hear that the release has not yet been effected, which they can hardly believe by reason of their friendship with his Majesty, to continue performing such offices with the French Ambassador as shall seem to him suited to that end.

Ayes, 19. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

715. The SAME to the SAME.

Have received his letters of the 10th ult. announcing the communication made to him by order of his Majesty's Lords of the Council of the causes for which they determined to arrest the Duke of Somerset and other Lords, which is in accordance with what has also been represented to them by the English Ambassador. Commend his prudent reply, and charge him, after expatiating to the King and Councillors on the Republic's friendship for the Crown of England, to thank them in the Signory's name for so loving and confidential an office, assuring the King that they greatly regret any accident or annoyance that may befall him, but trust that

1551.

through the prudence of the Lords of the Council, affairs will take the turn required for his own peace of mind, and for the union of the entire realm under his Majesty's sway.

Regret to hear of the wreck of the ship "Ragazona,"* and praise him greatly for the diligence used by him to recover and preserve the effects and merchandise on board. Desire him to continue rendering all possible assistance for that purpose, which they have beyond measure at heart, for the indemnity of their nobles and citizens concerned in that adventure.

Ayes, 21. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. xlvii. p. 183, tergo.

716. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard from England that the Duke of Somerset, late Protector, has been sent to the Tower, with his wife and children, and some of his dependents, on a charge of plotting against the lives of the Lords of the Council, in order to seize the Tower, where the King's most precious effects are preserved, and to fortify himself within it. The Queen of Scotland, who had been in France, has returned to Scotland. To communicate this intelligence to the Porte as usual.

Ayes, 167. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1552.

1552.
Jan. 19.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no 19.

717. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

718. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

719. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

* Of this wreck, there is a notice in Foreign Calendar, date 24th November 1551, p. 197.

1552.
Feb. 26.
Senato Mar. v. xxxi. p. 166.

720. FRANCESCO BERNARDO.

Motion made in the Senate by Ser Domenico Bollani, Knight, Sage for the Mainland, and Ser Antonio Vitturi, Sage for the Orders.

That the Proveditors and Masters of the Arsenal be desired to send a cable to the agents of the nobleman Ser Francesco Bernardo, knight, for the need of his ship, expected to arrive off the harbour from day to day, he depositing in ready money the cost of said cable, according to the tenor of the laws, for its wear (*mendo*) or loss.

Ayes, 182. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

721. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices lately received from their Bailo at Constantinople, which they and the Senate desire him to communicate as usual.

Virtute Decreti Excellentissimi Senatus,
diei 5 Martij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

722. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^mi Senatus,
diei 16 Martij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

723. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^mi Senatus,
diei ultimi Martij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

724. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usnal.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^mi Senatus,
diei 11 Aprilis 1552.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

725. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^mi Senatus,
diei 22 Aprilis 1552.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

726. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^mi Senatus,
diei 5 Maij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

1552.
June 2.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

727. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices concerning the affairs of the Levant, for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Senatus,
diei p^tæ suprascriptæ.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

728. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

June 17.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

729. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Senato Terra, v. lviii. p. 122.

730. MOTION made in the SENATE respecting the claims of FRANCESCO BERNARDO for compensation from the Crown of England.*

The petition of the nobleman, Francesco Bernardo, knight, having been read—

Put to the ballot, that license be granted to the aforesaid Francesco Bernardo, knight, within the term of one year only, to recover (*ritrare*) from the King of England what he claims, but with the declaration that he may not attempt to recover anything whatever from the Crown of France.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 19. Neutrals, 12.

Die 22 Junii, Lectæ Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Senato Terra, Filza.

731. PETITION presented by FRANCESCO BERNARDO, Knight. to the SENATE.

It was decreed by the Senate, by a very small majority, that he was to renounce the pensions assigned him by the late Kings of France and England,† in recompense for the very heavy expenses incurred by him in negotiating and concluding that most useful peace,‡ which by his act (*per opera mia*) took place between their Majesties, as manifest to the whole world.

Made this renunciation because the State attornies held it was not lawful for a citizen to be pensioned by foreign Princes, though he was at liberty to recover the money expended for the benefit of their Majesties. Was therefore compelled to allow the last ballot to pass, thus renouncing the pensions and remaining creditor of the Crown of England, not only for the costs incurred by him for his Majesty's service, but for the loss of two of his ships, one large and the other small, of which the King made use in the war preceding

* In Mr. Turnbull's Calendars, there are various notices of Francesco Bernardo, the last of which, dated 7th March 1556, records his death from "inward sorrow" at having been reproached with "secretly enjoying pensions out of England."

† The pension received by Bernardo from England is alluded to in Foreign Calendar, date 23rd March 1556, pp. 218–219, as stated in date 9 July 1547, when the State attornies obtained the prohibition here recorded.

‡ The peace between England and France in the year 1546. In State Papers, vol. xi.,

1552.

the peace, detaining them by force, as appears by the letters written to the Signory by the late Secretary Zambon. From this seizure of the two ships the loss incurred was enormous, and as he obtained no compensation, his right to "damages" cannot be disputed, the Republic's subjects not being prohibited from recovering their property, as the Signory favours and assists its subjects so to do; and although he might reasonably have obtained this just credit without any opposition, yet he requests the assistance of the State, and prays the Doge and Senate to grant him licence for one year only to endeavour to obtain some partial compensation for his losses, renouncing entirely his claims on the Crown of France.

[*Italian.*]

July 30?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in vol. 4. pp. 65–73, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

732. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF BADAJOS [FRANCESCO NAVARRETE].

Has received the Bishop's letter from Milan, dated 5th July, expressing his grief for the state of the Christian Commonwealth,* and Pole's sorrow is also increased, as he had hoped to console himself with his friend in Rome, instead of which he declares he will not go there, and closes his letter so as to imply that he is on his way to Spain, of which Pole had no suspicion, and was indeed of opinion that to vent his grief for the calamities of the Church, especially now when the Council is interrupted, it would have been very opportune for him to go to Rome, and unbosom his sorrows to the Pope. This he says not to censure the Bishop's resolves, but, as it were, to express his regret for them, and to inquire their cause. Pole thinks he has reason to congratulate the Bishop, because he entirely forgets his own private distresses, for the sake of lamenting solely the general adversity. Had all the personages present at the Council of Trent resembled the Bishop of Badajos, the Church would have been restored to tranquillity. The Bishop desponds; Pole hopes that the noble web of reform already commenced in the Council is neither discontinued (*interruptam*) nor unwrought (*abruptam*), but received into heaven, to be more stoutly and beautifully wove, for the greater comfort of the Bishop and of all men. The tears of mankind will aid this result, as is taught by Scripture; they have been wanting hitherto, though there was no lack of doctrine, canons, ceremonies, nor any other external support. The Bishop will say that even tears were shed, as at any rate the Council assembled, despite all impediments, and lasted many years in the midst of them. Instances the necessity for maintaining hope by Biblical examples; all men were filled with hope when the Lord entered the Holy City riding on an ass.† In this hope Pole is confirmed by reason of the day on which the prorogation of the Council was decreed. It was Good Friday,‡ on which day, unless in cases

* Francesco Navarrete, Bishop of Badajos, had probably quitted Trent immediately after the prorogation of the Council (which he and the other Spanish Bishops opposed), on the 28th April 1552. (*See* History of the Council of Trent, ed. Amsterdam, 1704, p. 360.)

† Denique cum urbem sanctam ingrederetur assello invectus omniumque oculos in es unum converteret, tanta spe animos omnium repleret.

‡ 14th April 1552.

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of extreme necessity, the College does not negotiate nor form any resolve. When Pole heard this it seemed to him to have before him the dead body of Christ, of which that Council (*ipsum concilium*) is the image, as it represents the whole Church; which Council, though shortly before all the faithful were expecting from it the brightest results with regard to the reformation of the Church, then seemed to him, as it were, scourged with rods and taken dead to the sepulchre; but the speedy return to life of Christ, and the other blessings which immediately followed his death, admonishing Pole to remember them, on the very day when this took place, he is induced to hope the like concerning the Council and the reform. Of this he is convinced by the Bishop's tears, which, together with those of other Bishops who resemble him, are the best foundation of Church reform, the firm corner stone of this celestial structure. The lamentation of the Bishops for the delay signifies that the reform has already commenced, so he again congratulates the Bishop on his tears. Requests him to salute their mutual friend Frago, Pole having done the like in the Bishop's name by the [titular] Bishop of Rochester [Richard Pate] and Priuli, who are both with him.

Bagnarea, July 30, 1552?

[*Latin*, 248 *lines*.]

Aug. 17. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xx. p. 140, tergo.

733. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That the armoury halls of this Council and the jewels of the Sanctuary [in St. Mark's church] be shown to Mr. George Trockmorton, an Englishman.*

Item, to a French gentleman named ——, and to a Genoese by name ——.

Ayes, 15. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 26. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xx. p. 144, tergo.

734. MOTION made by the CHIEFS (PIETRO LOREDANO and DOMENICO MOROSINI) in the COUNCIL OF TEN, the COLLEGE being present.

The Signory's ambassador [Giacomo Soranzo] resident with the King of England, to notify to Ser Vicenzo Corner, son of the late Ser Marc' Antonio, that within two months he do come into the presence of the Chiefs of this Council; on the expiration of which term, should he not present himself, this Council to decide as it shall think fit; and on his presenting himself be he and Ser Piero Capello charged to make peace.

Ayes, 8 — 8.

Ibid.

735. MOTION made by SER ANTONIO DANDOLO, Chief of the Ten.

A quarrel having taken place between Ser Vicenzo Corner, son of the late Ser Marco Antonio, and Ser Piero Capello, son of Ser

* Mr. Throckmorton's uncle was "chief man about Cardinal Pole." Vannes mentions his arrival at Venice, 23 May 1551, and says he seemed "of a very gentle nature and honest conditions." (*See* Foreign Calendar, p. 110.)

1552.

Philippo; and as whilst an adjustment was being negotiated Cornaro* went to England without making said peace.

Put to the ballot, that the Republic's Ambassador in England be written to, to intimate to Ser Vicenzo Corner, that within the term of one month after receiving the notice, he do send hither to his brother an ample and sufficient mandate for making peace with the aforesaid Ser Piero Capello and his brothers; all bail (*cautela*) being cancelled. Should they disobey the said order they be confined for five years, the one in Capo d'Istria and the other at Veglia, under the obligation of presenting themselves to the Republic's Governors in those places once every week; they being also liable to a fine of 500 ducats, to be levied from their property, payable to any person or persons who shall capture them beyond the frontiers and deliver them to the Signory's officials; in default to be imprisoned for one year, and not to be released until after payment of said fine.

Ayes (*de scontro*)	7	— 8	*Pendet.*
Noes			
Neutrals	1	— 0	

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xx. p. 147.

736. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL of TEN, the COLLEGE being present.

Amendment to the motion made on the 26th instant, by Antonio Dandolo, Chief of the Ten, concerning the quarrel between Ser Vicenzo Corner and Ser Piero Capello.

And in case that the aforesaid Ser Vicenzo Corner should not be in England, the Chiefs of this Council to desire his kinsfolk, to acquaint them with the place of his abode.

Ayes, 13. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

On the 21st of November 1552, Ser Nicolò Corner, son of the late Ser Marco Antonio, having a power (*mandatum*) from his brother Ser Vicenzo, and Ser Pietro and Ser Sylvan Capello, son of Ser Philippo, in the presence of the Chiefs of the Ten made peace and mutually forgave (*remiserunt*) all injuries, according to the decree of the Council.

[*Latin.*]

Sept. 19. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

737. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MAFFEI.

Was greatly comforted by his letter received this morning, and which evinces the same piety and zeal as demonstrated by Maffei in all his other actions. With regard to the advice asked by him of Pole concerning the Pope's holy intention of taking the opinion of the Cardinals,† it indicates great regard for the common weal, and great humility, his having recourse to a judgment so

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* The names Cornèr and Cornaro being synonymous are employed indiscriminately in this decree.

† The Pope proposed holding a congregation of Cardinals and Prelates in Rome, to effect there the reform which had not been accomplished at Trent. (*See* Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.) By this letter, it seems that Cardinal Pole was the mainspring of this project, which limited itself at first to peace between the Emperor and France.

1552. inferior to his own in this matter, by so much the more as Pole cannot know the particulars of the affairs, and of the persons on whom this resolve in great part depends, namely, the affairs of Germany and the present state of the Emperor, with which Maffei is much better acquainted than Pole; but nevertheless, as Maffei can command him, he will without introduction or ceremony say what he thinks.

The Pope assigns as the chief cause of this proposed resolve, the troubles of Christendom owing to the discord between the Emperor and France, from which may be apprehended a great war, to the destruction of all civil institutions, and to the utmost encouragement of the enemies of the religion both at home and abroad, namely, the schismatics and heretics, and the Infidels, to the perdition of souls. Under these circumstances, his Holiness inquires what he is to do; to which, in the first, place, I would answer that he should do what of his piety he seems inclined spontaneously to do, that is to say, not to remain an idle spectator of this so horrible a tragedy, but use all diligence, and neglect no opportunity for exercising his pastoral office, for the remedy of so many evils which threaten Christ's entire flock, by endeavouring to make peace between these two most powerful Princes. Although they now seem very averse to it, yet ought the Pope to persevere in his endeavours, which, if vain, will at least exempt him from blame before God and man. With regard to the second point, and the means to be used, and the persons to be employed for obtaining this peace; namely, the mission of Nuncios or Legates, or consulting with the secretaries or confidential agents of those Sovereigns. Pole considers it requisite well to ponder the magnitude and importance of the cause, and determine accordingly by whom it could be most suitably treated. As to the cause itself, reviewing it in every light, there is none of greater importance to mankind, so it would appear fitting for the greatest person in the world to be its negotiator.

But before deciding about the person, he thinks it necessary well to consider one matter without which there would be no hope of any one negotiating it advantageously, and that is, the root of this intestine war, which has lasted so many years, and although it has been occasionally stifled for a short time, always broke out again with more violence, which is now greater than ever; and although all remedies have been employed for its total extinction, none have succeeded. This can be attributed solely to the wrath of God, who uses this war as a scourge for our sins, so that it is necessary to destroy the root by appeasing God, making peace first of all with Him; and thus we may subsequently hope for peace between the Sovereigns. The true way to do this, is but to effect what for so many years has been so much desired by all pious men, namely, the Reform, which should his Holiness now choose at any cost effectually to accomplish, as now written by Maffei, he will have both more grace with God, and more credit with man, and on this foundation may hope to raise an edifice no less good than profitable.

Returning to discuss the means and persons whereby to treat this peace, it seems to Pole that the cause being of such very great importance, in order to bring it to a fair conclusion, no less a person

1552.

would be required than the High Pontiff, although to commence the negotiation and prepare the matter it might suffice to employ the medium of ambassadors, as it were to break the ice (*come per rompere il giaccio*), so as to prepare the way for his Holiness; who having already despatched Nuncios for this purpose, it would now seem fitting for him to send Legates, as instruments still nearer to his person, they treating in conclusion for a suspension of hostilities and a conference.

To unbosom himself with Maffei about the ministers, as he did with regard to the cause, saying we must make peace with God if we would fain make it with man; so does Pole inform him, with regard to the persons who have to treat it, that in his opinion the most suitable would be those most at peace with God, and therefore in this case he makes no such great difference between a Cardinal or other prelates, or agents of Princes, or other sorts of persons. Indeed should there be found in any corner of the world, in any monastery, wood, or grotto, monks, hermits, or others who could bring witnesses to prove that they had more of the grace of God, or were more at peace with him, Pole would be of opinion that his Holiness should use the instrumentality of such a one, it having been proved of yore that similar persons were excellent mediums for such operations. But amongst the rest, it seems to him one of the scourges of the 16th century, that men of that sort are no longer to be found; so he is of opinion that persons the most resembling this type should be chosen, whether prelates or Cardinals or any other condition of men.

Such is his conclusion touching the ministers to be employed by his Holiness in so great an undertaking, as from their quality the world will form a great opinion, both of the Pope's will and of the success of the business. And in truth it would be necessary to have ministers of such a description, that should they find the Princes stubborn and averse to peace, they might have the ability and power to make it a case of conscience, alarming them by the consideration of the vital interest of all Christendom, which for many centuries has perhaps never been in greater danger of universal ruin through war.

This is all he can write thus in haste, to acquaint Maffei with his opinion before the first consistory, although even had he more time he could say nothing more, nor so well but that it would be better known and said by Maffei, although from modesty he evinces his wish to depend on the judgment of others; and so Pole hopes that the Spirit of God will inspire him with his own, disposing his heart and tongue to say what is most for the honour and service of his divine Majesty, whom he prays in conclusion thus to vouchsafe, and humbly kisses Maffei's hands.

Bagnarea, 19th September 1552.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), Filza no. 19.

738. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

1552.
Nov. 16.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 80.

739. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Informed by their ambassador in England that the disputes between the two Crowns, owing to the seizure of English vessels by the French, have been adjusted.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 80.

740. The SAME to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Announce the resignation by the Duke of Urbino of the post of governor of the Venetian forces, which the Signory refused to exchange for that of Captain General. Owing to this circumstance many applications will be made for employment in their service. If any candidates notify their wishes to him, he is to forward their proposals.

Ayes, 176. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21.
Senato Mar, v. xxxii. p. 52, tergo.

741. The SAME to the SAME.

Are much disturbed by his letters of the 23rd ultimo announcing what was said to him by the Lords of the Council about the cloths which had been cut by the state proveditors.* The like complaint was made to them subsequently by the King's ambassador. That their Lordships may know the truth of this business, and the Signory's disposition towards the English Crown, enclose a "special information" received from their state proveditors, to whom, by Venetian law, this office appertains. Desire him to acquaint their Lordships with its contents, assuring them that, having been approved by the Court of the Forty "*al civil nuovo*," after hearing at great length the arguments on both sides, it was not done for the purpose of casting any slur on English cloths, but on the contrary to preserve their repute as true and just. When they are not deceitful, and when marked with the King's Crown, they will always be received and esteemed at Venice.

To inform their Excellencies that neither by this, nor by any other accident that may occur, will the goodwill and firm friendship maintained by the Republic with the Crown of England, for which they constantly desire all prosperity and grandeur, ever be diminished.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

* "Certain English cloths had been cut in pieces and exposed upon a window openly in the Rialto, declaring them to be false and untrue, and so condemned." (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1552, Nov. 20, pp. 227, 228.)

A.D. 1553.

1553.
Feb. 10.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 102.

742. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their letters from Spiers mention the intended departure of the Emperor from Thionville for Brussels, there to hold a Diet, and he is said to have ordered his son the Prince to come from Spain into Italy with a good number of Spaniards and a quantity of money to wage war on the French there. His Majesty has also ordered the Spanish and German infantry to remain in garrison in Thionville, and the neighbouring places. The King of England has sent two ambassadors, one to the Emperor and the other to his most Christian Majesty, to make an agreement between them,* the Imperial Electors also exerting themselves with the Emperor for the same purpose; and by letters from Rome dated the 4th instant, the Signory has heard that two Nuncios were to depart in two days on their way to the Emperor and the most Christian King, being sent by the Pope to urge their Majesties to consent to his sending two Cardinal Legates, to negotiate peace between them.

Ayes, 132. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

743. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 10.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

744. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 21.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

745. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 27.
Senato Terra, v. xxxix. p. 10.

746. MOTION made in the SENATE about the claims of Francesco Bernardo for compensation from the Crown of England.

On the 27th June 1552, the Senate conceded license to the nobleman Francesco Bernardo, knight, during the term of one year only, to obtain compensation from the King of England for losses incurred in his service.

Put to the ballot, that the said license conceded to Sir Francesco Bernardo, knight, be prolonged for the next following year.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

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* These two ambassadors were Sir Andrew Dudley and Sir Henry Sydney. (*See* Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 27th December 1552, and January 17–25, 1553, pp. 234, 238, 239.)

1553.
April 15.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

747. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta). v. lxviii. p. 117, tergo.

748. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their letters from Rome state that the Pope, continuing to urge the agreement between the Empire and France, has despatched two Cardinals, one to his Imperial Majesty, and the other to France for this purpose; and by letters from England they hear that the King is sending two Ambassadors to Flanders, and two to France, to perform the like office.*

Ayes, 183. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., vol. xxi. p. 18.

749. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That the jewels of St. Mark, and the armoury halls of this Council, be shown to Mr. Thomas Stafford, the nephew of the Right Reverend Cardinal of England.†

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 9.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xxi. p. 18.

750. MOTION made by CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That license be conceded to Mr. Thomas Stafford, an English gentleman, to carry arms, together with his two servants, Juan, a Spaniard, and Iseppo, a Vicentine, both in Venice and other places in the Signory's dominions, for two months.

Ayes, 8 — 9
Noes, 3 — 3 } *Pendet* ¾.
Neutrals, 2 — 1

[*Italian.*]

May 20.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 129, tergo.

751. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their letters from Brussels, dated the 7th instant, inform them that the Emperor was there, and that the English Ambassadors had arrived, but had not yet had audience of his Imperial Majesty, whose troops were besieging Terouenne, which was held by the French, and the King purposed succouring it. The Marquis Albert of Brandenburg, with a good number of troops near Bamberg, had

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* By the Foreign Calendar, p. 260, it is seen that for this mediation, the persons sent by Edward VI. to the Emperor were the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Philip Hoby, and Sir Richard Morysine; and their colleagues at the Court of Henry II. were Dr. Wotton, Sir William Pickering, and Sir Thomas Chaloner.

† The relationship between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Stafford, is also alluded to in a letter from Rome, dated 31st January 1551 (Foreign Calendar, p. 71.) thus, "By a former letter he might perceive in what state Mr. Thomas Stafford, his Lord's nephew, stands with his Grace," etc. etc.

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routed the forces of the Bishops there, taking the city and the castle, and was going towards Nuremberg.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 8. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in v. iv. pp. 107, 108, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

752. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The Cardinal of Trent, accompanied by the Ambassador despatched to the Pope by the Marquis of Brandenburg, has been with Pole on the Lake of Garda, requesting him to beseech his Holiness's favour for the concession of the See of Magdeburg to the late Bishop's brother. Pole at first refused, but as they insisted, saying they knew how much credit he had with the Pope, showing him also letters of recommendation obtained for this purpose from the Emperor, from the Archbishops of Metz and Treves, and from the Cardinal of Augsburg, they induced him to give the accompanying letter. Praises the candidate, and thinks his election at the present moment would be beneficial, there being a great scarcity, especially in those parts, of Bishops who can and will defend the interests of the Church.

From the monastery of Maguzzano, 8th June 1553.

[*Latin*, 41 *lines.*]

June 12. Senato Mar, v. xxxii. p. 84.

753. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate.

Their noble Giacomo Soranzo, knight, has now resided for two years with the King of England, and by his letters earnestly requests the election of his successor, that the Ambassador elect may go to his destination. The grant of this just demand being due to the diligent and honourable service rendered by Soranzo—

Put to the ballot, that another nobleman be elected as successor of the aforesaid Ser Giacomo, and with the same terms as stipulated by his appointment; to be eligible from any place and office, and prohibited to refuse under all the penalties contained in the Act of 1536; and that four months' salary be given him in advance; his agents at Venice to receive as usual from the cashier of the Council of Ten, 150 golden ducats monthly, so that the Signory may thus not incur any loss by the rate of exchange; and the Ambassador-elect to depart within the period assigned by the last Act passed in the Senate and the Grand Council with regard to the election of Ambassadors, and with such commission as shall seem fit to this Council.

Ayes, 179. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

1552, X Novembris, lecta Collegio.
1553, die 9 Junij, lecta Collegio.
1553, die 22 Junij, electus Ser Federicus Baduario Ser Aloysij.

[*Italian.*]

1553.
July 5.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date in MS. Printed in v. iv. pp. 90–91, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," dated Maguzzano, 5 July 1553.

754. CARDINAL POLE to MARC' ANTONIO TREVISAN, DOGE OF VENICE.*

Letter of congratulation on his election. Alludes to his own residence at the University of Padua in the lifetime of the Doge's father, and to his having been paternally received in the Venetian dominions. Prays for the Republic's welfare as much as he does for that of his own country.

From the monastery of Maguzzano, in the Brescian territory, 5th July 1553.

[*Latin*, 43 *lines*.]

July 6.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

755. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian*.]

July 10.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xxi. p. 30, tergo.

756. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That to the ambassador of the King of England, in addition to the 15 ordinary licenses for arms which he now has, there be granted ten other licenses, as to the ambassadors of the other crowned heads; he notifying their names at the office, and making oath that they reside in his house and at his cost.

Ayes - 4
Noes - 10 } *Captum de non.*
Neutrals - 2

[*Italian*.]

July 15.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

757. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian*.]

July 24.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xxi. p. 33.

758. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Chiefs repeat the motion made by them on the 10th instant (and which was negatived), for ten arms-licenses, besides the 15, to be conceded to the Magnifico the English Ambassador.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0. $\frac{2}{3}$.

[*Latin*.]

July 25.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

759. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME.

A private courier being sent to Rome this evening, and they having this day, by letters from their Ambassador in England, dated

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* In the manuscript, this letter is headed "Laurentio *Priulo* Duci Venetiarum," but the contents of the letter show clearly that it was addressed to Marc' Antonio Trevisan, whose election took place on the 4th June 1553, which date confirms the printed *date*, but the heading of the printed *letter* does not assign any name to the Doge to whom it was addressed.

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the 7th instant, heard of the death of the most Serene King, which took place in the preceding night about three hours before daybreak, they have thought it opportune to send him this intelligence that, should he thus think fit, he may impart it to his Holiness.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 149.

760. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The King of England has died; he was a youth from 15 to 16 years of age, son-in-law of the most Christian King, whose daughter, now in her tenth year, he had promised to marry. So he died without heirs, and the claimants for the crown are two women (*doe done*), who have [each] their partisans.

Ayes, 174. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

761. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [ALESSANDRO] FARNESE.

His love for Cardinal Farnese and the whole of his most illustrious family, moves him to condole with him on the death of his very dear brother, Duke Horatio.* The wound being so fresh and great, the office is difficult to perform, and by so much the more with the Cardinal as the affection between him and the Duke exceeded that of the other brothers. Exhorts the Cardinal to have recourse to the true medicine, namely, the firm faith that everything is regulated by Divine Providence. The King, being so magnanimous and generous as he has shown himself hitherto by his protection of the Farnese interests, and the Duke having been killed in his Majesty's service, will by so much the more console the Cardinal and his family.

[From Maguzzano, on the Lake of Garda, 6th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

762. The SAME to CARDINAL ST. ANGELO [RANUCCIO FARNESE].

Condoles with him on the death of his brother, Duke Horatio.

[From Maguzzano on the Lake of Garda, 6th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

763. The SAME to the MASTER of the SACRED PALACE.†

Thanks him for the zeal with which he defended Pole's character. The Master had written to him that on the day after Pole's con-

* Horatio Farnese, Duke of Castro, being in the service of France, was killed when defending the Castle of Hesdin on the 16th July 1553. (*See* Litta, Genealogies, and Pallavicino, History of the Council of Trent, vol. iii. p. 286.)

† The Latin title is "Magister sacri palatij apostolici." The person elected to this post was necessarily a Dominican, and officially the Pope's theologian. In September 1553, this post was held by Girolamo Muzzarelli, a Bolognese nobleman, on whom Julius III. conferred it in the year 1550; and at the close of 1553, he resigned it on being made Bishop of Conza. Muzzarelli had distinguished himself at the Council of Trent, where he probably formed a friendship with Cardinal Pole, and he died at Palermo in 1561. (*See* Dizionario di Erudizione Storica Ecclesiastica, di Gaetano Moroni, vol. xli. pp. 200–210, ed. Venezia, 1846.)

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Printed in v. iv. pp. 91–106. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

ference at St. Paul's with the Cardinal of Naples,* he was invited by that Cardinal to dinner, together with two other learned men of his Order [Dominicans], and that after dinner the Cardinal narrated to them his conversation with Pole, and the regret he felt at the malignant insinuations whereby it had been sought to disturb the friendly intercourse existing between them; that he was ready to give Pole himself any mark of his esteem and love; that the Master was also to write to Pole in his name how much the interview had pleased him, and to request he would send him the Books which he addressed heretofore to the King of England.† Of these the Cardinal of Naples had seen a part when the work was not yet completed, and approved it highly, so that by so much the more did he wish to see it in its finished state, in order to have a greater opportunity for showing his love and esteem for the author. Now the Father-Master had already heard from Pole's own mouth how much the interview with the Cardinal of Naples had gratified him, there came to pass what had been predicted by their mutual friends: the conference removed all false suspicions, and they will be linked by a stronger tie of affection. Accustomed as Pole is, religiously to cultivate all his friends, he is most especially mindful of those with whom he has been linked, not by country and kindred, but by Divine Providence and the study of religion, of whom (when despoiled of those acquired through nature and birth-place) God gave him many, and amongst them, for age and rank (*tum vetustate ipsâ, tum dignitate*), the Cardinal of Naples was preeminent; and that he should be torn from him by the artifices of Satan, never having lost any of those whom God had given him, was a blow that Pole could not but lament bitterly. He therefore by so much the more rejoiced at the Master's colloquy with the Cardinal of Naples, as it proved that God, who had bound the friendship between him and Pole, chose in like manner to restore it.

With regard to the edition of Pole's "Books" (*illorum librorum*) demanded by the Cardinal of Naples, and for the delay in the publication of which, as also of his other works (*de cæteris meis scriptis*), the Master so vehemently reproves Pole because he has so long suppressed and hidden the talent given him by God for his own use and that of others, he will not answer the Master, as he does others, by saying that he does not acknowledge his writings to contain such an amount of talent as to render so great an increase of their circulation desirable, but he will trust neither to his own judgment nor to the Master's in this matter; and whether anything should be edited in full (*an vero aliquid omnino edendum sit*), and at what time, if found to be of any probable use, this he leaves to the decision of him to whom God has given the right and power to decide about all matters relating to the benefit of the universal Church. Is aware that in this he pursues a very different course to that of other writers, although he does not consider himself an

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* Gianpietro Caraffa became Archbishop of Naples in the year 1549. (*See* Cardella, v. iv. pp. 166, 167.)

† The first four books "De Unitate et Primatu Ecclesiæ." (*See* note to letter dated February 1548.)

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author, having certainly never written anything with the intention of publishing it,* as he sees that when printing anything they generally profess to do so by the advice of their friends, a motive which has never seemed just to him even should the work be very much read; nor is it more justifiable than if a man gifted with eloquence were, on the advice of his friends, to call the public to the platform to harangue them about his private affairs,† or than if an able juris-consult were to seat himself on the bench (*in tribunal ascenderet*) to teach the public law, because his friends persuaded him to do so. Does not see any difference between publishing a work and haranguing the people in public, or publicly passing sentence, if the author disputes contested matters and decides what should be thought about them.

That which it is not lawful to do by word of mouth Pole has never allowed himself to do with regard to anything written by him, and especially in the matter of an apology ‡ written by him in defence of himself. Cardinal Caraffa, with great friendship, dissuaded him from publishing it, whilst others advised the contrary, in accordance apparently with Scripture, where it is written, "Maledictus homo qui negligit famam suam;" but, on the other hand, self-defence might be, or imply, accusation of his neighbour; so Pole had recourse to the Pope, laying before him his doubts, and his Holiness, like the Cardinal of Naples, counselled him to publish nothing in defence of himself (*ne quid publice mei defendendi causâ scriberem*), the Pope saying that he exhorted him to abstain from writing an apology, not for the sake of Pole's honour, which was well able to defend itself, but for the honour of the order of Cardinals and their College, which might incur some mark of infamy were it but to transpire that such strife prevailed there as to compel him, especially from such a cause, to condescend to an apology; and the Pope ended, not only by exhorting Pole, but by requesting him utterly to renounce this mode of defence. He was thus reduced to silence, and deprived himself of an infallible weapon for refuting the calumnies with which he had been assailed. Viewing matters in their temporal light, he ought to have made himself heard, but he had more at heart the spiritual interests of the Church than those of himself individually. His silence, therefore, was not induced by the dictates of human prudence. Cardinal Caraffa remarked to him that, however just his defence, it must convict him of having been suspected of crime. This would imply that he was silent from self-interest;

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* Qui si quid scripsi, nunquam certe eo animo scripsi, ut ederem.

† Ut privato nomine populum ad concionem vocaret, atque *e suggestu* verba faceret.

‡ The "apology" here alluded to must not be confounded with the "*Apologia Reginaldi Poli ad Carolum V. Cæsarem.* The apology which Cardinal Pole suppressed, at the instigation of Pope Julius III. and Cardinal Caraffa, had for object to confute the calumnies devised to prevent his election at the time of the conclave in 1549–1550. They are touched upon in his letter to the Bishop of Badajos, dated 17th June 1550. Amongst the accusations brought against him by his competitors for the Popedom, were the following:—During his Legation at Viterbo, he caused but few people to be put to death; he entertained heretical opinions; and he had a natural daughter in a convent at Rome. The reply to these charges may be read in Pole's Life by Beccatello (vol. v. Epistolarum, etc., pp. 371, 372). These libels had tempted him for a moment to think of swerving from his general rule, but the aberration was momentary and did not take effect.

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but he could use so many arguments in favour of his innocence that his judges themselves would perhaps feel ashamed of having compelled him to defend himself.

Is it to be supposed that Pole's manifestations of piety and obedience towards the Church, especially as that Church is Roman, can need defence in Rome against suspicions of impiety and apostasy? Should he not appear Catholic to others, to that Church he assuredly gave so many hostages of faith and obedience, that if those who preside over decisions about religion at Rome distrust them, it would be no less odious and ungrateful before God and man than if Pole himself were to fail giving constant thanks for having been enabled thus to do. No better security could be given by God to prove Pole's faith and obedience to the Roman Church than by his causing him to sacrifice everything to its honour; nor was the supreme testimony of the blood of martyrs wanting; what blood did he not shed for his faith and obedience to the Roman Church? The lives of the many victims slaughtered for this cause by the rabid enemy of the Roman Church were far dearer to Pole than his own blood; and if he did not shed it, he shunned no danger which could enable him to demonstrate his obedience and faith, as exemplified by his performance of the various missions assigned him by the Pope.

On a certain occasion Paul III., having refused him audience, and even turning aside, explained the cause by telling the bystanders that on that day he had received such grievous news of Pole's family that he had not the heart to look him in the face, and by no means could he speak to him. From that time forth Pole's adversites have augmented, and always from the same cause, and in like manner as he has hitherto borne these marks (*stigmata*) of his obedience, so will he continue to bear them; and should anyone hear that the Roman Church is so forgetful of all these things, and so averse to bear in mind so many wounds inflicted on him for his defence of its honour, as not only to feel no pity, but to allow him to be branded in its own presence with fresh marks of infamy such as had never been inflicted on him by any enemy, could it perchance ever be apprehended that whilst with just reasons and sure arguments he dispelled every unjust suspicion, his defence could brand him with a mark of infamy, rather than those who, after so many testimonies from God of his fidelity and obedience, should allow them to be impugned? And indeed, could they, by reason of their not having defended him ever defend themselves against the charge of ingratitude? It is true that attempts were made to render suspected those two luminaries of the Church, the Cardinals [Gasparo] Contarini and Morone, and finally Pole himself, but the attacks recoiled upon their authors.

In conclusion, if Pole individually abstained from defending himself, it was not from fear of injuring his character, but solely to obey the Pope. Some persons will perhaps have accused Pole of giving too easy access and of having been too kind (*nimis benignum*) to persons of suspected faith in matters of religion, but he believes that the Master of the Sacred Palace will approve of this conduct, which is taught by St. Paul. Concerning the books men-

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tioned by the Cardinal of Naples, Pole will publish them, should it seem fit to the Pope; and by so much the more willingly as in a proem (*quasi proemii loco*) he answers those who accuse him of imprudence for having assumed the task of writing at such a time to a King who would not derive any advantage from it, Pole having, moreover, written with so much vehemence. In this proem he refutes the charge.

Again assures the Master of the pleasure caused him by being reconciled to the Cardinal of Naples, as it is very advantageous for persons of the same order to be true friends, and that the fact should be generally known.

From the Monastery of Maguzzano, 6th August 1553.

[*Latin*, 458 *lines*.]

Aug. 7.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

764. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The news of the succession of the Princess Mary to the kingdom of England on the death of her brother, which might reasonably have been doubted on account of the first advices, being now confirmed through several channels, I cannot delay congratulating your Holiness until the receipt of further intelligence, the nature of the event appearing to me such that since many years nothing has occurred in Christendom on which one could more reasonably congratulate any Christian mind, and especially that of your Holiness, this being a manifest victory of God over the long cogitated malice of man, corroborated by such great forces and means for the attainment of his perverse ends. And God of his goodness, to render his proceeding (*operation*) more illustrious, has chosen to annihilate in one moment all these long cherished projects by means of a woman, who for so many years has suffered contrary to all justice, being in a state of oppression shortly before this took place, and who is now victorious and called to the throne, thus affording reasonable hopes that, together with her, there will be called to reign in that island, justice, piety, and the true religion, which have hitherto been utterly crushed, and that the kingdom will return to its obedience, in like manner as its alienation was the commencement and cause of its utter ruin. And the Almighty having willed that this should take place in your Holiness's time, and not previously, although often attempted by your predecessor of blessed memory, by so much the more ought I to congratulate you, as I now do with my whole heart, praying God that, having caused you to witness the end of this holy work, you may also likewise see the fruits which may be hoped for, by using such means as Divine Providence has placed in your hands to attain this end. And as I think it might perhaps not be unacceptable (*discaro*) to your Holiness, as I am of the country and heretofore negotiated this matter, to hear my feeble opinion, and being unable at present to deliver it in person, I have sent to your feet, together with this letter, my Abbot (*l'Abbate mio*) of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], who is acquainted with what little I could tell you were I on the spot, and to whom I beseech your Holiness to give gracious audience, and such credence as you would to myself; and with all due reverence,

1553. kissing your most holy feet, I pray the Divine clemency to vouchsafe long to preserve you for the benefit of your Church.

From Maguzzano, on the Lake of Garda, 7th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10 ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

765. CARDINAL POLE to the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR [FRANCESCO DE ?] VARGAS [in Venice ?].

Announces the accession of Queen Mary, being certain that the piety of Vargas will cause him to rejoice at the event.

[Maguzzano, 10th August 1553 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

766. CARDINAL POLE to the QUEEN of ENGLAND.

Blesses the hand of God, that "right hand of the Lord," not only for having placed her Highness on that high throne and put her in possession of the kingdom which belonged to her since many years—all good persons desiring the event and asking it of the Divine goodness in their prayers—but also for bringing the thing to pass in such a manner that not only the effect itself, but yet more the mode of producing it, heartily rejoices all her true servants, and above all (as Pole knows for certain her own pious disposition) from its having happened without bloodshed, which might with reason have been feared, considering the malignant devices of her adversaries, backed by no small force, employed by them to deprive her of her just succession, and the long period conceded them by God, for the yet greater manifestation of his Divine providence, at the moment when they thought already to have accomplished their iniquitous design, which was instantaneously frustrated, without the aid of any other forces or resistance save that which the Spirit of God roused in the hearts of men, converting those who, having previously been utterly given to the cause of human malice, now all devoted themselves to the honour and service of God and of her Highness, and to the benefit of the whole kingdom.

Should any one marvel and inquire how against such great malice and power her Majesty, without any external forces, and not many soldiers with the heart to declare themselves for her, could have recovered her crown—should any one ask in surprise, "*quomodo factum est istud?*"—the fact itself will reply, "*Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corde hominum,*" and willed by these means to give her the kingdom, and by this very notable example to make it manifest, not only to her own people but to all those of the rest of Christendom, and to the Infidels likewise, "*quod non sit consilium, non sit prudentia, neque fortitudo contra Dominum, et quod excelsus Dominus dominetur in regno hominum, et cui voluerit et quando voluerit dabit illud.*" If ever the conviction that Divine providence governs human affairs, as principal foundation of our faith, required to be introduced and confirmed in the Queen's kingdom by some evident proof, this was above all necessary at the present time, when, through the authority exercised there since so many years by the wicked, it was become so weakened in the hearts

15 53.

CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY (13th August).

of men, most especially of those who considered themselves more sage and prudent than others, that it seemed quite extinguished. It having therefore pleased the Divine goodness to show its power by evident signs, through her Highness's exaltation at the time when her enemies, and many others likewise, believed her to be completely crushed, all pious souls rejoice at this extremely.

Is certain that her Majesty rejoices more at the proof thus afforded than at the royal crown itself; and if ever woman had merciful grace (*gratia*) for which to magnify and praise God in the words of his blessed mother, whose name the Queen bears—used in testimony of the joy felt by her at the Divine providence in her own favour and salvation and that of the human race, when, replete with the Holy Spirit, she sang, saying, "*Magnificat anima mea Dominum*,"—the Queen herself has more cause than any one to sing likewise the sequel of that canticle, feeling within herself—what everybody perceives—that the goodness of God *respexit humilitatem ancillæ suæ, fecit potentiam in brachio suo,* and at once, *deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles.*

Hopes this effect of the Almighty's providence with regard to her Majesty will become daily more manifest by her [form of?] government, with such increase of joy and contentment as desired, to the honour and praise of his Divine Majesty, for whose Church, and for the sake of the Queen herself, Pole is bound to warn her of one single thing at this commencement of her reign, which is, that having received such especial favour from the Divine goodness she be pleased well to consider from what root the great disorders in matters relating to justice and the true religion proceeded; the which disorders in England have for many years been seen to increase daily, greatly to the ruin both of private and public interests.

By doing so, her Majesty will perceive that the beginning and cause of all the evil, commenced at the time when the perpetual adversary of the human race placed in the heart of the King her father the perverse desire to make the divorce from the blessed Queen her mother. To this great injustice towards God, towards her and Queen Mary, and towards himself at the same time (*alla quale grande ingiustitia verso Dio, verso lei et voi et se stesso insieme—atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipsum, in Te, in se ipsum injuriæ, majus additum est scelus, etc.*), he added another much greater, that of divorcing himself from Queen Mary's spiritual mother, and from all faithful Christians, that is to say, from the Holy Catholic Church, from which he departed by departing from the obedience of the Apostolic See. From this iniquitous and impious seed there subsequently sprang up those pestiferous fruits which have so corrupted every part of the kingdom, that since many years scarce any vestige has been seen either of justice or religion, as if both one and the other had been banished the realm when reverence and obedience towards the Church were abolished; and I venture to make this prophecy, that they will never return, be the government whatever it may, until this divine obedience be again received into the mind of the ruler (*di chi regge*).

This the Queen may believe on the authority of one who is her servant, and who, of all those yet living, has suffered the most both

1553.

CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY (13th August).

on this account and for the Queen's cause, never neglecting any opportunity for defending it, whenever it seemed possible to find any remedy whereby to extricate her from her grievous troubles. If his diligence and toil failed to obtain the fruit always most earnestly desired by him, he having several times risked his life for it, he now perceives the reason, and is much more comforted than if he himself had been the means of assisting her. Acknowledges in this instance the manifest compassion demonstrated towards her by the Almighty, who has not chosen any other hand to be interposed, neither that of the Emperor, who always showed himself anxious in this matter, nor of the Pope, who never failed aiding it, he likewise being prepared to give the Queen all favour and succour. Pole's intercession with both one and the other was assiduous, he having always urged this most pious cause, for which the goodness of God had determined to give the Queen assistance, at the time appointed by Him, with his own hand, and in the meanwhile to treat her in the way He is wont always to adopt with his most dear and chosen children, placing and educating her in every sort of adversity and tribulation, that the flower of his grace might strike deeper root, so as to blossom better, and then, when it should please Him to give her prosperity, produce more noble fruits, which the hope of all good men now expects from her, and that of Pole above all others, as he has had a better opportunity of knowing from her infancy (*fanciullezza*) the virtues (*gratie*) with which the graciousness of God has endowed her.

This renders him also the more anxious to warn her Highness of this great and important point of obedience to the Church (*della obedientia della Chiesa*), knowing that he is now so much the more bound to desire and seek to learn how her mind is inclined and disposed towards this matter; for being at a distance of 300 miles from Rome, in a monastery—whither he betook himself some days ago to be able with more quiet to pray God for her Majesty and the whole kingdom—immediately on hearing the auspicious news of her accession, he was informed by the Pope and Cardinals that he had been elected Legate from the Apostolic See to her Majesty, and to both those two great Princes, the Emperor and the King of France, to congratulate her on the victory of God in this cause, which is so thoroughly his own.

Before doing anything further, knowing how important it is, he has thought it well as aforesaid to endeavour to learn in what way God now moves the mind of her Majesty (*in qual modo Idio mova hora la mente di Va. Mta.*) For this purpose he sends the present messenger [Henry Penning]* with this letter, not indeed from any doubt of her Highness's goodwill (*buona mente*), having always known her gratitude towards God, and the internal affection of her heart for obedience to the Divine laws and institutions, including the

* The name Henry Penning is given by Pallavicino in his History of the Council of Trent, vol. iii. p. 289. In Dr. Hook's Life of Pole, p. 220, it is stated that Penning arrived in London *with Commendone on the 8th August*, but as this letter was written on the 13th August, the supposed date of his arrival is a mistake, and Pallavicino (p. 289) says distinctly that the mission of Commendone preceded that of Penning, nor were they in London together.

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CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY (13th August).

obedience of the Apostolic See (*la obedientia della Sede Apostolica*), which her Highness, above all others, is bound to favour, as for no other cause did the King her father renounce it than because the Roman Pontiff persevered in favouring her cause, and would never consent to his strange and iniquitous desire; but as this great change was made many years ago, and as such great malice has been used to alienate the minds of the people from this obedience and extinguish it completely, Pole has therefore thought fit to endeavour in the first place thus to hear from her the time and mode (*il tempo et l' ordine*) which she would wish him to observe (*che Io tenghi*) in performing the embassy to her from the Vicar of the Lord, for her own comfort and the benefit of the realm, the quiet and happiness of which have been crushed (*oppressa*) more and more, hourly, ever since the government commenced opposing and depressing this holy obedience.

Has therefore determined to await her Highness's reply, and prays God that it may be in conformity with his hope and expectation, and such as all pious persons have conceived from the grace of his Divine Majesty vouchsafed to her, to the confirmation and increase of the joy felt universally at her exaltation. Should her Majesty grant him gracious audience, he hopes by the grace of God to convince her (*farle conoscere*) that in this point of obedience to the Church (*la obedientia della Chiesa*) consists the establishment of her crown and the entire welfare of her kingdom; and praying the Almighty of his infinite mercy to uphold and prosper her royal state with that same hand which placed her in it, he ends his letter beseeching her Highness to accept it cordially, as God has always prompted him to act (as he is certain she knows) for her honour and felicity.

From Maguzzano, 13th of August 1553.

[*Italian, "translated from the English."*]*

Aug. 13.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

767. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Had despatched the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia] to congratulate the Pope on this auspicious and truly miraculous event in England, and to mention what little occurred to him on the subject. When near Bologna the Abbot met the Papal messenger with the briefs and Pole's legatine commission. Yesterday the Abbot returned with the messenger, who rejoiced the Cardinal by his account of the Pope's ardour, from which he anticipates that this good beginning will produce an equally good result. As his Holiness has authorised him to proceed in this matter as he deems most expedient, thinks fit, before moving further, to send a messenger express to Flanders, there to apply to the Cardinal Legate,† hoping thus to obtain from him, as also from natives of England, some additional intelligence whereby to regulate his negotiations;

* The foregoing letter is diffuse, as most documents of the period are, but it contains something more than "*the usual commonplaces*" (*see* Hook, p. 219). I have given it in full, because the Italian translation is more complete than the Latin version in Quirini, iv. pp. 428 and 116–119.

† Gieronimo Dandino, Bishop of Imola, Legate at Brussels.

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and that, in the meanwhile, the Bishop of Worcester (*Mons. di Vigorniensi (sic)**) should be sent to the Imperial Court to perform such offices with his Majesty as the Legate shall think desirable according to the advices received through Pole's messenger in the first place, and from such news as shall be heard from day to day. Sends his Abbot [of San Saluto] to give the Pope particular account of his proceedings, referring the whole to his Holiness's most prudent judgment, being always most ready to obey and serve him with his life blood; and with all due reverence kissing his most holy feet, he prays the Almighty to vouchsafe this great favour to his pontificate, to restore England to the union and obedience of his Church, as it may be hoped of his goodness He will do.

From Maguzzano, 13th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

768. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF IMOLA [GIERONIMO DANDINO], Legate [at Brussels].

The Pope having elected Pole Legate for the affairs of England, as the Cardinal of Imola will perceive by the accompanying copy of a brief from Rome, he thinks fit, before moving further, to send the present messenger to Flanders to obtain such more precise information as seems necessary in this matter, to avoid the risk of doing what might prove undignified and unbecoming the authority of his Holiness and the Apostolic See. Has charged him to apply in the first place to the Legate whom he (Pole) requests to give him such intelligence as shall have been received through the Imperial Court. The messenger will acquaint him with such intelligence as has been obtained through other channels; and, if necessary, will then go as far as England. Has also thought it well for the Bishop of Worcester (*Vigorniensi*) [Richard Pate] to proceed to the Emperor's court, as the Legate will hear from the bearer of the present letter. Will send by the Bishop copies of the briefs, and write also to the Emperor, hoping in all matters to receive every possible information from the Legate about this business, concerning entirely the honour of God and the benefit of his Church, which they may hope will be attained, having in truth such great and miraculous security from his divine hand. Thanks the Legate greatly for the letter written by him to the Cardinal of Trent for communication to him (Pole) who for the rest refers himself to the statement of the messenger [Henry Penning ?].

[From Maguzzano ?] 13th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13 ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date in MS.

769. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL SANTA CROCE [MARCELLO CERVINI].*

Considering that the superintendence (*la cura*) of the affairs of England is common to himself and Cardinal Santa Croce, and, as

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* Richard Pate, Bishop designate of Worcester. The Pope offered Cardinal Pole to appoint Richard Pate as nuncio, to be employed as the Legate should think fit. *See* Quirini, v. iv. p. 110.)

† *See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 226.

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usual, relying much on his prudence and piety, Pole has desired his Abbot [of San Saluto], the bearer of the present letter, to acquaint him with the cause of his going to Rome, and to request Santa Croce to give the Abbot and himself such suggestions as he shall think opportune and expedient for the service of God in this matter, which is of such great importance that it must make all the faithful (as it certainly will Cardinal Santa Croce) heartily pray for the Divine goodness to grant the desired result, which may be anticipated from so good and auspicious a commencement; and for the rest he refers himself to the Abbot's statement.

[From Maguzzano, 13th August 1553 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 152.

770. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The letters from England, down to the 24th ult., announce the proclamation as Queen, of the Lady Mary, sister of the late King, and the Emperor's kinswoman. She was expected in London. The Signory's letters from Rome purport that the Pope has revoked the recall of his two Legates, who are now to remain with the Emperor and the King of France.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

771. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

After the great and constant affliction endured for many years by the kingdom of England solely on account of impious and iniquitous rulers, it has pleased the Divine mercy to comfort the realm by giving it this governess, to whom the crown by right belongs, and which by reason of her goodness was desired for her by all good persons; and that this should come to pass by means of the Emperor's direction.* It therefore seems meet to Pole,—for himself and all other Englishmen (*tutti noi di quel regno*) to return especial and infinite thanks to his Imperial Majesty,—to whom, after God, all the praise and honour of this achievement (*fatto*) should be given; beseeching the Divine goodness, with regard to what remains for the completion of this holy work, to vouchsafe to use the same medium (*mezo*) used by him for giving it so auspicious a commencement. Of all the things which remain to be done to this end, none is of greater importance than the restoring England to the obedience of the Apostolic See (*che il restituire quel regno all' obedientia della Sede Apostolica*). Considers it certain that the Emperor, of his great piety, does not require to be stimulated by others but is disposed spontaneously to seek this restoration according to opportunity. Nevertheless, as the goodness of God has given this great pledge of his mercy, granting to England one sole governess (*governatrice*), more inclined and able than any other

* Per mezo dello indrizo di V. Mtà.

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person to bring this holy work to perfection, with the aid and counsel of his Imperial Majesty, and it having pleased the Pope and the Apostolic See to appoint him (Pole) Legate to treat this business with his Majesty and such other princes, and private persons as shall seem expedient, he thinks he cannot too speedily commence proposing this cause to the Emperor, whom it chiefly befits by reason of his supreme grade above all princes, and for so many other self-evident reasons unnecessary to mention. His Majesty both heretofore and at present has obtained many and great victories; but in Pole's opinion he has had none comparable to this one, and from which he may hope for greater and more efficacious (*più potente*) fruit, to the honour of the Divine Majesty and of himself, and to the eternal benefit of the Church, and of England. And as it has pleased the goodness of God, after so many affronts (*dispiaceri*) received by his Imperial Majesty owing to the perverse government of the realm of England, now deservedly to comfort him in the matters relating to its temporal jurisdiction, it may be expected of his goodness that the first partakers of this consolation will be those who were most afflicted, and principally the Apostolic See, which, for defending the just cause of his Majesty's lineage (*per defendere la giustitia del sangue di vostra Maestà*), lost its authority in that kingdom. Although the recovery thereof does not seem easy, considering the humours of the population (*havendo rispetto agli humori degli huomini*), and past events; yet through that blessed hand which gave this first great commencement of good government, and of the kingdom's felicity, its continuance also may be expected, when coupled with this second boon, without which the consolation derived from the first will be of short duration. Hopes that, as the Legates of the Apostolic See were excluded from that kingdom for favouring the rights of those so near akin to his Majesty, so, as God now gives compensation, he (the Emperor) will also grant him (Pole) this honour of opening the road for their return, to the advantage of the realm and to the joy of the whole Church, by reason of the great benefit which from this example may be anticipated in other kingdoms and provinces. This firm hope has induced Pole to perform this office by letter with the Emperor, whose victorious hands will, he expects, prepare the way for him, to introduce the spiritual authority into England, in like manner as God enabled his Majesty, in the person of his cousin the most Serene Queen Mary, to introduce the temporal authority there. The reasons which in a worldly sense (*humanamente*) cause Pole to hope for a fair and speedy result in this matter shall be told the Emperor at their meeting, which he hopes will take place speedily. In the meanwhile, congratulating the Emperor with his whole heart on this miraculous victory, he kisses his hands, constantly praying his Divine Majesty to vouchsafe to preserve him, for the benefit and universal consolation of all Christendom.

In the monastery of Maguzzano, 20th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

1553.
Aug. 20 ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place.*

772. "INFORMATION" for the EMPEROR given by CARDINAL POLE to his SECRETARY FIORDIBELLO.

When his Holiness heard of the victory which the Lord God of his mercy gave the most Serene Queen, his Majesty's cousin, not only without any opposition, but moreover placing her enemies and rebels in her hands,—hoping that with God's assistance the kingdom of England might be re-united to the Church, and brought to the obedience of the Apostolic See (*che quel regno se habbia da ridurre, con lo aiuto di Dio, alla unione della Chiesa et alla obedientia della Sede Apostolica*), through the authority of the Emperor,—he elected his (the Secretary's) master the Right Reverend Cardinal Pole as Legate, to treat this holy business with his Majesty and the Queen, and with other princes the most suited to the matter (*et altri principi con chi fusse più opportuno*) and being on the eve of departure, his Right Reverend Lordship has chosen him to come beforehand to his Majesty.

In the first place he has charged him to congratulate the Emperor on so auspicious an event, then to thank the Emperor for his counsel, management, and favour.

Cardinal Pole was on the point of departure to perform this office of congratulation with his Majesty by word of mouth, to thank him in the name of all pious inhabitants in England, and to execute his Holiness's commission.

Should his Majesty say that it is not opportune to treat this matter now, as the affairs of that kingdom are not yet well established, and that it is therefore not expedient, [he is to be told] that Cardinal Pole himself likewise considered this, and moreover dropped a hint about it to the Pope, notwithstanding which, he is convinced that this delay would not only, not profit, but would injure the cause; and the reason is, that it is customary in England, in the first Parliament and convocation of the three estates, to propose the matters relating to the reordination of the kingdom, all persons who consider themselves aggrieved then stating their complaints; and the affairs of the religion and the union of the kingdom [with the Apostolic See ?], which is the most important and necessary, not merely for the salvation of souls, but also for the quiet of the people and the stability of the realm, would be irreparably prejudiced if at the present moment, when persons of every grade are striving which shall evince the greatest obedience to the Queen, the opportunity should be lost for bringing back (*redure*) the realm to the union of the Church and to the obedience of the Apostolic See, without which the other matters concerning the religion cannot be established. As God therefore has sent this opportunity, it should be seized.

Should the Emperor allege the example of Germany, or, even, without alleging it, say that it might appear to some persons, or that some persons might think it difficult, from the example of the Germans; to reply that the affairs of Germany and of England are different, as in Germany the thing (*la cosa*) is popular, which excuse has

* The date may be conjectured by that of the letters addressed to the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras.

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been occasionally made by some of the German Princes, whereas in England, by the rising in the time of the late King, it has been seen that the people were well disposed towards the religion, and wished things to return to their former state, as they demanded to live in that faith which her father King Henry had conceded them, and which he ordered to be observed, with regard to the mass and the other sacraments of the Church.

In the next place, what greater sign of their goodwill could be desired than to see with what universal readiness and joy they hailed the Princess Mary for their Queen?—especially the Londoners, from whom this was the less to be expected, as they had always been considered much more opposed to the religion than any others (*che alcun altro*), they knowing and being very well aware of the sincere and Catholic mind of her Majesty, and of the faith which she has always professed and professes. So as to the dogmas (*quanto a id ogni—sic*), it seems there would be no such great difficulty; and even with regard to the schism, and the return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, the people at that same time of the insurrection showed their goodwill, when amongst the other articles they demanded that his [Fiordibello's] master (although he had never been in that part of the country, and they had no particular knowledge of his Right Reverend Lordship or of his family) should not only be restored to his native soil, but also have a seat in the King's Council, a very evident sign that as they could not openly demand the restitution of the Pope's authority, which had been forbidden them by law under penalty of rebellion, they demanded it indirectly. The people therefore being well inclined, and their ruler the Queen most excellently disposed, and those who would have chiefly sought to thwart the matter being by God's justice in her hands, it is to be hoped that this restoration will not prove difficult, most especially when backed by the Emperor's authority; and it may be very reasonably supposed that the people of England will resume their obedience to the Apostolic See, since they can allege no grievance against it, as no kingdom enjoyed more prerogatives and exemptions than England, during her acknowledgment of the papal supremacy; and moreover, because subsequently, owing to this change, the losses (*danni*) and burdens of the country have been endless.

As to the difficulty on account of the interests of the nobility, Cardinal Pole hopes a remedy will be found, and reserves its discussion for his interview with the Emperor, as he desires and hopes that his Majesty will be the person to adjust, regulate and adapt (*accomodare*) this part, as an excellent medium between his cousin and the parties concerned, so that all the praise and glory may rest, as is very fitting on every account, with his Majesty.

Should the Emperor maintain that the Legate's passage to England at present would be premature, Fiordibello will reply that should it seem premature for the attainment of the end, Cardinal Pole's presence will at least give the Emperor and the Queen greater opportunity for discussing and negotiating this matter; and if this were abandoned the cause would become hopeless. In addition to this, the mere presence of the Emperor [at Brussels?]

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should be a sufficient reason for Cardinal Pole's going into those parts to confer with him, and hear his most prudent opinion; although besides this, it can by no means seem premature to obtain that the Queen should at least send a person to discuss and treat this matter with him, as the King her father, although the open enemy of the Apostolic See, was induced of his own accord, at the time of Cardinal Pole's former legation [in the year 1537], to send some of his dependents (*alcuni delli sui*) to him, namely, the King's own confessor and some doctors, who had already departed on their way, as affirmed by the Bishop [designate] of Worcester, who was then in the King's Court, though they did not cross the Channel, having met a courier with news of Cardinal Pole's departure for Italy [from Liege in August], he having been recalled by the Pope.

The Emperor of his extreme prudence has also to consider, should anything sinister befall the Queen, that remaining in their present state the affairs of the religion would run great danger, as some powerful King, declaring her schismatic, might wage war on her, and place her in great difficulties, by means of such a protest, and perhaps also with the favour of some friendly Pope. *And if* the Duke now a prisoner,* thought fit to avail himself of the name of King Henry's second sister's granddaughter (*figliuola*) [Jane Gray], for which purpose he married her to one of his sons to colour his right (*le sue ragioni*) to occupy England; how much greater reason would there not be to fear this from the granddaughter (*figliuola*) of the King's late sister, who has remained heiress of Scotland?—both as she is descended from the elder sister, and also because she is not schismatic. So that the Queen of England, by reuniting herself to the Apostolic See, would secure herself against this danger, and much more were she also to be crowned by the hand of a Legate from the Apostolic See.

It is unnecessary to exhort his Imperial Majesty, Cardinal Pole being very certain that for every reason, both divine and human, he is excellently disposed to embrace this holy and glorious undertaking.

As to Cardinal Pole, individually, the Emperor knows, should he go to England, how much he is bound to him (*quanto li sia obligato*).

The French have requested the Pope that Cardinal Pole may pass through France, and his Holiness left it optional with him to do so, showing, however, that the straighter and more fitting way was to the Emperor, which Cardinal Pole has with reason determined to take.

Fiordibello is to apply to the Cardinal Legate Dandino, and consult with him as to how much of Cardinal Pole's commission he is to impart; and is to communicate everything to him.

[Maguzzano, 20th August?]

[*Italian.*]

* John Dudley Duke of Northumberland.

1553.
Aug. 21.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl.

773. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA, Papal Nuncio [with the Emperor].

Is sending his Secretary, Messer Antonio Fiordebelli, to congratulate the Emperor on these auspicious events in England. Has charged him to salute the Nuncio in his name, and acquaint him with the particulars of his commission, hoping that the Nuncio will give him hints for the benefit of this common cause, which is so important for the Apostolic See. Requests him to do so, and refers himself for the rest to the Secretary.

Maguzzano, 21st August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

774. THE SAME to the BISHOP OF ARRAS [ANTOINE PERRENOT DE GRANVELLE].

Has received a brief from the Pope, informing him that his Holiness and the Sacred College have elected him Legate to the Queen of England and the Emperor, and other Princes likewise, as may seem opportune and expedient to him for the re-organization (*per indrizzar*) of the affairs of the religion in that kingdom. This was done immediately on hearing of the miraculous success in favour of the just cause of Queen Mary. Has thought it his duty to announce the appointment to the Emperor by letter, to be delivered by the present bearer, his Secretary, praying his Majesty at the same time, that in like manner, as he always wished that kingdom to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and negotiated and exhorted in order that the King and his guardians (*governatori*), from whom but little could be hoped, might be brought thus to do, so he will now be pleased vigorously to interpose his authority with the present Queen, made, it may be said, by the hand of God, and who will give much more credit to the opinion and counsel of his Imperial majesty than to all the other Princes and private individuals in the world united, as she ought and has great cause to do, and especially by reason of the experience she has had of his Imperial Majesty's very prudent guidance (*prudentissimo indrizzo*) in obtaining, by means of his ministers, the crown which by right belonged to her. Doubts not but that these Imperial ministers, together with the divine assistance, took a great part in bringing this vessel into such safe harbour; so as he desires and hopes that the end may correspond to so auspicious a beginning, he has recourse to the same medium. Knows well that there is no need to urge the Bishop of Arras readily to employ the grace and favour enjoyed by him with the Emperor, to exhort his Majesty to undertake this cause with becoming zeal, promptitude, and resolution, being convinced of the Bishop's piety towards God and his Church, and of his regard for the honour of the Emperor, who cannot assume any undertaking which could obtain for him more honour and reward with God and man than this one, or one which is more expected by everybody on many accounts from his holy and victorious hand. But as he (Pole) hopes (please God) to find himself shortly in the Emperor's presence, he will then be able to confer in particular with the Bishop about the means whereby

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this pious and holy work may reach its due end; and therefore in this letter he will not dilate upon it further, referring himself, for whatever else he might now say, to the statement of its bearer.

From Maguzzano, 22nd August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

775. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^mi Senatus, diei 25 August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

776. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

As it is now very probable that the report of your restoration to the right of the Crown of England, circulates throughout Christendom, your Majesty may believe that in no part of it is there any person of a Christian mind, who on hearing of this most auspicious event does not feel great joy and pleasure, to which fact, in Italy, from what I hear and see, I can bear ample testimony, so that I think many years have elapsed since any news has been received here with greater joy and applause. This proceeds not merely from the thing itself, that is to say, that your Majesty has been restored to the dominion of that realm which by right and justice belonged to you,—a joy peculiar to England, and most especially to those already acquainted with the endowments (*gratie*) given you by God, to enable you to rule and govern,—but the means whereby you have obtained possession of the kingdom is what gives matter for rejoicing to all nations, and all private individuals, there being thus evidently manifest the hand and power of God for your defence, against such malice and violence as was employed against you to deprive you of your right. It is also seen, not only that, deprived as you were of all human succour, you were released from the hands of your enemies, but that they, in arms, against you who were defenceless, became your prisoners without bloodshed or sword-stroke, all their malicious counsel recoiling on their own heads, they being the identical individuals who shortly before ruled with such iniquity and license, as if the providence of God had nothing to do with the government of this world. You perceive "*quod est ubique Deus judicans illos in terra.*"*

This is the principal cause which rejoices the hearts of all men who, by thanks and praise for the grace and mercy of God, celebrate this fact in such wise that no feast can be more universally kept with greater good-will and joy than this one of your accession to the Crown (*ingresso al regno*). And those same persons who so greatly rejoice at this are anxiously waiting to see the manner and order which your Majesty will take to provide what is requisite for the honour and service of God, who has given you

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CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY (27th August).

so great a victory, in retrieving the great losses and injuries hitherto suffered by the kingdom, most especially in the two principal foundations of its quiet and welfare, namely in the true religion and civil justice, which have been so violated and crushed by the late rulers (*governatori*), that never, I am certain, have similar confusion and ruin been witnessed in any hostile persecution since Christians have had dominion there. On this, I say, all honest men are intent, and have their eyes fixed; and secretly all are anxious to see how ready your Highness will be to render the title of the primacy of the Church on earth to him to whom the supreme head both of heaven and earth has given it,* restoring to him the due obedience, immediately on the banishment of which, all true religion and even justice were in like manner expelled; and for its return, in order that both one and the other may come back, I am now sent to your Majesty by him, to whom in truth and justice this title belongs.

Of how great importance and moment this is, both for England and the Church of God, your Majesty, without the perusal of books which treat this matter, may read, I say, in the much clearer testimony of the blood of those, who you knew were considered the first in the kingdom for their fame of true doctrine and religion. The providence of God, therefore, has chosen that in like manner as the authority of his Son, God and man, to whom he had given all power in heaven and earth, was testified by the death of so many martyrs; so was the authority given by him to his Vicar on earth testified and defended by the effusion of innocent blood. And this has always been my argument against those who most despaired of the restoration in England of the authority of the Apostolic See, as I could not believe that the blood of those to whom God had given the grace to die for the confusion (*confussione*, sic) (*confessione?*) of this authority, and the prayers of many others who have suffered for the same cause, constantly appealing to his mercy for its restitution, should not prove efficacious,† when to his providence the time seemed opportune. That time is, I hope now come, the goodness of God having rendered to your Highness your due title, in order that the title of Supreme Head of the Church may be restored by you to whom he gave it, and the true religion and justice return at the same time into the kingdom.

I will not now expatiate further on this matter by letter, hoping to do so in person, or to be informed where the subject could be treated most conveniently for both parties, not so much for the declaration of the truth, of which I cannot believe that there is any doubt in your mind, but to find the mode and means that, being agreed about this truth its fruit may be received into the kingdom. I know—what is well known to all

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* The act of the royal supremacy was not repealed until January 1555. (*See* Froude, vol. vi. pp. 98, 300, 301; ed. 1860.)

† Non potendo Io credere chè il sangue di quelli a' quali Dio haveva data gratia di morire per la confussione di quest' autorità et le oratione de molti altri che per la medesima causa hanno patito gridando di continuo avanti la sua misericordia per la restitutione di quella non dovessino esser essaudite quando alla providentia sua fusse parso tempo opportuno.

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CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY (27th August).

other persons acquainted with the state of that kingdom—that when this truth was expelled thence (*non* (*sic*) [*ne*?] *fu scacciata*), the malice employed to deprive your Highness of the just title to the Crown was not greater than is now used to despoil the Apostolic See of the true just title of the primacy of the universal Church, and, should this ever be possible, bury it, so that it might never again be mentioned. But of this I am convinced, that should ever that title be buried for a while with your own which is so just, until the two together are resuscitated, your justice will never be able to produce the fruit desired and hoped for by all good men; and my hope that your Majesty will perform this divine and noble act, to the honour of God, and benefit of the Church and of your kingdom, proceeds not so much from the singular providence of God as witnessed by your restoration to the right of the Crown, as from his paternal care demonstrated in permitting you, the daughter of a King, and then his only child, endowed by his Divine Majesty with such exalted qualities, to be deprived in your tender age of due rank and honour, and this, as shown by the sequel, for the purpose of educating you in that school of tribulation, in which his dearest children are wont to be instructed; so that by there learning how to rule themselves for their own comfort, they may subsequently become better able and fitted to rule others for the general comfort.

This I consider to have been a great favour granted by God to your Majesty; the affliction, I say, endured by you hitherto, in order that you may be the more easily able to relieve the afflictions of others; and as you have now so troubled a kingdom to rule, all my hope is fixed on this, that in like manner as during the time of your tribulation it was, as it were, the theatre of the world, in which were represented the cruel and pitiable cases of persons high and low, than which few written tragedies contain more lamentable ones; so, under the government of your Highness, who has been tutored in the school of God how to rule yourself, it will become as it were a mirror of complete good order and true justice to the comfort of all good men, so that the other Sovereigns by reason of the good religion and justice they shall see resplendent there, will come to take example for the good rule and government of their people. My expectations will be the more confirmed the sooner I shall witness the return of the kingdom to the union of the Church, and to the obedience of its supreme head on earth; and that this is the true door whereby to introduce some good order in the kingdom may be in part understood by what occurred after this stone was first removed from its place, when all good and just government commenced failing, and being at length entirely removed, all justice fell to the ground like an edifice deprived of its foundation.

But as I have already mentioned, the declaration of the importance and necessity of this point I reserve until the Lord God shall conduct me to your desired presence, although I do not in the least fear that the thing requires greater confirmation in your Majesty's own mind; and in like manner I hope you are also convinced that I speak on the subject and am eager about it for no other reason than because I am persuaded that what I exhort you to do is your duty before

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CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY (27th August).

God, and for your own benefit and that of your kingdom; although this obedience has been styled since many years a great and tyrannical yoke of servitude, which, were it so (as I am sure it is not for those who use and understand it as they ought), no consideration for any person whatever, nor any profit or honour in the world, would assuredly make me consent to be the means of introducing into my country, where I wish no one to give me any credit if any man can prove that I ever consented to any injustice against it, or to any abuse in Rome or elsewhere. And your Highness may the more believe that in this cause, I speak sincerely and without passion, knowing that I have been educated in the same school in which the Divine Providence, as I said before, educated you likewise, I entering at the same time with you, and learning the same lesson from the same Master; so I hope that it can never enter your Majesty's mind that I ever say or counsel otherwise than becomes a pupil from that school; and thus do I affirm before its Master, from whom I learnt what I shall say, that my whole intent in persuading you to this obedience of the Church, is for no other end than to bring back this your regal power *sub suave jugo Christi*, so that both you and your subjects may enjoy the charm (*dolcezza*) of it, for their benefit and salvation in this world and the next. And coming to your Majesty's individual case, I say that the establishment of this obedience is a greater establishment of your right to the Crown than any confederacy whatever which might be formed with any foreign Prince, or than the goodwill of your people at home, both which things are unstable, and from any slight cause may, and doubtless will, fail, should your Crown not be confirmed by the obedience of the Church, which is what will remove all the impediments which might hereafter be raised against you, and would win for you the complete good friendship of Sovereigns and the goodwill of your subjects, gaining for them, by this pious and divine act, the favour of God and of his Church for your protection and defence.

This is what renders me the more fervent in this cause, as I deem it of such great importance both for your own honour and for the benefit of your people, that at this commencement of your reign this should be established before all the other important matters. Nor is it unknown to me that before this can be done, owing to the many impediments devised by the adversaries of this power when they were the rulers, it is requisite to treat it with good and mature counsel, for which purpose I am proceeding on my journey towards your Majesty, awaiting your gracious and benign reply, enabling me at least to treat this cause in such place as shall seem most expedient to your goodness, so as subsequently to effect its perfect conclusion, And for this purpose, in like manner as on receiving notice of my legation, I immediately despatched one of my secretaries [Henry Penning] to your Majesty, so now when commencing my journey, it has seemed fit to me to send you this letter by another who is an old and confidential secretary of mine,* and, as I believe not unknown to your Majesty, who will

* On the 30th November 1553, Cardinal Pole's servant Thomas Goldwell was arrested at Calais on his way to England (*See* Turnbull's Calendar, p. 84), so I do not

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CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY (27th August).

vouchsafe to give him gracious audience concerning such matters as he is commissioned to acquaint you with on my behalf. And in conclusion I pray the Lord God, that as He has placeed your Highness in this exalted station, so of his goodness will he dedicate your whole life to his divine honour, on which depend all your own honour and stability, and the entire welfare of your kingdom.*

From Maguzzano, 27th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

777. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER [STEPHEN GARDYNER].

The Grace of our Saviour Jesus Christ be with you, and infinitely praised be his Divine goodness, which has brought it to pass that for all those who have the greatest zeal for the honour of God and the welfare and preservation (*salute*) of that kingdom, and who in this such great need can and desire to aid both one and the other, it is lawful to unbosom and freely communicate their thoughts reciprocally to this end, with the hope of producing fruit in conformity with their pious and holy design, the which liberty has been impeded (*impedita*) since many years by the malice and perverseness of wicked rulers, so that those, who more than others, had both good will and knowledge of the common weal and advantage, were ill able to confer together, and still less could they be heard; and even had they been heard they were sure of their own ruin, without any hope of benefiting the public. From this miserable state the goodness and providence of God has now liberated England, by the miraculous protection and exaltation of that most noble Queen, who, having always shown herself devoted to the true religion and every sort of justice, has suffered for this cause more than any other person; and whoever ponders the work of God's hand in the mode of her Highness's restoration to the crown, or has any knowledge of her person and of the excellent qualities conceded her by God, cannot but firmly hope that her rights being now all restored to her, there will simultaneously return into the kingdom every sort of justice and good order, together with the true religion, all which things, since the time when her Majesty's rights (*giustitia*) commenced being combated and crushed, were banished thence, so much to the detriment both of public and private interests.

And as her Majesty's exaltation has caused great joy to all pious and Christian souls in general, especially to our country people, and above all to those who with sincere and constant faith have loved and revered the rare and noble qualities given by God to her Majesty, amongst whom I do not consider myself one of the last; I therefore assure your Lordship that on hearing of your release† I derived very great joy from it, as from the first effect of justice produced by this

think he was the bearer of this letter of the 27th August. It may perhaps have been conveyed by Michael Throckmorton, but I am only guessing. The instructions of Cardinal Pole to Goldwell (Cotton MSS. Titus, B. ii.) are quoted by Froude, vol. vi. pp. 133, 134.

* "Così per sua bontà voglia indrizzare tutta l' etade di Lei al divino suo honore dal quale depende tutto l' honor vostro, stabilimento, e tutto 'l bene del vostro regno."

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CARDINAL POLE to BISHOP GARDYNER. (28th Aug.)

miraculous and divine commencement; hoping at the same time that in like manner as the Lord God held his most merciful hand over you, giving you the grace, when shut up in your prison between the strongest walls, to place yourself in the presence of his Divine Majesty and before man *tanquam murum domui Israel*, so that pious souls might not remain helpless, and utterly oppressed by the impiety and malice of those who were intent on nothing but to disseminate and establish their perverse and impious doctrines;* so by your release you ought to be a great and powerful instrument for helping to release the kingdom both from the schism and from all heresy.

I have by so much the more strongly conceived such hope of you, considering the course (*progresso*) of your actions since the first time when I knew you, and your great qualities, both natural and acquired through your toil and industry, and also the providence and especial care which the Divine goodness has always evinced for you; so I was already of opinion that had your Lordship at the commencement chanced to serve a good Prince, and one somewhat moderately inclined towards the honour of God and the welfare of his realm, you would have displayed your ability and goodness in the service of your master and for the common weal much better. But as you had to serve a Prince of such a sort as was but too plainly shown to the whole world by his deeds, if you were not seen to yield such fruit as was reasonably expected at the first, the cause of this is rather to be attributed to the quality of the master you served, and to the infirmity of human nature, than to your own will and election, not having yet well learnt at that time *prælia Domini*, nor the mode of resisting schism, as you did at a later period, which was assuredly a very signal gift from the goodness of God, it being so rarely seen that the man who falls into the first error does not rush headlong into the second. And this is what (much to my comfort) I remark in your Lordship, when I consider that God, after calling you to be one of the chief shepherds of his flock, granted you much greater favours than some persons anticipated for you, bearing in mind your past life.

And that same Divine goodness having given you a higher grade of honour, which is, to suffer for love of him both shame (*dishonor*) and imprisonment, with loss of temporal goods, I remain convinced that He will now so multiply in you his supernatural gifts and favours, that on this present opportunity for manifesting them to the world to his honour, your actions will be of much greater service to his Divine Majesty and to the Church than they could be hitherto; you having acquired by means of trouble and tribulation suffered for love of Christ, much greater favours than when, by favour of your Prince, you were made Bishop without any trouble at all.

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* "Con darvi gratia che nella vostra prigionia stando rinchiuso tra fortissimi muri, vi siate apposto innanzi sua Divina Maestà, et nel conspetto degli huomini, tanquam murum domui Israel, acciò che gli animi non restassero senza alcuna resistentia totalmente oppressi dalla impietà et malitia di coloro, i quali ad altri non attendevano che a seminar le loro perverse opinioni et impie." I believe this to signify that the Bishop of Winchester performed mass in the Tower, when a prisoner there, in the teeth of the Gospellers, and that he had a numerous congregation.

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CARDINAL POLE to BISHOP GARDYNER. (28th Aug.)

This hope, induced by the singular graciousness of God towards your Lordship, moves me to write to you and exhort you that—as no greater opportunity could be afforded you for serving God and your country at the same time than that which is now given you by the goodness of its Governess (*Governatrice*), who, having found the kingdom in extreme confusion with regard to religion and every sort of justice, has not only freed your Lordship from every sort of restraint (*distretto*) and tribulation, but has even called you to be one of her chief privy councillors,* for the reform both of the religion and of justice,—you will so use all your energies, that amongst the many errors and acts of injustice to be provided against with time, there be first of all removed that error which, when introduced into the kingdom, gave admission to all the other abuses (*inconvenienti*) and disorders which subsequently ensued.

This, your Lordship knows, was the withdrawal (*il mancamento*) of the obedience to the Roman Church and to its head; the which obedience, from the day that the Christian religion was received in England until our miserable time, was always preserved, as in all other Christian realms, unpolluted by heresy; and no sooner was it banished from that kingdom than every sort of injustice and impiety entered it, as no one knows better than your Lordship, who also perceives that, if the restoration of the true religion and justice, together with the due obedience to a head of the Church of God on earth, namely, to him who rules the Roman See, ought ever to be expected from the ministers (*governatori*) of any King or Queen of England, it is to be expected from her present Majesty more than from any one else,† not merely by reason of the devout and religious disposition evinced by her at all times towards the true religion, but also on account of the gratitude which she is so greatly bound to show towards that Church, which, for maintaining the just cause (*la giustitia*) and honour of her Highness, is so unjustly deprived of its due honour and supremacy in England.

Now, therefore, when the most holy providence of God has restored the just title of the Crown to her Highness, nothing better becomes her noble, just, and pious disposition (*animo*) than to restore to the Roman Church its just title of supremacy, and to do so regardless of any worldly consideration (*senza rispetto humano*), most readily and joyfully relying on that omnipotent Lord who has placed everything in her hands. This is the hope of all good men who have at heart the honour of God, the service of his Church, the establishment of the Queen's Majesty, and the welfare of her kingdom, as conceded by the Almighty, immediately on hearing of the victory given her so miraculously by God over the usurpers of the Crown.

When this news reached Rome, who as a loving mother had long bewailed the unjust affliction and tribulation of her dearest and most tenderly loved daughter, and in vain attempted all

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* "Ma l' etiandio chiamato ad esser uno del suo secreto in supremo grado."

† "Si deve aspettar mai da governatori di Re ò di Regina alcuna di questo regno ciò si deve più che da ogni altro dalla Maestà dalla Regina presente."

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CARDINAL POLE to BISHOP GARDYNER. (28th Aug.)

means to assist her, on hearing at length that God with his own hand had released her, joyful thanksgivings were immediately rendered to God by the Church, in testimony of which I, who was then absent, being known to be an Englishman and the Queen's faithful kinsman and servant, was elected Legate to congratulate her Majesty, and with the most ample authority and faculty that could be desired for her comfort and that of the whole kingdom and its inhabitants individually; not doubting but that daughter, who from the hand of God received her due title to the Crown, which had been usurped by those who simultaneously usurped the supremacy of the Roman See, will with her own hand restore to her mother the due title of the primacy (*primato*), lost for love of that daughter.

Having written diffusely to her Highness on this subject in two letters, I now write this to your Lordship, hoping that as you have been called to the royal Council for assistance, and to devise an opportune remedy for all the disorders and abuses introduced into the kingdom, so will you not fail to use the grace which God has given you, by exerting yourself with all industry, that the joy and satisfaction now received by the kingdom through the recovery (*recuperatione*) of its true head, to whom the Crown was in all justice due, may augment in every quarter to the true and permanent consolation of all men. This result it will no longer behove me to wait for* when I shall see the head of the Church of God on earth consoled by that honour and obedience which is due to him, and by means of that hand which, more than any other, is in duty and justice bound to do so. And for this I hope that the Lord God will have elected your Lordship as his great and powerful instrument, to which effect I will not fail earnestly to pray his Divine Majesty to vouchsafe always to have you under his gracious and merciful protection, long preserving you for his honour, and for the benefit of the kingdom and the service of his Church.

From Maguzzano, 28th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

778. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL PIGHINO.

Did not receive the letter which Pighino sent him by the secretary who brought the legatine brief;† had it reached him he would have written sooner, thanking the Cardinal heartily, as he now does, for affection which Pole has always felt to be beyond his deserts, though he thoroughly reciprocates it. Knows most certainly that Pighino of his piety earnestly desires that in the holy cause intrusted to him he may have such success as is hoped from so good and miraculous a commencement. By God's grace Pole has no lack of ready will to sustain all toil and trouble for this end. It remains for them all to pray God to favour the work commenced with his own hand; requests the Cardinal thus to do for his own

* Del chè al hora Io non aspetterò l'effetto quando vederò il capo della Chiesa di Dio in terra consolato di quell' honore et obedienza chè si li deve.

† Cardinal Pighino was "Datario," and in right of his office despatched the brief appointing Pole Legate to England, which document is alluded to in Pole's letter to the Pope, dated 13th August 1553.

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bonour, for the consolation of all Christendom, and for the welfare of the realm of England, which has been harrassed and ruined by so much adversity.*

[Maguzzano, 28th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

779. STATEMENT made to CARDINAL POLE by the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], after his audience of Pope Julius III. in August 1553.†

That the Pope referred himself entirely to the will and opinion of Cardinal Pole with regard to delaying or hastening his departure and the mode of proceeding in this negotiation, leaving the whole burden of it to his prudence, hoping that in this holy work he would be guided by the hand of God; so his Holiness purposed regulating himself in this especial business as the Cardinal shall judge best, nor will he fail fully to agree with him about whatever he considers fitting, in like manner as he gave him full powers to exercise or renounce the legation during such time as shall seem best to him, and with authority to act (should he think it desirable so to do) as a private individual having at heart the welfare of England his native land.

That his Holiness was content that Cardinal Pole should tell the Queen of England in the Pope's name that he wishes nothing more from her, nor from her kingdom, than the salvation of its souls, and its quiet and peace, as also that of her Majesty, whose accession to the Crown has been willed by God for the exaltation of His holy name, and for the reunion of that realm to the obedience of His holy Church; and as when it was apprehended that her Majesty might incur some molestation, the Pope determined to render her every assistance and favour by appointing Cardinal Pole legate to her, so now when the Almighty has removed all obstacles, the Pope has thought fit to give him full powers to absolve and do whatever else is necessary for the salvation of those souls, and for the peace and quiet of her Majesty and her kingdom.

That he is also content that Cardinal Pole do promise the Queen and her Council that his Holiness will do whatever shall be thought expedient by the Cardinal and the Queen and Council for the welfare and benefit of England, in case the kingdom resume its obedience to the Apostolic See.

In conclusion, the Pope says he is aware that our Lord God has preserved Cardinal Pole for him to render this holy service to his country, and therefore the will and intention of his Holiness is, that he do whatever God shall inspire him to do; and that his Holiness does not intend to give ear to others, nor to credit them, save so far as the Cardinal shall think well and fitting in this negotiation. And in like manner, should he have occasion to stop in Flanders or in other places near their Majesties, the Emperor and the King of

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* At the foot of this letter there is a transcript in the MS. of the reply given to it by Cardinal Pighino, who died at the close of the year 1553, and not in 1551, as stated by Moretti. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 322.)

† *See* letter from Cardinal Pole to the Pope, date 13th August 1553.

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France, the Pope thinks of recalling the two Legates [Dandino and Capodiferro], and commissioning Cardinal Pole to treat for peace between them, with the hope of effecting some good result, that he may thus delay his journey with greater dignity and await the opportunity for crossing over to England (*et con maggior dignità si possa trattenere et aspettare l' occasione di passar in Inghilterra*).

[Rome, 30th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

780. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL CORNARO.*

Is very certain that he will have heartily rejoiced, as they have all reason to do, at the prosperous events in England, by so much the more on account of the extraordinary and miraculous mode in which they have been brought to pass, to the honour of his Divine Majesty, and the benefit of his Church and of England, which for so many years has been in every way so sorely persecuted. Prays God to be enabled to serve Him in this holy cause, in like manner as he has been endowed with the will and readiness to undergo any toil for it; his Holiness and the sacred College having conferred on him the legation to England. Thanks Cardinal Cornaro for his loving offers, of which he will always avail himself with the confidence given him by his many acts of courtesy and affection; and for the present will merely request him, during Pole's absence, to continue to protect Bagnarea, and the monks of Sant' Onofrio,† which favour he granted to Pole on his departure from Rome. It would also be much to Pole's satisfaction that the Cardinal should use his apartments in the palace, and whatever else he possesses, having given this commission to his Abbot of San Saluto, whom he sent lately to Rome, desiring him to mention this to anyone who spoke to him on the subject, including his Holiness if necessary. Has also given the like instructions to Messer Gio. Francesco Stella, whom he is now sending to Rome to remain there as his agent, requesting the Cardinal to protect him likewise.

[Maguzzano, 2nd September 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

781. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of ST. GEORGE [GERONIMO CAPODIFERRO].‡

Believes the Pope has written to him about the office he is to perform with the most Christian King concerning the matter of England, independently of what the Cardinal will have done spontaneously; but his Holiness having appointed Pole Legate for these affairs, he requests him to do his utmost to obtain the favour and support of his Majesty, knowing how much it will conduce to the return (*reduttione*) of that realm [to the Roman Catholic religion]. Being convinced of the Cardinal's piety, and also because

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* Andrea Cornaro; *see* before, date February 1st 1550.

† An Hieronimite Monastery at Rome, in which Torquato Tasso died on the 25th April 1595.

‡ The Cardinal of St. George had been sent as Legate by Pope Julius III. to Henry II. King of France, to make peace between him and the Emperor, but the attempt failed (*See* Panvinio, Lives of the Popes, p. 674.)

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the business is not yet further advanced, it is unnecessary for him to say more on the subject; about which he is writing a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and sends him a copy of it that he may be acquainted with the whole. Should the Cardinal of St. George write to him he is to address his letters to the care of the Legate at the Emperor's Court.

From Maguzzano, 3rd September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

782. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL FARNESE.

Does not remember ever to have spoken to the late Pope Paul of blessed memory about the affairs of England, without hearing from him that it was the wish of his most Christian Majesty to bring that kingdom back to the Catholic religion, and to its obedience to the Holy See; the like being told him frequently by the French ambassador at Rome, notwithstanding the many and great difficulties which opposed the project. It having now pleased God thus miraculously to facilitate this holy work, Pole is very certain that what his most Christian Majesty was inclined to attempt at a most unfavourable moment, will now be moved by him with such ardour as required by his usual piety and observance towards the Apostolic See. Being appointed Legate in England for this purpose, with orders to apply to the Emperor and the King of France, as the circumstances of the case may require, and being on his way, as written by him to the Legate in France, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine; thinks it advisable to pray Cardinal Farnese—either alone or with the two Cardinals aforesaid, as he shall deem most expedient—to advocate this cause with his most Christian Majesty, as Pole is sure he will do, of his usual goodness and piety.

[From Maguzzano, 3rd September 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 154, tergo.

783. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letters of the 24th July and 8th August, received detailed accounts of the proclamation of the Lady Mary as most Serene Queen of England, and of her arrival in London, together with the rest of the events which had occurred in those parts; and as the office performed by him with the Queen, and her Majesty's reply, were most satisfactory, they desire him again to congratulate her in their name on her accession, adding that good and sincere friendship having always subsisted between the Crown of England and the Signory, and they having such great esteem for her Majesty (by reason of the virtue, prudence, and religion which they know her to possess), equal to what they entertained for some of her ancestors, they were very glad to hear what she said to him about persevering in this friendship, which her Majesty both at present and hereafter will assuredly find reciprocated by the Signory, as will be announced to her more fully by an ambassador for this purpose.

Is also to present himself to the Lords of the Council, so that being convinced of the Signory's goodwill, they on their parts may

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also have cause to continue in the same, and protect the Republic's subjects, as they have done hitherto.

And be it forthwith voted, that at the next sitting of the Senate, an ambassador be elected to the most Serene Queen Mary of England, to reside at her Majesty's Court, and remain in that legation for the period appointed by law, and with such other commission as shall seem fit to this Council; the person thus elected not to refuse under the penalties according to the Act passed by the Senate and the Grand Council.

To have for his expenses 150 golden ducats per month, of which be he not bound to show any account, such having been the salary received by the other ambassadors lately resident in that kingdom.

Ayes, 134. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.*
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

784. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

As the bearer of the present letter is to be Messer Gio. Francesco Commendone, to whom Pole has given especial instructions with regard to what he is to relate to the Pope about the affairs of England; he having also been told what occurred to Pole on the subject; and as Commendone is so faithful and prudent, as moreover shown by him in this business, and in order not to detain him longer; Pole thinks he can rely on his statement, without giving any detailed account to the Pope of his own opinion, which in short is, that he thinks it by no means fitting that this point of returning to the union of the Church and obedience to the Apostolic See should be passed over in silence at the first meeting of the English Parliament; nor can the appeal be made, save through the medium of some Papal agent, who, if not in England, should at least find himself in person in the neighbourhood. Should this be in accordance with the opinion and will of his Holiness, Pole requests the Pope to let him know whether he is to proceed towards the Imperial Court, and in the meanwhile he will not move from the environs of the Lake of Garda, but await there the Pope's orders. Should the Pope think fit again to send any one for this purpose to England, Pole would be of opinion that this same Commendone, who has already commenced the negotiation, might prove a very fitting person, referring himself, however, to the very prudent judgment of the Pope, whose most holy feet he kisses with all respect.

From San Francesco, on the Island of the Lake of Garda, 7th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

785. CARDINAL POLE to the MASTER of the SACRED PALACE [GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI.]

Most blessed Father in Christ, most dear as a brother.

Considering the cause of England the cause of God, as it in truth is, Pole willingly communicates what relates to it, to those who

* In the manuscript this letter is misdated 7th November, the local date, however, being correct.

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are most zealous for the honour of his Divine Majesty and for the advantage of his Church, and whose sentiments are the least worldly (*et manco passioni humane*). Believing the Master to be one of this class, he will tell him what follows, not merely for the sake of acquainting him with the present state of affairs, but also to obtain his assistance, most especially knowing how willingly the Pope listens to persons of his sort, and particularly to the Master himself, as Pole has frequently heard from his Holiness's own lips.

The chief point (*capo*) in this case of England is the method (*modo*) to be used for bringing back that kingdom to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and concerning this method, the opinion of those whose aim and desire are concordant, is nevertheless at variance. Pole will first state his own opinion, and then say in what he differs from others. His opinion is this. The power of God having been manifested by his so miraculously giving the kingdom to that person for whose sake the Apostolic See endangered its authority there, and that person evincing such gratitude as is heard, it seems to Pole that the mode of proceeding whereby to obtain the desired end is taught them by the Queen herself. Thus far there is no discrepancy of opinion, but here it commences; as it is seen that at this commencement of her reign her Majesty is unable to do what she wished in this matter, owing to the violent opposition of those who, having derived great profit, which they continue making, from the disobedience to the Apostolic See, cannot for their own interest consent to the proposal of this point, and yet their consent in this case is necessary. It is therefore said, that all address must be used, taking advantage from time, and allowing the matter to be well matured, and not to bring it forward at this commencement.

In this part Pole differs from others, as whilst admitting that it is necessary to proceed with address, and also to give a little time for maturing the matter, he nevertheless says, that having the Queen's disposition for a good beginning, and as according to custom, immediately after the coronation, a Parliament will be held, in which it is usual to demand the redress of wrongs endured in preceding reigns, he is therefore of opinion that so flagrant an act of injustice and impiety as the disobedience to the Apostolic See, causing such injury and detriment to the entire ecclesiastical body (*stato*), should by no means be passed over in silence, and that is the time for making the motion.

Touching the address to be used, Pole says that the Pope having appointed a Legate, if the moment has not yet come for him to go straight to England, yet is the time mature for him to be in the neighbourhood, to enable him to assist the Queen's good intention, as though it might not yet seem opportune to issue the decree for the return of the country to its obedience to the Apostolic See, there would nevertheless be time not to let Parliament adjourn without proposing this matter and negotiating, for if the Queen were inclined to do so, she might send persons to treat with Pole about the means to be devised for setting it forward, so that the measure might not be utterly roprobated (*si che egli* (*sic*) *non fosse in tutto abhorrito*) when the time should come for proposing it.

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This is his opinion about the time and the address to be used at present, and in the meanwhile the Emperor and the King of France might be requested to encourage the Queen as aforesaid.

Pole being of this mind, and on his way to act accordingly, having commenced his journey towards Flanders, was overtaken by Messer Francesco Commendone, who had been sent express to the Pope by the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino, Bishop of Imola], Legate to the Emperor, with orders to go to Pole and acquaint him with his Right Reverend Lordship's commission relating to the affairs of England. Commendone having delivered the Legate's letter, which expressed very good hopes of the cause, provided they acted with due and necessary caution,* and referred himself to the bearer's statement for further particulars; Pole inquired whether Commendone could tell him what the Legate meant by "due and necessary caution,"† because as he did not explain himself further, Pole was at a loss fully to comprehend his opinion.

Commendone replied by narrating in the first place all that he had negotiated in England, having been sent thither by the Cardinal of Imola to see and learn the state of the kingdom at this commencement, so as subsequently to dispose and negotiate the business better, and hear what hope there was for it. The substance of his report purported that after speaking with several intelligent persons, and having at length obtained admittance to the Queen, he found her no less well disposed than had been hoped; but that in this affair of obedience to the Pope (*dell' obedientia del Papa*), she nevertheless proceeded with great reserve (*rispetto*); and although she did not allow anything whatever to escape her about realizing her good will,‡ yet from what Commendone could see and learn concerning her Majesty and the kingdom, he inferred that there was need of great prudence and reserve.§

In conclusion, replying to Pole's inquiry about the interpretation of the Legate's words, Commendone said that the caution (*temperamento*) to be used in this business, related partly to the commission, given him with great secrecy, to ask as an act of grace from his Holiness, that as the Queen was so well inclined to bring back the realm to its obedience when the moment shall be opportune, he be pleased to exempt England from every interdict and censure, so that the Sacraments of the Church may be celebrated and used without any scruple of conscience, although in public they [the Catholics], like the others, consent to the schism.‖

Pole is of opinion that before making this concession, the point

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* Pur che si andasse con il debito et necessario temperamento.

† Quel che S. S^{ria} R^{ma} intendesse per il debito et necessario temperamento.

‡ Et benchè non si lasciasse intendere di cosa alcuna circa il mettere in essecutione la sua bona mente.

§ Nondimeno da quello che egli haveva potuto vedere et intender di lei et del Regno ne faceva questa conclusione, che bisognava andare con gran maturità et rispetto.

‖ In Graziani's account of Commendone's mission to England (Fléchier, pp. 48–59) this demand is not mentioned. The words of Cardinal Pole are as follows:—"Era stato comesso in gran secreto di domandare a sua Santità gratia, che havendo la Regina questo buono animo di volere secondo che il tempo servirà meglio, ridur quel Regno alla obedientia, che in questo mezzo sua Santità levasse del Regno ogni interdetto et censura acciò possino celebrare et usare i Sacramenti della Chiesa senza scrupolo di coscientia

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should be well pondered, and prays the Master freely to say what his conscience dictates in this case, he being apprehensive lest under this demand, so very pious and religious apparently, something of ill savour be concealed.* Pole also said this to Commendone, who asked him his opinion; and he told him besides that, were not he himself Legate, he should say that the most fitting reply would be to refer all that (*tutto ciò*) to the Legate, giving him the faculty, should this demand relate to the scruple of conscience, to absolve the internal scruples after some external demonstration of renouncing the schism, and not previously, as whatever the schismatics do, they do it publicly.† Pole does really not know whether he said so much to Commendone, but will assuredly say it to the Master, praying him, for his love of God, his Church, and the Apostolic See, immediately on receiving this letter, to obtain audience of the Pope about this matter, which is of great importance, and to inform his Holiness, in Pole's name, that on the one hand he has complied with the Legate's wish, by halting on his journey until he knows the Pope's will, but that to this other demand his conscience forbids him to consent.

Will await the commands of his Holiness.

From San Francesco, on the island of Garda, 8th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

786. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF IMOLA, Legate [in Germany, Geronimo Dandino].

By the Legate's order, Commendone has been with Pole, and delivered the Legate's letter, giving him detailed account of all he saw, heard, and negotiated in England. Pole told him what he thought on the subject, and when writing to the Pope, referred himself to Commendone's relation (*relatione*), merely stating his opinion, that at this commencement to pass over in silence this point of the union (*unione*) of the Church, could not but be very injurious to the cause, for the same reasons as those which the Legate will have heard from Pole's secretary, Fiordibello. Although it might seem imprudent (*immaturo*) for a Papal Legate or Nuncio to go to England at present, yet does it not seem to him by any means imprudent (*in-maturo*) to approach that neighbourhood, and commence treating the matter. Pole will await such orders as the Pope may be pleased to give him after hearing Commendone. With regard to the fitting and necessary caution (*seperamento—sic—temperamento ?*) to be taken in this matter,* Pole will agree with the Legate, provided it do not exclude the commencement of negotiation, and the subsequent discussion in the first Parliament of this point, on which he is perfectly convinced there depends not only the advantage (*beneficio*) of the Apostolic See, but the salvation (*salute*) of that entire kingdom. From Pole's past experience in similar causes (*cause*) he fears greatly that the proceeding with too many worldly considera-

* Non lateat aliquid "di non troppo buon odore."

† Facendosi publicamente tutto quello che fanno i scismatici.

‡ Quanto al conveniente et necessario seperamento da usarsi in questo negocio Io convenirò con Lei purchè non escluda eti.

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tions (*humani rispetti*) in a cause in which, as the Cardinal of Imola writes, God has so miraculously shown his power and goodness, may rather prove very injurious, irritating his Divine Majesty by the encouragements given to the wicked, whereas by proceeding throughout according to the other extreme (*che quando se procedesse in tutto per l'altro estremo*) . . . . . ‡

May the Almighty vouchsafe to inspire his Holiness, the Emperor, and the Queen with what is most for His honour, and for the benefit of the Church, and of England. Pole has not received the letter which the Legate says he sent him by the ordinary Roman post.

In the monastery of San Francesco, on the island of Garda, 9th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9 ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

787. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The Archpresbytership of Lonato, in the diocese of Verona, near the monastery where Pole now finds himself, having been conferred by the Bishop on Pole's chaplain, a Veronese, a very learned and worthy person, for no other reason than to provide for the care of souls in that place, which is of great importance, Pole requests the Pope to favour this election, and to hear from the bearer of the present letter the Bishop's rights to this nomination, he being a prelate entitled to all support, both ordinary and extraordinary, as this and all his other acts are directed to the honour of God, and the advantage of this diocese.

[Monastery of San Francesco, on the island of Garda, 9th September 1553 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 157, tergo.

788. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Duke of Northumberland and two other gentlemen [Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer], who opposed the Queen, were beheaded by her Majesty's order. To communicate this to the Porte as usual.

Ayes, 198. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11.
Miscellaneous Correspondence, Venetian Archives.

789. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

After acquainting me with the reply to be made to Cardinal Dandino, the Queen subsequently had a very earnest request made to me, to let him know that for the benefit of the incipient negotiation and for the quiet of England, Cardinal Pole should by no means come hither either as Legate or as a private individual, but that he should delay his coming until a more fitting time; and her Majesty also wished his Holiness to be very certain that this is not because she has changed her mind from what she said to Com-

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mendone, or that she should not be glad to see Cardinal Pole, as she bore the same good-will as ever towards both one and the other, but that the nature of the times required this.

Has written the whole to the [Venetian] Ambassador, Da Mulla [at Brussels?], that he may communicate it to Cardinal Dandino. The person sent by the Queen to Brussels, to bting to England the person who said he had letters for her Majesty from Cardinal Pole, did not return until today. From what Soranzo hears he came alone, but as yet he has been unable to learn any further particulars.

London, 11th September 1553.

(*Signed:*) Giacomo Soranzo, Kav^{r}, Ambasciatore.

In cipher, with contemporary decipher.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Miscellaneous Correspondence, Venetian Archives.

790. The SAME to the SAME.

Wrote to them on the 12th* what Cardinal Dandino's secretary, Francesco Commendone, negotiated with the Queen about re-uniting England to the Roman Church. Received letters subsequently from Commendone, at Brussels, informing him that as soon as he had acquainted Dandino with his negotiations, he was despatched immediately to stop, wherever he should be found, a Bishop,† whom Cardinal Pole was sending to England, and also to prevent Pole from proceeding farther; Commendone being ordered then to go to Rome to execute the commission received from her Majesty; and he urged him (Soranzo) to acquaint the Queen with this, assuring her that nothing would be done which could cause her trouble or displeasure. In consequence of this, understanding it to be generally divulged throughout England, that the Pope had determined to send Cardinal Pole thither as Legate, thought it fit that the Queen should know what Commendone wished, and by the same means as those employed for Commendone's introduction,‡ he acquainted her with what is aforesaid. The Queen gave no other answer, save that she greatly thanked Cardinal Dandino for the good-will demonstrated by him. But subsequently, from another quarter, heard that at Brussels there is another person [Henry Penning], who is bringing her letters from Cardinal Pole, but not choosing to cross the Channel without the Queen's permission, her Majesty sent him word to come, so he is expected from day to day.

London, 19th September 1553.

(*Signed:*) Giacomo Soranzo, Kav^{r}, Ambasciatore.

In cipher, with contemporary decipher.

[*Italian.*]

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* The letter has not been found.

† Richard Pate, Bishop designate of Worcester.

‡ By this it appears that the ambassador Soranzo was the person who caused Commendone, on his first arrival in London in August 1553, to be introduced to the Queen by Lee; whose name is mentioned by Graziani and Lingard.

1553.
Sept. 26.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X., v. xxi. p. 50.

791. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That ten ducats be given to Alvise Agostini, late Secretary resident in England, and the like sum to Hieronimo Zuccato, who previously held the same office there.

Ayes, 16. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Sept. 28.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

792. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Congratulates himself on the course pursued by his Holiness and the Queen with regard to the affair of England. Hopes the Pope's conjectures about the negotiations for peace between the Emperor and France may not be verified, as Pole fears, but his Holiness has at least acted in accordance with his station and piety. Suggests that a jubilee be proclaimed to invite all Christendom to pray for the restoration of England to the Church of Rome, and for the peace, and that the wrath of God may be averted. Thanks the Pope for his gracious opinion of him, which binds him the more to serve faithfully in this holy undertaking, and to proceed if necessary at the risk of his life, without any regard for his own interests or those of any of his kinsfolk (*ò de alcuno de' mei*), using all possible caution so that all his actions may prove to the comfort and honour of his Holiness, whom he refers for further particulars to the bearer of the present letter. Did not receive the Pope's letters and brief until last evening, and tomorrow morning will set out on his journey (*mi metterò in viaggio*) with all diligence.

From the Island of the Lake of Garda, 28th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Misdated in MS. 20 November.

793. CARDINAL POLE to his Secretary FIORDIBELLO [at Brussels].

Since Fiordibello's arrival at the Court, has received letters from him dated 1st, 2nd, 8th, 12th, 16th, and 18th instant, giving full account of all that he has negotiated with the Legate [Cardinal Dandino] and the Bishop of Arras, and is much satisfied with his diligence. After the arrival of Commendone, whilst awaiting the Pope's decision about his own journey, Pole received on the sudden last evening a despatch assigning him a fresh legation, so he purposes continuing his journey tomorrow morning with speed. Is writing to Cardinal Dandino, requesting him, should he not have any other order from his Holiness about announcing this new legation to the Emperor, to perform the office with his Majesty in such form as he shall deem expedient. Has also requested Cardinal Dandino, should his departure take place before Pole's arrival at the Imperial Court, to let him know what road he takes, that Pole may meet him, which he is very anxious to do, that he may obtain from him such information and warnings as may be expected from his prudence and affection; and in that case, Fiordibello may be the person to bring Pole the news, but

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he is to regulate himself throughout according to Dandino's opinion. Refers himself for the rest to [the letter of] Monsignor Priuli.

[From the Island of the Lake of Garda, 28th September (?)* 1553.]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

794. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore partis die sup^to.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Senato Terra, v. xxxix. p. 51, tergo.

795. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate.

It being fitting for their beloved nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, Ambassador-elect to England, to be instructed about current affairs, having shortly to go on his legation—

Put to the ballot, that said Ser Zuan Michiel, Ambassador-elect to England, may come into this Council, but without the right to ballot, as done by all other Ambassadors-elect.

Ayes, 205. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Senato Mar, v. xxxii. p. 104, tergo.

796. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Confirmation of the motion made on the 2nd September authorizing Ser Zuan Michiel to sit in the Senate.

Ayes, 205. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

797. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Wrote to the Pope on the 28th [September], the day before his departure from the Island of the Lake of Garda, and arrived today at Trent, being greeted and received by the Cardinal Bishop with all love and courtesy. On the road, near Trent, was overtaken by a courier despatched express by his secretary Fiordibello from Brussels on the 24th ultimo, having come in six days, and bringing him letters from the first messenger sent by him to England [Henry Penning], the same who brought him the briefs of his first legation; the copies of which letters, translated *ad verbum* from the English, the Pope will receive with this present; nor has he anything more to say on this subject, save to congratulate his Holiness on the excellent will and disposition clearly evinced by the Queen through her demand for absolution. Her Majesty having given this hint, Pole, in accordance with the license (*licenza*) given him by the Pope in this matter, will write to her that this same demand having been already made of his Holiness in her name [by Commendone ?], he wrote to ole that he Pwould by all means (*in ogni modo*) grant her this consolation, proceeding

* I derive the date from the preceding letter alluding to the Pope's brief, etc.

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however with the utmost secrecy in compliance with her desire; and that her Majesty may thus remain with her conscience perfectly at ease (*sicurissima in conscientia*), as the Lord God sees her heart, she having also heard the will of his Vicar through his Legate; but that Pole will nevertheless endeavour to obtain the absolution in writing, keeping it in his own possession, and giving notice of it to the Queen by this third messenger, whom he purposes despatching express immediately, by so much the more willingly as he has now received this reply, and to comfort the Queen respecting her *pious wish*. Has not yet translated the Queen's letter into Italian, but, when translated, will send a copy of it as he did of the others, that the Pope (should he please) may see in detail what he wrote.* The particulars of these letters have not been communicated by him—nor will he communicate them—to any persons save those employed by him for writing. Has merely said, as he will continue doing for the future to those who shall ask him the substance of what his messenger wrote to him, that he found the Queen excellently and piously disposed towards God and his Church, and especially towards Pole himself individually. Will not weary the Pope further, as the rest of the information he has to give him will be contained in a letter he is writing to the Cardinal del Monte; and with all due reverence he kisses the Pope's feet, praying God long to preserve and prosper him for the benefit of his holy Church.

From Trent, 1st October 1553.

P.S.—Is compelled to remain at Trent tomorrow, to despatch a messenger express to England with letters to the Queen, in reply to what Her Majesty wishes about [spiritual] consolation, as the Pope has heard; and he simultaneously gives the Queen notice of this new office enjoined him, to endeavour to make peace between the Emperor and France, so that he necessarily has an opportunity for approaching England, which he hopes she will be glad to hear, her mind being bent, as it is, on treating at any rate in this present Parliament, the repeal of the iniquitous laws introduced into the realm, amongst which this one of the Supremacy is the chief. Pole exhorts her to the utmost thus to do in this third letter, which he has already written to her, as the Pope (should he please) can see. Hopes it will become more and more manifest daily that God inspired the Pope to give him this new appointment; and should it not prove as efficacious with the sovereigns as desired, though he will not quite despair of some road being opened by the Almighty to the honour of his Holiness, yet at any rate it may be hoped that by this journey Pole will be enabled greatly to benefit the first design.

Pole also purposes despatching his Abbot [of San Saluto] from Trent to France.

From Trent, 1st October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

* Acciochè vestra Santità piacendoli possa intendere particolarmente quel chè Io ho scritto.

1553.
Oct. 1.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

798. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DEL MONTE.

Wrote to the Pope on the 28th ultimo, and departed from the Isola del Lago de Garda on the morrow. Arrived today at Trent, where the Cardinal Bishop received him most lovingly and with every sort of courtesy. Has sent one of his attendants express to France with letters of credence to the most Christian King, to the Constable [Anne Duke de Montmorency], to the Cardinal of Lorraine [Charles de Guise, Archbishop of Rheims], to the Cardinal Legate [Gieronimo Capodiferro], and to Cardinal Farnese, acquainting them with this new office, assigned him by the Pope, and with his wish to be with the King of France immediately after having seen the Emperor, to carry out his Holiness's pious and holy wish to conclude the peace, for the general benefit of all Christendom. Pole thought it advisable to do this, both to show that the King of France was held in due account, and also to prove that this legation has not been appointed solely for appearance and as an introduction to the other, but from the Pope's wish to attempt the accomplishment of so salutary a measure by several means.† In order to send off this express, Pole is obliged to remain at Trent during tomorrow, and will then continue his journey with speed. Will not say anything more to Cardinal del Monte about the advices from England, referring himself to what he is writing on the subject to the Pope.

From Trent, 1st October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

799. CARDINAL POLE to HENRY II., KING OF FRANCE.

Through the many and constant good offices performed by the Pope with his Majesty and the Emperor, exhorting them both to make peace, the King of France will have understood his just and pious desire to obtain this grace from God and their Majesties; and his Holiness, persevering more and more daily in this holy purpose, not choosing to omit any means for obtaining so great a benefit for Christendom—and especially for their Majesties and their kingdoms—and having thought fit to recall the two Legates [Capodiferro and Dandino], hitherto resident with their Majesties, has been pleased to make choice of Pole, appointing him Legate to both one and the other of them at the same time to this effect. Being now on his way to their Majesties with all speed, has thought it his duty to send the Abbot of San Saluto‡ in advance with this letter, for presentation to the King of France. Requests his Majesty to give him audience and credence for the statement which he will make in Pole's name. In the meanwhile, Pole will not cease praying God to grant him the grace to be a good and able instrument for this so

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* Cristoforo del Monte, cousin of Pope Julius III. *See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 306, 307.

† Mention of this legation is made in the Foreign Calendar 1553–1558 (October 27th 1553), in a letter from Dr. Wotton to the Queen.

‡ In the MS. from which I am translating, the name is written San Saluto in abbreviation of San Solutore; an abbacy held by a Piedmontese gentleman, Cavaliere Vincenzo Parpaglia. (*See* Pallavicino, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, vol. iii. p. 288: ed. Faenza, 1793.)

1553. salutary a work, for the honour of God and general benefit of all Christendom.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

800. CARDINAL POLE to the CONSTABLE OF FRANCE [ANNE DE MONTMORENCY].

The Pope has given him this new appointment of Legate for the peace, to the Emperor and the most Christian King. Would that it were possible for him to be with both their Majesties at one and the same time; but being already on his way to Flanders, he has thought fit in the meanwhile to send the bearer of the present letter, the Abbot of S. Saluto, to his Majesty. Has desired the Abbot to avail himself of the Constable's mediation and favour, for his communications with the King, on which he relies for the promotion of a work so beneficial for all Christendom.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

801. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF ST. GEORGE [GIERONIMO CAPODIFERRO, Legate in France].

Immediately on being informed of the new legation assigned him by the Pope and the Sacred College, he proceeded on his way towards Flanders with all speed; and in the meanwhile is sending the Abbot of San Saluto to his Majesty. The Abbot is the bearer of the present letter, and Pole has desired him to apply to the Cardinal of St. George; for such information and suggestions as may be anticipated from his prudence and experience of the business.

From Trent, 2nd October.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

802. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL FARNESE.

Cardinal Farnese assures Pole, in his most affectionate letter, that the grief caused him by the dire catastrophe (*dell' acerbissimo caso*) which befell his brother Duke Oratio, was somewhat mitigated by what he heard of the prosperous events in England. Pole in like manner heard the two events simultaneously, and the deep regret felt by him for the one for a long while modified his joy for the other, to the surprise of those who were with him at the time; and if he has so long delayed endeavouring to console the Cardinal and himself, it was not from lack of his constant wish to do so, nor from his having failed frequently to make the attempt. This involuntary silence is now followed by the great satisfaction derived by Pole from the expression of the Cardinal's sincere affection, and his belief that it is reciprocated. Pole also rejoices to hear from him how much the prosperous and miraculous events in England have gratified the King of France, on account of the service of God and of the Church, as he had heard through another channel. Is very certain that the Cardinal does his utmost to encourage the King to

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use his great authority in England, for the advantage of the cause of God and of his Church. Would wish to see the Emperor and the King united in so glorious an undertaking. Will endeavour with all his might to exhort them accordingly; and the legation [in England] assigned him by the Pope, will render it necessary for him to confer with their Majesties, concerning which he wrote lately to Cardinal Farnese and to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

From the monastery "del Isola," 28th October (*sic*) [28th September?] 1553.

Delayed sending the foregoing letter, that he might be able to write more positively about his departure towards Flanders; which decision has arrived unexpectedly, the Pope having now assigned him this new legation for the purpose of endeavouring to make the peace; so he immediately commenced the journey, and after having been with the Emperor, will proceed forthwith to the Court of France. In the meanwhile, is sending his Abbot (*mio Abbate*) [Parpaglia] to the King, and has charged him expressly to take the Cardinal's prudent and loving counsel, on which Pole relies much by reason of Farnese's great experience in similar negotiations.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date in MS.

803. CARDINAL POLE to the NUNCIO [PROSPERO]* SANTA CROCE [in France].

The Pope having assigned him this new charge to continue the negotiation for peace between the Sovereigns, and being already on his way to the Emperor, he has determined to send his Abbot of San Saluto in advance, to his most Christian Majesty, with such commission as the Nuncio will learn from him. Requests Santa Croce to give the Abbot all necessary assistance for the benefit of the cause; and for further particulars refers himself to the Abbot.

[Trent, 2nd October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

804. THE SAME to the CARDINAL OF MANTUA.

Having quitted Maguzzano with the intention of proceeding towards Flanders to perform his first legation about the affairs of England, he wrote to the Cardinal that this legation comprised two objects, the chief of which was the mission to the Queen, the other his conference with the Emperor and the King of France; and that as the road to the first was not then open, he purposed having recourse (*de recorere*) to the other, aud being unable to rest on the right side to try the left. But scarcely had he reached the Island of the Lake, when a messenger [Commendone] arrived from the Legate Dandino, which caused him to halt; and whilst suspecting that the second road likewise would be barred him, news

* The christian name of the Nuncio is given in Pallavicino (vol. iii. p. 281). He must not be confounded with the Cardinal Santa Croce.

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arrived of the new Legation which the Pope and the Sacred College have been pleased to assign him, so that the conference with the Emperor and France, which was at first accessory, has now become the principal object. So he immediately set out for Trent, where he arrived on the day before yesterday, being received by the Cardinal-Bishop as affectionately as the Cardinal of Mantua may imagine, and to morrow purposes continuing his journey. Will not say more about his last news from England, referring himself to the bearer of the present letter, Messer Gio. Paulo Scaino, whom he sends on account in great measure of his good parts and qualities, and also loves him so much the more because he knows him to be the devoted and affectionate servant of the Cardinal of Mantua; and seeing him anxious to serve the Cardinal professionally, as he did heretofore, Pole writes to his Lordship, not so much to recommend him, being convinced he has no need of recommendation, as that the Cardinal may know that in like manner as Pole considers Scaino very well worthy of this grace, so will he consider it a favour done to himself.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

805. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

Since the very agreeable (*gratissima*) news received by him of her Majesty's successes, he has already written twice * by two separate messengers, congratulating her, as he does constantly in his heart, as also the whole kingdom and the entire Church, on her miraculous exaltation to the throne; giving her moreover notice that his Holiness, on receiving such joyful intelligence, immediately created him Legate, to congratulate her in the Pope's name,† and at the same time gave all such faculties for the dispensation of favours, as would enable him in the present case to comfort her Majesty's pious and religious mind, with which everybody is convinced she has been endowed by the goodness of God for the benefit of the kingdom and of his entire Church. Although Pole has received no reply to those letters,‡ he is nevertheless moved to write this third letter to her Highness, owing to the reply received by him from the Emperor to his congratulations on the same subject. He also acquainted the Emperor with his legation to the Queen, which had no other end than to unite England to the head and to the entire body of the Catholic Church, on which union the establishment of the Queen's throne and the spiritual and temporal welfare and prosperity of the realm depend. He requested the Emperor to confirm the Queen in the pious and religious purpose which she doubtless entertained; and that he would aid it with his great prudence, so that all impediments being removed, the desired result might be obtained; he, Pole, as the instrument of his

* *See* letters dated 13th and 27th August 1553.

† *See* letter of the 13th August.

‡ The reply dated Westminster, 8th October 1553, was received by Pole at Dillingen on the 19th October 1553.

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CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY, (2nd Oct.)

Holiness, and as a member of that kingdom in which he was born, offering his best services in this cause (with due regard for the Pope, as also for the Emperor), to adjust the difficulties between the Apostolic See and England, for the benefit of both parties.

To this letter the Bishop of Arras [Antoine de Granvelle] replied by the Emperor's order, graciously returning thanks for the congratulations, and approving the Pope's election of Pole as Legate for this cause, and agreeing with Pole about ultimately uniting England to the Church, and rendering the due obedience to the Roman See; though he was not of opinion that it was yet time to attempt this, by reason of the many dangers which might arise at this commencement, as on no account are the people so ready to rebel as on that of religion. His Imperial Majesty therefore thinks it would be prudent for the Queen to delay this matter until well confirmed and established on her throne; and that Pole's legation should be deferred to another time, when the Emperor would do his utmost to obtain the desired result.

Such was the Emperor's answer to Pole's letter. Pole cannot deny that it was the answer of a prudent Prince, such as he is; and most especially of one who, having encountered so many difficulties from this same cause, has greater reason to weigh the dangers, in addition to his wish and anxiety (*desiderio e gelosia*) to see the Queen reign undisturbedly (*senza travaglio*). This the Queen can only interpret to mean that she should avoid whatever may give cause for tumult, as thus anticipated by the Emperor, which advice Pole would recommend her to follow, did he not clearly perceive that through the whole course of her life hitherto, both in this her accession to the Crown and on other occasions, she has always been guided by a greater light than could be given her by human prudence, and it being also manifest that the cause of the supremacy of the Roman Church is not of such a sort as to be treated with similar arguments based on human prudence; so he is more and more convinced that the counsel which it behoves the Emperor to give, as a prudent Prince friendly to the Queen, cannot reasonably be followed by her, for the cause already mentioned. That which would perhaps be less unbecoming in anybody else, could not but be most unfitting in the person of the Queen, when she calls to mind the great benefits received by her from God, and the light which his Divine goodness has always given her in matters of religion beyond that of any human prudence.

Amongst other things, she has here to remember the time when, by the iniquity of the rulers, the religion was so persecuted in England that from schism it fell to manifest heresy, the sacraments, especially the one styled "*sacramentum sacramentorum*," to which all the others are directed (*indrizati*), being abolished. At that time the Bishops of England, and many learned men, who refused their consent to such iniquities, were despoiled of their revenues and imprisoned; no one else having the courage to profess the true religion. If ever there had been a time for those who had regard for worldly honour, and for the preservation of their state (on which human prudence is always chiefly intent), to dissemble, it was then. Who had

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ever greater cause to act thus than the Queen—her brother being already perverted by his Governors, and she herself, by miracle, not following the same religion? When was her state ever in greater danger than then? Yet would she never allow herself to be vanquished in the least by their malice, although it had already reached such a pitch that her chaplains were imprisoned for having performed their office. What more could they do, unless it were to lay hands on her royal person? And still God gave her always that light and strength of mind which was needed, as oil to feed the light of true religion in her, to be seen by the rest of the kingdom (*per esser visto dal resto del regno*), as if it were the light of a lantern placed in a dark place when all other lights seemed put out, that the light in Israel might not be extinguished. This was the grace which at that time God gave her Highness, a light supernatural as it were, independent of all human foresight, guiding and not allowing her to fall, by concealing her true piety and religion, although the danger of her state was placed constantly before her eyes.

The divine grace therefore having preserved her most virtuous Highness's (*virtuosissima Madama*) light of religion and piety, as it were in a lantern, during such stormy times, will it be fitting—now that God has transformed that great tempest into such a calm, placing the government of the kingdom in the Queen's hands, and choosing as it were that the light which formerly burned dim in a lantern, (*in una lanterna*) be now placed *super candelabrum ut luceat omnibus*—to dissemble at such a moment the cause which concerns the union and obedience of the Church?—which obedience was abolished in England by human malice, at the commencement, together with the sacraments. What else would this be but to do contrary to what is said by Christ himself, who gave the Queen her light? "No man when he hath lighted a candle (*lucernam*) placeth it under a bushel, but on a candlestick (*candelabrum*), that it may give light to all who are in the house" (*ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt*).* How could it be reasonable for the Queen to dissemble this cause of the union and obedience of the Church, and to hide this light under the bushel, Christ having placed her on the throne, that she might set it on a candlestick to be seen by the whole kingdom, and to give light to everybody? and how can it become her to do this from fear of turmoil, after having been freed by Christ from such manifest perils, when she was destitute of all human aid and protection, He showing that his hand is with her, and that it has dispersed the storm which was coming against her? The Queen (*nobelissima Madama*) should therefore consider what dishonour it would be for the Lord and spouse of her soul, if, having come to her, that she and all others might see him, her Highness were to turn back, lamp (*lampada*) in hand, as if it lacked oil, and she were going to the vendors to keep her light burning, although she had sufficient oil given her by favour

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of her said Lord and Spouse, who expects to be better seen and known by the light which his oil has hitherto fed, than by that light which may be fed with the oil sold in the shops of human prudence (*nelle botteghe della prudentia humana*).

If therefore the Queen considers well (as Pole does not doubt she will, much better than he can express it) what God has constantly done for her, she will immediately know what counsel it is best and most fitting for her to follow in this case. Nor does he give the warning because he believes it to be so very necessary, but rather because others counsel her to dissemble the point of the obedience and supremacy of the Church for a while, as he believes many do, and above all, the Emperor; but, the greater his prudence and the more he desires and favours the Queen's establishment, the less can he at first sight give her any other counsel than he has done. As his Imperial Majesty, by reason of his long and varied experience, sees and knows this danger of the Crown (*pericolo di Stato*), Pole's wish would be that the Queen, acknowledging, as she ought, such light as God has given her, should remove this fear from his mind, and encourage him with regard to that point about which he has not the heart to encourage her; doing this by means of the example already afforded by God in the Queen's own person, through his having released her from other greater dangers; that as it has hitherto been He who always defended and assisted her, because she never hid that light which His divine goodness had given her, so is it to be hoped that He will assist her much more at present, by reason of the greater honour and service which will thence redound (*ritornare*) to his Divine Majesty, especially as that light shall be diffused and seen by all men, through the sublime station (*sublime luogo*) in which God has placed her.

With regard to this matter the Queen might make it clear to his Majesty how the Divine goodness has provided for the removal of well-nigh all the difficulties which he fears may arise on proposing in the first Parliament the affair of the supremacy of the Church, as the whole body of the Parliament consisting of the people, the Lords, and the ecclesiastics, should any of those three estates raise any difficulty, it will proceed from that one, which, by the suppression (*esclusione*) of the obedience of the Church has derived thence and continues to derive emolument; this estate being but one of the three, and forming but a small minority. From the other two estates, not only is no difficulty or opposition whatever to be apprehended with regard to this cause, but they may, on the contrary, be reasonably expected to give it all favour and assistance, the ecclesiastical estate having always suffered for this cause both in their honour and property; the people, in like manner, having suffered very great detriment, as since the abolition of the obedience of the Church, they have been more and more oppressed daily. With regard to the estate of the temporal nobility, which seems to have derived some profit and advantage from the disobedience to the Roman Church (*dalla desobedientia della Chiesa Romana*), besides their not being many in number, as already stated, the majority of them are those

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who hold possession of their property by the Queen's graciousness and clemency; so from the gratitude due to her, if not on any other account, it cannot be supposed that they alone will oppose the royal will, and what is in like manner required for the benefit and establishment of the Queen's right to the Crown, which, without this act, might always be disputed, on the plea of its being schismatic.

If Pole be worthy to obtain any favour from the Queen respecting what he desires and demands, solely for the honour of God, and for the Queen's own advantage, and that of the entire kingdom, he would humbly request her to tranquillize the Emperor on this point before Pole's arrival at his Court, he being now appointed Legate to him and to the King of France by the Pope, in addition to his first Legation to the Queen, to negotiate peace between their Majesties, for the quiet and advantage of all Christendom. Were Pole, therefore, by the Queen's means, to find the Emperor relieved from the fear which renders him averse to the discussion in the first Parliament of the matter of the "obedience" and the "supremacy of the Church," Pole knows how much it would conduce to the speedy success of what is desired.

Respecting the time of the meeting of Parliament, which the Emperor considers unsuited to the negotiation of this business, the Queen has to consider whether any other time could be so proper, so suitable, and so necessary for the proposal of this measure as that of the first session of Parliament, and how it could accord with her obligation to God, with the love she bears her own kingdom, and with the establishment of her throne (*stato*), that—it being the ancient custom of the realm for the first Parliament of a new reign to reform all the acts of injustice perpetrated by past rulers, and make good provision for the future—so great an injustice as that of the disobedience of the Church, causing such calamity and affliction to the kingdom that the like never befel it from any enemy, should be passed over in silence, and without being put forward, most especially as on such an occasion a good resolution is necessary to remove any sort of opposition which might hereafter be made to the Queen's just title to her Crown, which, so long as she can be reproached with the name of schismatic, will always be liable to some attack.

Pole therefore assures the Queen (*nobilissima Madama*) that any person pondering the matter well, will perceive that for the honour of God, for the welfare of the Church, and for the establishment of her own Crown, this cause cannot be allowed, as may be done with regard to many others relating to civil justice, to pass without being treated in the first Parliament; and this is the point about which many persons deceive themselves, from not well understanding the quality of this cause, treating it as a civil one, such as is wont to be treated according to human prudence, whereas it is quite of another sort. Nor has it even to be debated in Council, whether obedience to the head of the Church should be acknowledged or not, as that has been already determined by the council of God. But in the royal Council the Queen has merely

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to make manifest her debt to God and His Church; and as this encounters many difficulties on account of those who, whilst assenting to the measure, fear the loss of their property, human prudence is therefore required whereby to find means for the removal of similar obstacles. And this is what Pole asked of the Emperor, that he would use his influence with the Pope, as supreme arbiter and moderator of all these and similar matters, and be mediator, thus demonstrating his love for the Queen, so that this cause might be duly and maturely concluded with greater satisfaction to all parties; and in like manner as it was Pole's opinion that it became the Emperor's honour to assume this person of mediator, so has the Queen just reason to make this demand of his Imperial Majesty, who, by accepting it, can but derive great honour thence with little difficulty, the Pope being so much inclined to gratify the Queen and the kingdom, that nothing could be demanded for her own consolation and the benefit of the realm, and all its inhabitants, which his Holiness is not ready to grant. To this none can bear more ample testimony than Pole himself, by reason of the very full powers which he has received from the Pope in this cause. If the Emperor proceed thus in this business at the Queen's request, its conclusion will be easy, honourable, profitable, and agreeable to all parties.

From Trent, the 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

806. CARDINAL POLE to EDWARD COURTENAY, Marquis of Exeter.

The greater the joy felt by Pole internally for his cousin's release from distress and imprisonment, and for the recovery of his state and property, the less able is he to express it externally by words to his satisfaction, though his love for Courtenay will not allow him to omit demonstrating it as he best may by letter; nor can his congratulations on Courtenay's individual good fortune be complete, unless they include those for the common weal, which God has granted to England, and on which Courtenay's personal welfare depends; in like manner as no one can rejoice at any good fruit without rejoicing at the tree which produced it, and also with the planter of that tree. In the present case, the tree is the goodness of the Queen, who has been placed on the throne by the miraculous hand of God, for the consolation of all lovers of virtue and piety, and most especially of those who have suffered on that account. That the Queen by this first fruit of her justice should have relieved Courtenay from such unjust oppression, cannot but give great pleasure to all those who see and hear of it; above all, because he is the flower of the ancient nobility of England which its adversaries sought especially to destroy root and branch. This is the first joy felt by Pole at so gracious an act performed by the Queen, and it is common to many others; but Pole's personal joy proceeds from the singular love which he bears Courtenay, not solely from the natural

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ties of kindred, but by reason of the affection and love which Courtenay's most illustrious father always evinced both towards Pole and his brother; and the late Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montacute having been so linked by God in sincere affection throughout their lives, He would not at the last hour allow them to be separated, both dying together for the same cause,* which was that of God, the most noble and glorious of any.

But to return to what was said about the love of Courtenay's father for Pole, he mentions the following pledge (*pegno*). On Pole's last departure from England [for Avignon, in 1531], he was the last English nobleman with whom Pole spoke, being invited to go and see him, as he was then sick; and the first words uttered to him by the Marquis were, "Lord Cousin Pole, your departure from the realm at this present time, shows in what a miserable state we find ourselves. It is to the universal shame of all us nobles, who allow you to absent yourself, when we ought most to avail ourselves of your presence; but being unable to find any other remedy for this, we pray God to find it himself." These were the last words he ever said to Pole, which, proceeding as they did from the cordial love he bore him, Pole has always treasured in his heart; and this causes him to rejoice at all the good fortune of England, most especially as it shows yet more clearly that the remedy for which he said they must pray to God has already arrived, in such a form that the whole world can see that it proceeded solely from Divine providence, which ordained that as the misery of that period, and all that ensued subsequently, came through a woman, so should reparation come through a virgin, their gracious Queen.

Courtenay will thus clearly know the double cause which Pole has for his joy and comfort at all Courtenay's prosperity; and the third cause of his rejoicing, and which confirms both the others is, that he hears from many persons who know Courtenay, and are of sound judgment, that during the whole period of his tribulation, although under bodily imprisonment, and utterly deprived of his revenue, all his estates being confiscated, yet did he nevertheless comfort himself in such a way, that so far as his tender age in so hard a case could demonstrate, it was clearly manifest that the nobility of his mind and the imitation of his father's virtues, the greatest inheritance that a father can leave his son, were never imprisoned nor taken from him. This is a very great comfort to all who have regard for his honour; and seeing him already arrived at years of discretion, and by the Providence of God, and by means of her most gracious Majesty, set at liberty, they firmly hope also to see and enjoy the mature fruits of his virtue in all things relating to the honour of God, and of his Holy Church, for the consolation in the first place of his mistress supreme (*vostra suprema signora*), and secondly, of all the friends of his true honour and prosperity, amongst whom Pole considers himself one who does not give way to any other. In conclusion, recommends himself to his most illustrious cousin and

* On Tower Hill, 9th January 1540.

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Lord until such time as it shall please God to make the road for him, and open the door, so that he may personally congratulate Courtenay, whom he requests to perform the like due office in Pole's name, cordially and affectionately, with his most illustrious mother.*

Is writing this letter on his way to Germany, towards the Court of the Emperor, to whom and to the King of France conjointly he has been sent as Legate by the Pope, to treat the peace between them. Hopes the Almighty will vouchsafe to grant it, for the consolation and benefit of all Christendom.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x

807. QUEEN MARY to CARDINAL POLE, translated [into Italian] from the English.

Good Cousin, and most blessed Father in Christ.

The bearer of the present letter, his secretary,† consigned to her Pole's letters, whereby she clearly understood the continuance of his usual entire (*intiero*) love and zeal, with regard to England, his native land, and its true heirs, and the declaration of his joy at what it has pleased the Almighty to do in demonstration of his justice and mercy towards her. She considers herself not a little obliged to Pole for his good warning (*avertimento*), as understood by his letters; for which advice, even were he not joined to her by nature as he is, she should nevertheless be bound to return him most cordial acknowledgments, assuring him that—through the assistance of the grace of God, to whom she feels very much bound to render the most humble thanks for this—she never was, nor is, and hopes of His mercy she never shall be, opposed to Pole's good and spiritual exhortation, as contained in his said letters. With regard to her obedience and due devotion towards the Church of Christ, and her spiritual mother, his Catholic and Apostolic Church; the bearer, who can render good testimony,‡ will be able to inform Pole fully what pain the Queen feels from being unable as yet by any fitting means, to manifest the whole intent of her heart in this matter; but so soon as it shall be in her power, by any suitable and possible mode, to declare to the world her due and sincere intention (*animo*), and the obedience (*et l' obedientia*), by executing it thoroughly (*compitamente*), should it please God, she will not fail announcing this to Pole.

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* Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy. (*See* Burke's Extinct Peerages, p. 147.)

† Henry Penning; *see* Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 294.

‡ Per il quale ancora che non foste congiunto meco per natura si come sete, Io non dimeno sarei obligata a rendervi cordialissimi ringratiamenti, assicurandovi per l'assistentia della gratia del Sigr. Idio al quale Io me sento obligatissima a render di ciò humilissime gratie che Io non mai fu ne sono, nè come in sua misericordia spero sarò mai contraria alla vostra buona e spirituale esortatione contenuta nelle ditte vostre lettere. Circa alla mia obbedientia e debita devotione verso la chiesa di Cristo e mia madre spirituale la sua Ciattolica et apostolica chiesa il portator di questo potrà poi a lungo informarvi il quale po esser bon testimonio.

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And as to her coronation, his secretary will be able to tell him all the circumstances of it,* and many other things besides, with which she acquainted him, having full trust in the miraculous mercy of God, that this Parliament will abolish all those statutes which have been the origin in England of their afflictions (*piaghe*). She then hopes to obtain a general pardon from the Pope, to whom she prays Pole to render her most humble thanks for his multiplied goodness shown her at the present time, requesting his Holiness to persevere therein, and forthwith to pardon her the offences already committed; and remaining in good hope through Pole's medium and procurement, he having given her such just cause to consider herself well assured of his friendship, she recommends him to the Holy Spirit, praying it to remunerate him for his courtesy shown her in this cause; and thus with her most cordial recommendations will she end.

In our Palace of Westminster, 8th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]†

Oct. 19.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

808. CARDINAL POLE to MESSER CARLO GUALTERUZZI.

Condoles with him on the death of his son Messer Goro, as heard by letters from Messer Gio. Francesco whilst Pole was in joy and gladness at Dillingen; but as the same letters purported that he made a Christian end, and that Gualteruzzi bore it with Christian resignation, Pole consoled himself, and considered it well nigh an act of Divine Providence that Gualteruzzi, foreseeing as it were the catastrophe, was moved to demand the favour of the "*motu proprio*," so that his office might not lapse; which favour, Messer Gio. Francesco writes, will be granted by the Pope without any difficulty, and Pole has charged him if necessary again to petition his Holiness warmly in Pole's name. For the rest he refers himself to their (*nostro*) Monsignor Priuli, and exhorts Gualteruzzi to resign himself to the will of God.

From Dillingen, 19th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date in MS.

809. The SAME to the CARDINAL OF TRENT.

Whilst waiting here [at Dillingen] (*mentre che io stava qui aspettando*) for the safe-conducts from the Duke of Würtemberg and the Count Palatine, the first messenger [Henry Penning] sent by him to England, arrived with letters from the Queen written to him in her own hand, the copy of which the Cardinal will see, as also of a letter written to Pole by Fiordibello from the [Imperial] Court. From this messenger the Cardinal of Trent will hear additional

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* The coronation had taken place on the 1st of October. (*See* Froude, vol. vi. p. 101, ed. 1860.) This letter was received by Pole at Trent on the 19th October.

† As stated in the heading, the letter was translated from the original English, and this is evidently the letter to which Pole alluded when writing to the Queen from Dillingen, on the 1st December 1553, and complaining of her having then written to him "latino sermone et non patrio, quo solent principes cum suis agere, sive scribant, sive loquantur, *quo etiam ipsa paucis ante diebus ad me scripserat*, equidem non potui non mirari." A Latin version of the letter exists in Quirini's 4th vol., pp. 429, 430, without any mention of its having been translated from the English.

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news, both of English affairs and of the Imperial Court, towards which, God willing, Pole will proceed on the day after tomorrow. Hopes in the meanwhile to receive the safe-conduct from the Palatine, in like manner as he has received the one from the Duke of Würtemberg, by means of the Cardinal of Augsburg, of whose courteous and affectionate reception of Pole it is needless for him to speak. Is of opinion that Divine Providence supplied him with the Cardinals of Augsburg and of Trent, as with two great and necessary aids and references (*aiuti et indrizzi*) in this business. Providence has also decreed that in like manner as in the house of the Cardinal of Trent, he received the first good news from England, so should the second reach him here at Dillingen.

Thus far Pole has availed himself of the services of Messer Giovanni Giacomo, who was sent to him, according to the orders of the Cardinal of Trent, by the Bishop elect (*da Monsr. eletto*). Is much satisfied with his management, and would have trusted to him for the rest of the journey, had not the Cardinal of Augsburg thought it desirable that Pole should take one of his people, who is very conversant with each individual place through which he has to pass as he proceeds on his way. Is therefore sending Messer Giovanni Giacomo back, together with the mules, one of which he has taken the liberty to retain.

Supposes that on the arrival of this letter his nephew* will be already on the road, but should his indisposition detain him with the Cardinal of Trent it is unnecessary for Pole to recommend him further, knowing with how much courtesy he always considers Pole and all he has recommended to him. Refers him for the rest to the bearer of this letter, and humbly kisses his hands.

[Dillingen, 20th October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

810. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DEL MONTE.

Wrote to the Cardinal when about to quit Trent, and then came on here to Dillingen, where they were received by the Cardinal of Augsburg as lovingly and courteously as could be desired, and by good fortune there met the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino] with whom he remained a day. Was compelled to stay five days more waiting for the safe-conduct from the Duke of Würtemberg and from the Count Palatine, which last he has now received; so tomorrow, God willing, he will proceed towards Spires, where he thinks of embarking. Yesterday he was joined by the first messenger sent by him to England [Henry Penning], who will be the bearer of the present letter, Pole having thought fit to send him to the Pope that he may give his Holiness full account of the affairs of England; and to him he also refers the Cardinal, kissing his hands.

From Dillingen, 20th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

* Thomas Stafford?

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811. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod xxiv. Cl. x.

Wrote to his Holiness from Trent, enclosing copy of a letter written to him by his messenger in England [Henry Penning], and Pole having come on subsequently to Dillingen, where he has been compelled to remain, awaiting the safe-conduct from the Duke of Würtemberg and from the Count Palatine, has been joined by this messenger, who has returned from England. Thinks it fit to send him express to the Pope, that he may give him full account of everything, and he will also bring a copy of the autograph letter written to Pole by the Queen.* Congratulates the Pope with his whole heart, for that the Lord God vouchsafes more and more daily to favour his excellent intention with regard to this holy work, as it may be hoped he will continue to do until the end, to the glory of his Divine Majesty, to the benefit of Christendom, and to the especial advantage of his Holiness's pontificate. As Pole believes that this messenger [Henry Penning ?] may reach Rome before the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino], he will not omit to tell the Pope that he met him, and that they remained together a day. The Cardinal of Imola did not deceive himself in the least about the way in which the first announcement of Pole's second legation to the Imperial Court would be received, as the Pope will perceive by the copy of the letter from Fiordibello, which he is sending to his agent.† Leaves it to the Pope's extreme prudence whether it shall seem expedient—as it would seem to him, Pole—not to allow the Queen's letter to circulate (*di non lasciar uscire fuori la lettera della Regina*); and for the rest he refers himself to the messenger's statement humbly kissing the feet of his Holiness, whom he prays God long to preserve for the benefit of his Church.

From Dillingen, 21st October 1553.

PS.—The farther Pole proceeds on his way towards England, the more clearly does he perceive what a stormy sea he has to traverse. Thus far he has been on the mainland, always in the midst of friends. Has now to commence traversing the towns of the Lutherans, and although provided with a safe-conduct, yet is it notorious how ill affected they are towards the Pope by whom he is sent, and towards the object of his mission. In the next place, he has to pass through places which are almost all suspected of plague and infected with it, according to general report, and through the towns of the Count Palatine. Should these obstacles, by God's grace, be overcome, it will remain for him to encounter the Imperial Court, a gulf as it were of the sea, from which hitherto a very contrary wind seems to blow, to say nothing more of the opposition he will meet with in England, should it please God that he arrive there. Writes this to the Pope for no other reason, than to show him how much need he has of the Divine assistance, there being nothing else on earth to comfort him, save the pious disposition (*la pia mente*) of his Holiness who sends him, and of the Queen to whom he is sent; and to pray the Pope to help

* Copia della lettera che la Regina mi ha scritta di mano propria.

† Che Io mando il (sic) [al ?] mio agente; namely, the agent of Cardinal Pole at Rome.

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him to obtain that assistance by his prayers, and to have the like done by others, for this so great a need. With the sure hope of being thus assisted, he will speedily and willingly continue his journey, trusting that by these means the ship will be piloted by the Lord God, the director of all his Holiness's actions, for his glory, for the benefit of his Church, and for the consolation of all mankind.

From Dillingen, 21st October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

812. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF TRENT.

The Cardinal of Trent will have heard from the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino] in what good quarters Pole and he met, and what little else Pole learnt from him about the affairs of the Imperial Court. May it please God to show by experience that in these matters what seems impossible to man, is easy to Him, *in cujus manu sunt corda regum.*

Has taken the liberty not only to make use thus far of the mules of the Cardinal of Trent, but moreover to keep one for the rest of the journey, sending him back the others, and thanking the Cardinal as much as he can, but not as much as he ought, for this, in addition to so many other acts of courtesy. As the Cardinal of Augsburg thinks Pole should have one of his people very conversant with all those places through which he has to pass, and well known in them, he has therefore thought fit to send back Messer Gioan Giacomo, who was sent him on the road by the Cardinal's "Bishop elect," according to his order; he performed all possible good service, and Pole would have taken the liberty to take him with him for the rest of the journey, had it been necessary. Requests the Cardinal, for Pole's sake, to hold Messer Gioan Giacomo dearer than ever.

Dillingen, 21st October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21.? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date in MS.

813. REPORT to be made to the POPE by the messenger* returned from England [Henry Penning].

To state to his Holiness, first of all, what I said to the Queen at the first audience, concerning the joy felt by his Holiness on receiving the news of Her Majesty's auspicious accession, together with the offers made to her by his Holiness for her own consolation, and the salvation of souls in that kingdom, and about the legation to which my Right Reverend Cardinal had been appointed, and the ample powers given him by his Holiness in this legation; and the reply of the Queen, who said she had always been most obedient and most affectionate towards the Apostolic See, and that "*interiormente*" his Holiness had no more loving daughter than herself (*non haveva*

* This "report" bears no date of time or place in the manuscript, but was evidently drawn up at Dillingen on the 20th or 21st of October 1553, by Cardinal Pole's messenger or secretary, Henry Penning, who probably arrived in London early in September, and remained there a month. This date is confirmed by the notes to Pallavicini (vol. iii. p. 294), which also state that the messenger sent by Pole to Rome, was charged to recall Penning then on his way to the Pope, but of this I find no note in the MS. in St. Mark's

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figliuola più affettionata di lei), and that within a few days she hoped to be able to show it openly to the whole world; and that thus far, she thanked our Lord God that she had never consented in any way to the heresies and impious laws made and published in England of late years, but had always been, and would continue, firm in that same religion in which she had been educated from her girlhood, as she hoped in a few days to show his Holiness and the whole world; but that it was first necessary to repeal and annul by Act of Parliament many perverse laws made by those who ruled before her.

And because this Parliament could not be held before the coronation, such being the custom of the realm, while she wished to be absolved by the Right Reverend Cardinal [Pole], as Legate from your Holiness—and the Bishop [of Winchester, Gardiner], who was to crown her, also knowing that ceremony ought to be preceded by the general reconciliation to Holy Mother Church—she charged me for this purpose immediately to send an express to his Right Reverend Lordship, which could reach him before the day of the coronation, so that on that day her Majesty might remain with her conscience at ease, and believe herself absolved; and thus did I promise and do. And her Majesty talking of the delight and pleasure felt by her at being Queen, said to me fervently, that did she not believe herself called by God to that dignity, in order to be of some use to this poor country, she would rather elect to be her laundry-maid's servant-wench (*che se non fusse che lei credeva di esser chiamata da Dio a quella dignità per fare qualche utile a questa povera patria, che più tosto ellegerebbe esser serva della sua lavandera*). And speaking about the Bishop of Winchester who was to crown her, and of the few other Catholics now there, her Majesty wished them also to be absolved, that they might be able to say mass and administer the sacraments without sin, until able to have the general absolution.

To this I answered her Majesty as God inspired me—neither my learning nor my experience being more than enough (*non havendo nè lettere nè pratica più che tanto che fa*),—that I had always heard say, that the Holy Mother Church absolved and pardoned those alone who had repented them of their errors, and resolved no longer to commit them; but not that his Holiness would absolve those who persevered in their errors. In reply to this, her Majesty said to me that the Sig. Commendone had well nigh promised it her;* and this her Majesty charged me to keep secret.

The Queen then desired me to await the coronation, as when that was over, she should be better able to despatch me, and more to her own satisfaction and to mine; seeming to have some suspicion of tumult and also of some personal danger; having on that solemn occasion to pass through a crowd, containing no lack of malignants, both Londoners and countrymen; there being also many of the new religion in the government (*come molti ve ne sono della religione nuova governo* (*sic*) [*nel governo*?]), who foresee (*prevedendo*) that it is her Majesty's intention utterly to extirpate this pestiferous

* Commendone seems to have left London on the 23rd August:- *see* Pallavicini, vol. iii. p. 291.

1553.

contagion; so they do not fail forming all possible evil designs, though, with God's assistance, they will not accomplish anything: and the less will such persons succeed, they being vile and of low condition (*et tanto manco faranno queste tali persone, per esser vili et di bassa conditione*).

Thus, by the grace of God, she was crowned without disturbances, and to the great joy of the majority of the people. And that solemnity being ended, she again had it intimated to me that I was to delay my departure for four or five days, on account of the many matters she had to treat. During that interval Parliament met, being opened on the 5th [instant]; when the Bishop of Winchester made a very fine speech, in which he treated amply of the union of the religion, and that it should be resumed (*nel quale trattava amplamente dell' unione della religione et che si dovesse retornare . . . a quella* (*sic*)), without which nothing good could be done; demonstrating how many disadvantages had befallen the realm owing to its separation (*mostrando quanti inconvenienti erano intervenuti in quel regno per la separatione di essa*). He accused himself and all the bystanders (*astanti*) as guilty of it, telling them that Parliament was assembled by her Majesty and Council to repeal (*cancellare*) many iniquitous laws made against the said union, and to enact others in favour of it. On the following Saturday, the 7th of October, her Majesty informed me that matters had proceeded well; as in the Parliament she had found many of the chief personages of the kingdom who encouraged her to push the affairs of the religion and of the union; whilst others were of opinion that she had greater need of curb than spur.

Her Majesty did not impart her negotiations with me to any of the Lords of the Council, nor to any one else; having previously ordered me to conceal myself, as I did. Her Majesty's final decision about my despatch was that his Right Reverend Lordship [Cardinal Pole] was to come leisurely (*pian piano*) towards Brussels, where he would hear further what could be hoped about his proceeding farther; and she promised me letters for the Right Reverend Cardinal by the hands of the Bishop of Arras at Brussels, from her fear lest they should be seized on my quitting England either by her ministers, or by the French. Her Majesty gave me the copy of the oath taken by her at the coronation, which she had thoroughly considered beforehand, and added a few words having for object to maintain her Majesty's integrity and good-will (*alcune parole che furno al proposito per la conservatione della integrità e bona mente di Sua Maesta*); as may be seen by the identical copy. Her Majesty also told me she had given commission to the Knights of . . . . . .* to hold a chapter for the re-establishment of all the due ceremonies relating to the honourable dignity of that Order, which consist in the saying of certain masses, and confessing themselves at certain seasons, and celebrating the festival of St. George, according to their original institution. Her Majesty also

* Blank in MS., "the Garter" being omitted.

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showed me the holy oil, which she had sent to obtain at Brussels from the Emperor.

[Dillingen, 21st October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

814. CARDINAL POLE to PIER FRANCESCO ZINI.

What he had not time to tell Zini by word of mouth at Trent, he now says to him by letter. Exhorts him not to cease residing on his benefice although his friends advise him to the contrary, asks his prayers.

When Zini writes to the most noble Pietro Contarini, he is to salute him in Pole's name, and say how much he regrets Contarini's having arrived at the moment of Pole's departure [from Trent?]; and in such bad weather that Pole could not allow Contarini to keep him company on the road for a few miles. Requests the prayers of Contarini, and of all those poor servants of God of whom Contarini has such good care. Wishes Contarini to divide the present year's surplus revenue (*l'augumento*) of Pole's abbacy into two parts, one to remain in Contarini's hands for distribution amongst the poor, remembering the priests of St. Nicholas; the other half to be sent to Pole's Messer Gio. Francesco at Rome, for the same purpose.

From Dillingen, 22nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

*** 815.** The SAME to the CARDINAL OF TRENT.

Not choosing to commence either by returning thanks or complaining of the too great courtesies received throughout this journey from the Bishop elect [of Trent] by commission from the Cardinal, having great cause to do both one and the other, it merely remains for him to pray God, and the Cardinal likewise, to give him opportunity for serving his Lordship, in proportion to his desire and obligation. Through the occasion afforded by this journey Pole has had the very great pleasure of knowing the ability and virtue of this most high-bred gentleman, from whom the Cardinal may anticipate more and more consolation daily; and thus may it please God that he prove, to his service and glory. For the rest, he refers himself to the Bishop elect, and humbly kisses the Cardinal's hand. Yesterday evening Pole's Master Thomas* arrived at Dillingen, nor can he ever say enough about the great courtesies received from the Cardinal, and wishes Pole to be debtor for these likewise, to which he consents willingly, although Thomas, independently of other respects, deserves all favour for himself because he has always been most attached to the Cardinal of Trent.

[Dillingen, 22nd October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

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* Query, the nephew alluded to in the letter dated 20th October, Thomas Stafford?

1553.
Oct. 22.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

816. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF IMOLA [GIERONIMO DANDINO].

Whilst waiting at Dillingen for the safe-conducts from the Duke of Würtemberg and the Count Palatine, his Master Henry (*Messer Henrico mio*) [Henry Penning] arrived with an autograph letter from the Queen, written with all piety and graciousness, the copy of which he is sending to the Pope by Henry [Penning?], that he may acquaint his Holiness fully with the affairs of England; and by the copy of the letter addressed to Pole by Fiordibello, the Cardinal of Imola will perceive that he did not deceive himself about the mode in which the first news of this second legation of Pole would be received at the Imperial Court. Prays God to dispose the minds of these Princes as necessary for the need and common weal; and referring himself for the rest to the bearer, kisses the Cardinal's hands.

From Dillingen, 22nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

817. The SAME to the CARDINAL MORONE.

Has long been anxiously awaiting news of his arrival at Rome, both that he may have more frequent letters from him, and also to receive such advice as he can promise himself about this so important a cause, from the piety and prudence of Cardinal Morone. Refers him for further intelligence to the bearer of the present letter and tó his Messer Gio. Francesco (*et a Messer Gio. Francesco mio*).

From Dillingen, 22nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

818. The SAME to the MASTER OF THE SACRED PALACE [GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI].

Would have much to say were he to thank him adequately for his great charity with regard to the present business, which is he hopes well advanced (*bene incaminato*); requests the Master's prayers, and refers him for further particulars to Messer Gio. Francesco. Leaves it at the Master's option to communicate the contents of Pole's letters to the Queen and the Bishop of Winchester to any personages of the Roman Court he pleases, relying on his piety and prudence. For the present he does not think it fitting to give copies of them to any one.

[Dillingen, 22nd October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

819. The SAME to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By the quality of the person whom his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to send to Pole, more than by the Emperor's own letter, or by the statement of the said Don Juan [de Mendoza], he has understood the Emperor's desire and will (*desiderio e volontà*) about his stopping, until he knows what to do after hearing what

1553.

else his Majesty shall have intimated on this subject;* and although this proposal was on many accounts a surprise to him, nevertheless, following the Emperor's opinion, he has thought he could not do better than to remain in the meanwhile with the Cardinal of Augsburg at Dillingen, near which place he now is. Hopes it may please God that all this do prove in conformity with his Divine will, and to the honour and service of his Imperial Majesty, and that He will preserve and prosper him for the general benefit of all Christendom.

From Stayndeayn (*sic*),† 24th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27 ?.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

820. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Account of the communication made to him in the name of the Emperor by Don Juan de Mendoza.

Don Juan de Mendoza, having come to me and delivered his credentials from the Emperor, which I read, then commenced telling me about his commission, which in substance was this: That the Emperor, having heard both of the first legation as also of the second, could not but praise your Holiness's zeal, and choice of person (*et la elettione della persona*), but deemed the execution of both untimely, as his Majesty had fully informed the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino] on his departure, not knowing that I was on my way. On hearing this, he sent a courier to your Holiness with letters explaining the causes why I was on no account to proceed farther at present, and therefore he most earnestly exhorted and requested me to halt and await your Holiness's reply to what had been communicated to you by his Imperial Majesty, who considered this business of such importance that he had thought fit to send me this commission express by one of his councillors.

Such was the substance of what Don Juan said to me in a long speech to which, in reply, after demonstrating to him the account in which any suggestion and advice from the Emperor ought deservedly to be held, I said, that with regard to myself I should always be ready to do as exhorted by his Majesty, but that in this present instance it behoved me to have great respect for the duty of the person sustained by me, I being the Legate of your Holiness, from whom I had the express commission to go forward; so I did not see how I could now halt, unless acquainted with some new and extraordinary cause whereby to justify myself with your Holiness for not executing your first commission; so that if Don Juan had anything to tell me, I would willingly do what his Majesty proposed to me. He uttered many words, but nothing more in substance than had been already said and proposed repeatedly; so I replied that as he brought nothing further, I deemed it necessary to continue my journey, it seeming too disgraceful to me to interrupt it.‡

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* Fin che io sappia quella che io faccia poi chè haverò inteso quanto ella in questo proposito haverà fatto sapere di più.

† In the letter dated 27th October, it is stated that this place was situated three leagues from Dillingen.

‡ Parendomi troppo gran scandolo l' interromperlo.

1553.
CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III. (27th Oct.)

To this, he said that the other reasons and causes written to your Holiness had not been communicated by the Emperor to him; and when I still repeated that in order to be persuaded to act contrary to my commission, it would be fitting for some new and cogent reason to be assigned me for doing so, and that not hearing anything further I knew not how I could accede to his request, he merely said he prayed me to think better about it, and to my rejoinder, repeated the same arguments, all based on the maturity of the time (*la maturità del tempo*), of which he said the Emperor, being the prudent Prince he is, and near England, and anxious (as he said) about her affairs, was better able than anyone else to judge whether it had arrived. And as to the affair of the peace, the Emperor said that the former legates having been recalled so recently, it was not yet time to renew the negotiation; in addition to which, it seemed as it were a reproach to his Majesty, sending first to him, as if it was chiefly by his fault that the peace had not been effected; and Don Juan hence inferred that by proceeding farther I should damage both matters, whereas by waiting a while I might benefit them, expatiating much on the Emperor's bias towards the common weal, and his wish for some good resolve to be formed with regard to both causes, and especially about his Majesty's affection for me; and coming to the conclusion that his reply and demand were not because I was personally disagreeable to him, or that he did not wish success to the affairs of England and of the peace, but that for both one and the other of these matters he merely desired a fitting opportunity (*la debita maturità*). Nor did he now ask more of me than that for the execution of commissions respecting these two matters I would await sufficient time for the arrival of a reply from Rome, which would not exceed ten days or a fortnight.

I rejoined, directing my whole discourse to what he took for his chief basis about the maturity of the time (*la maturità*) for discussing these two matters; and with regard to that of England, I demonstrated by the same arguments used by me heretofore to your Holiness, not only that the time for treating it was come, but that it was already so ripe, that if they delayed moving it in this first Parliament, which has already commenced,* it would outlive its time, and rot like over-ripe fruit,† and that I must be pardoned, both because I am of the country, and because I know the custom of the realm, and the national character (*gli humori de quelli homini*), for presuming to have some knowledge of the ripeness of this business, and of the mode and time for treating it; and that I believed, were I in his Majesty's presence, it would be in my power to convince him that any delay in proposing and treating this cause by means of a Legate will greatly injure the desired result. As to the affair of the peace, I repeated that any time was good for treating it, and that the personal duty of your Holiness required that, although the Princes might refuse to listen to you, your Holiness, notwithstanding, should never cease

* The session opened on the 5th of October. (*See* Froude, vol. vi. p. 109, ed. 1860.)
† Et come frutto troppe maturo si verebbe a guastare.

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CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III. (27th Oct.)

insisting opportunely and inopportunely, most especially as no one could be importunate in endeavouring to prevent the disasters of war; and I ended thus, reminding him of his Majesty's honour, and of how great a scandal it would be in the eyes of the world on its coming to light that he had raised any obstacle to both one and the other of these matters.

At this point Don Juan interrupted me, saying that I ought not to take the thing in this sense, as if the Emperor did not choose these matters to have that good success which he desired most earnestly. I replied that in this I did not so much propound my own judgment, although I could not entertain any other opinion, as that of all Christendom, my legation not having been made in a corner so that it could remain concealed; and on its being heard that his Imperial Majesty had refused my coming (*recusata la mia venuta*), the necessary interpretation would be either that the person or the cause did not please him; and as both one and the other of the causes for which I am sent are so holy and praiseworthy, his Majesty ought well to consider what becomes his honour, and that I for my own part should consider it much less unbecoming to say that which his Majesty would not say, that he had never been satisfied with the person.* And I here commenced demonstrating that though princes, are in other respects superior to private individuals, their fame is more subject to the tongues and opinions of mankind, on which depend their repute, and thereon, very frequently, success and advantage in their negotiations.

In his reply to this, Don Juan again repeated that it was not because the person or the causes did not please the Emperor, but that his Majesty asked nothing but a little delay, and that it was fitting to refer to him, he being so prudent and exalted a personage, this decision about the maturity of the time, most especially as it was only a few days. I rejoined in such decorous form as becoming, coming to the conclusion that with regard to time, I might loiter on the road until the reply arrived; but that, according to my duty, I could not fail to continue my journey.

At length, finding me so averse to stop, Don Juan said that it would not displease his Majesty so much, were I to choose to loiter on the road, adding however that on arriving near the Court, I must halt at Liège, and there await the time appointed for my interview with the Emperor. I here showed how much more unfitting and indecorous it would be for me to be stopped when so near his Majesty, rather than at a distance; which would be, as if having had leave to go and speak to any body, entrance were denied me on arriving at the door, and I had to remain waiting outside; which thing I could not believe it was his Majesty's intention to do, he being so gracious and honourable a Prince as he is. Don Juan repeated that his Majesty, nevertheless, could not do otherwise, and, in short, that I had to decide the point of remaining for a few days either here, or at

* Sua Maestà deve guardar bene quel che conviene ad honore suo et che io per me haverei per molto manco inconveniente a dire quello che Sua M^{tà} non voleva dire che la persona mai non li satisfacesse.

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CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III. (27th Oct.)

Liège, or in some other place near the Court; and that he could not assure me when the Emperor would let me go to him.*

I asked him whether he had an express commission from his Majesty to tell me so. He replied that he was not indeed come to make protests; but that he was very certain, that for the reasons written to your Holiness by his Majesty, he was compelled to make the demand which he, Don Juan, had communicated to me in his name; and that by allowing some time to elapse, I should see how well affected his Majesty was, both towards myself individually and towards this cause, and how willingly he would embrace both one and the other. And insisting on a reply as to what I thought it necessary to do about stopping, he said how fitting it was, that such an Emperor should receive satisfaction with regard to a demand of such a sort. At length, having taken time to think about it, I formed my resolve, saying that as I found myself compelled to stop either here or near the Court, it seemed to me the lesser evil to await your Holiness's reply, remaining here with the Cardinal of Augsburg; and so, having only gone three leagues beyond, I returned to Dillingen.

Such is the substance of the conversations held by me with Don Juan; who more than once dropped a hint to me incidentally about the Queen's marriage, saying it seemed to him that this ought to precede everything else, then proceeding to civil justice (*alla giustitia civile*), and in the last place to those of the religion (*a quelle della religione*), and inquiring whether I was of the same opinion; to which I replied that I, together with himself, was of opinion that these three things should be accomplished, but that I thought it was fitting, first of all, well to regulate the affairs of the religion; secondly, those of civil justice; and finally, by the marriage, find means to preserve both one and the other. And when he said that the Queen, by marrying a native rather than a foreigner, might cause discontent amongst the English nobility, I merely said that they were matters worthy of great consideration. Nor did he proceed further with me, though indeed subsequently, with some of my attendants, he gave himself clearly to be understood that the Emperor purposed and hoped that the Queen would take the Prince his son for her husband; and this was to be settled in the present Parliament, which he well knew did not please many persons, who were in all ways endeavouring to thwart this marriage, although it would effect the quiet of England and of all Christendom.

From this, I comprehend that these difficulties about not allowing me to go forward, proceed from nothing else; and that until the business be accomplished according to the Emperor's desire, or his Majesty be altogether quite certain of being able to conclude it, he always will find means to prevent my going, being unable, from what I believe, to convince himself that I would assist him to place my country in the hands of a foreigner.†

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* Quando l' Imperatore fusse per lasciarmi andar da lui.

† Non possendo esso per quanto io credo assicurarsi che io fussi per aiutarli in fare che la mia patria andasse in mano de un forestiero.

1553.
CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III. (27th Oct.)

And I also think, that he therefore would have preferred my going to Liège, both to make sure that your Holiness would not send me by another road, as also thus to find favour with those who are to support this wish of his. The matter seems to me in such a state that one can, as it were, do nothing but wait till his Majesty has well settled this point, and then, whatever the result may be, so far from impeding my journey, he will facilitate it;* and to pursue any other course would seem to me to be forcing things too much, and irritating the Emperor, with more fear of evil than hope of good.

This I have chosen to say, presupposing that your Holiness will wait to hear my opinion, which I however always refer to your consummate prudence and judgment, being most perfectly ready willingly to follow whatever order you shall give. What Don Juan told me the Emperor had announced to your Holiness is, I believe, that the Queen has written that I am not to go farther for the present, which she also wrote to my secretary [Henry Penning?], after he had quitted England, but presupposing that I had not yet set out; so the messenger told him that having heard I was already far on the road; he did not think it would be either decent (*decente*) or fitting to stop me. And this letter of the Queen's doubtless proceeds from the Imperialists, as after she had agreed with my messenger [Henry Penning] that it would be well for me to advance as far as Brussels, she said to him, "*It will be well to communicate this to the Emperor, letting him know that I have called the Cardinal;*" and as at that very hour the Imperial ambassadors were in the antechamber, and her Majesty immediately on his departure had them ushered in, there is no doubt of her having acquainted them with this; and hence arose the subsequent change on the part of her Majesty?

From Dillingen, 27th October 1553?

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

821. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Having on the day before received the safe-conducts from the Duke of Würtemberg and the Count Palatine, left Dillingen to continue his journey towards the Imperial Court; and being lodged in the evening at a place belonging to the Duke three leagues off, he during the night received a letter from the Cardinal of Augsburg, acquainting him with the arrival of Don Juan de Mendoza, sent express to Pole by the Emperor with letters and commissions of importance; so the Cardinal, on behalf of Don Juan, requested Pole to wait for him where he was, as he did. Don Juan arrived in the morning, and remained with Pole the whole day. From the

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* Et allora in qualunque modo la cosa riesca non solo (sic) [non?] impedire ma* solicitare l'andata mia.

† Poichè ella hebbe concluso co 'l messo mio che fusse bene che io andassi inanzi fino a Bruselles, gli disse, "sarà bene comunicare questo con l' Imperatore facendolo intendere che Io ho chiamato il Cardinale;" et essendo al' hora propria gli Amb^ri del Imp^re nell' anticamera, Sua Mtà subito che egli fu partito, li fece chiamare dentro, onde non è da dubitare che essa non communicasse loro questa cosa, et di qui poi sia nata la mutatione della Regina.

1553.

copy of the Emperor's letter, and from Pole's reply, as also from the minute of his conversation with Don Juan which he is sending to his Holiness, the Pope will be fully acquainted with the whole; and Pole hopes he will approve of his choice (as the lesser evil) of one of the two proposals made to him in this matter, most especially considering that whenever the Pope pleases, the other can be adopted, which is not the case with the first (*ma non così al contrario*). Refers himself for the rest to what is written, and to the statement of his messenger. Humbly kisses his Holiness's feet, praying God long to preserve and prosper him for the benefit of his Church.

From Dillingen, 27th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

822. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of MANTUA.

Having occasion to send the present messenger to Rome, to give notice to the Pope of the letter received from the Queen, as also of his stoppage at Dillingen, he has charged him to communicate both circumstances to the Cardinal, who will hear from him every other particular.

From Dillingen, 27th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

823. The SAME to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

The more he considers this stoppage of his after having spoken with Don Juan de Mendoza, the less does it seem to him in accordance with the honour of the Apostolic See and of his Majesty, and with the obligation of the Queen to God and to her own advantage. Thinks it his duty to God and his Church, to his Majesty, and to the Queen, to communicate what occurs to him in this matter, not only to the Pope but to his Majesty and the Queen likewise, referring himself for the rest to the Emperor's sage consideration, and to what Pole said diffusely to Don Juan. With the Emperor he will speak but of this one point, that it seems immature at present to settle and treat this matter of the obedience of the Church, whereas Pole is of opinion that it may be injurious for the Queen's interests to delay it (which is the chief object of his being stopped), as the principal foundation of the Queen's right to the crown rests on the legitimacy of her mother's marriage, which depends on the Papal dispensation [of Julius II.]; so that by abrogating the authority of the Pope, the Queen's right to the crown is in like manner abrogated, and by deferring the establishment of the Papal authority in England, the establishment of the Queen's right to the crown is in like manner deferred; and thus it is evident that the first day Parliament commenced, the time commenced being mature for treating and establishing the obedience of the Church, and indeed had not the disobedience been confirmed by Act of Parliament, the time for establishing this point would have been not only before the meeting of Parliament, but even before the coronation. It therefore seems that the "maturity of the time" (*la maturità del tempo*) depends entirely on the arrival in England

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of the Papal Legate to confirm the Queen's right; and should her Majesty be of a contrary opinion, Pole respectfully beseeches the Emperor, of his prudence and authority, to let the Queen herself thoroughly comprehend how much this (independently of other respects) especially concerns her own welfare, which Pole is certain his Imperial Majesty has more at heart than any one else.

In the next place, with regard to Pole's second legation about the peace, the Emperor should consider that the detriment caused by the war between him and the King of France, being common to all Christendom, it is always the time to treat of peace, and by reason of his office the Pope is always bound to "knock at the door" by all means; and at present, by reason of the season of the year, the armies having gone into quarters, this time is most opportune for maturing this fruit.

As therefore he cannot see how it can in any way be expedient either for the affair of England or for that of the peace, in like manner as it can neither be honourable for the person of the Pope who sends him, nor for that of the Emperor to whom he is sent, that he should be detained midway at Dillingen, and prevented from entering the presence of his Majesty; so does he pray him to find means for speedily removing any impediment to his journey, that he may come to him forthwith to fulfil his legatine office and serve him in these two causes for the honour of God, for the general benefit of Christendom, and the personal advantage of the Queen, and for the increase of the honour of the Emperor, to whom in like manner as he feels himself very much obliged, so has he been, and ever will be, disposed to serve him, praying God long to preserve his Imperial Majesty, granting him all the consolation he desires, for the common weal and advantage.

From Dillingen, 28th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

824. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

The ambassador of the most Serene Queen having lately come into the College, after announcing the confirmation of his appointment in her Majesty's name, stated in very ample terms her good intention to maintain those friendly relations which have always existed hitherto between that most Serene Crown and the Signory, giving them particular account of the present state of English affairs, and of the good measures instituted by her Majesty for their prosperous progress, and principally with regard to the religion; all which having been heard with much mental satisfaction, desire him to thank her Majesty in their name for the loving office which she has performed with the Signory. To congratulate her Majesty on the prosperous events hitherto vouchsafed her by the Lord God, as matters have thus far been brought to that good pass in which they find themselves. As to the ambassador above-mentioned, to tell her Majesty that his confirmation has proved most agreeable to them, as in all his negotiations he has acted with prudence and address.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

1553.
Nov. 2.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

825. REPORT of the Piedmontese Gentleman Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto or San Salutore, Secretary of Cardinal Pole, who sent him to the French Court from Trent, on the 2nd October 1553.*

Arrived in Paris on the 15th October; announced his commission to the Nuncio. The King [Henry II.], having already heard from Pole that he was appointed Legate to their two Majesties, was ready to give him (the Abbot) audience, and would be glad that Pole should come. On the 18th October, he went to Villers-Cotterets, where the King was, and applied to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who immediately presented him to his Majesty, to whom he delivered Pole's letter. The King replied that the Pope's election of Cardinal Pole pleased him, and that his coming would be most agreeable to him, and that he would embrace him as his good cousin and great friend; and he would be most cordially and honourably received in his kingdom. The Cardinal of Lorraine confirmed this assurance, adding that it was thought Cardinal Pole should come first to the King, and that this would please his Majesty, for no other reason than that he might see him and enjoy his company sooner. With regard to the peace, he said the King would always willingly listen to his Holiness and make the peace, provided the terms be reasonable, but that he would not condescend to anything unworthy, having shown to the world his means of defence and offence; therefore the Emperor must not hold to the articles lately proposed by him, which were inadmissible. The like was said to him by Cardinal Farnese, who added that their sole reason for wishing Cardinal Pole to come, was to benefit England, his Majesty being very desirous of aiding the re-establishment of religion there, and of reconciling England to the Apostolic See; wherefore Farnese exhorted Pole to come forthwith, as he would find the King most ready to perform every good office in this especial business (*in questo special fatto*).

On the 22nd [October] was despatched by the King with his reply to the Cardinal, and unasked his Majesty caused him to receive safe-conducts for Pole, should he have to pass through his kingdom, evincing the wish for him to come immediately. He in like manner received letters from the Cardinal of Lorraine and Cardinal Farnese; and on that same day departed towards Peronne and Cambrai, and entered Flanders, arriving at Brussels on the 24th without any opposition or impediment whatever. On hearing that Don Juan de Mendoza had been sent by the Emperor to Pole, to exhort him to stop until he had fresh advices from Rome from the Pope; thought it his duty to go to the Bishop of Arras, whom he acquainted with the commission received by him from his Cardinal to go to the King of France and tell him of the legation conferred on Pole for the negotiation of the peace between their Majesties, and with the King's reply, purporting that he would willingly listen to the Cardinal.

The Bishop expressed surprise at his having crossed from the French towns to those of the Emperor, it being expressly

* *See* entries under that date.

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prohibited for any one to pass; and he evinced some displeasure at this, and at length inquired whether he (the Abbot) wished to speak to the Emperor, or that the Bishop should acquaint him with his arrival, and with the reply received by him from the King of France. Answered he had no commission from his Cardinal to speak, nor to do anything else but return to him; and on hearing that the Emperor had sent to delay Pole's coming, thought he should not err in letting the Bishop know why he went to France, and the King's answer. Went that same day to Louvain on his own private business, and on his return again waited on the Bishop of Arras, to hear, as they had sent to stop Cardinal Pole, and as the French wished him to go first to them, whether the Emperor would think it fitting for him to go to France before coming to his Imperial Majesty, as Arras had told Antonio Fiordibello, Pole's agent, that the Emperor would have been better pleased had Pole gone first to the Court of France. The Bishop instantly said no; and that he (the Abbot) was to persuade Pole to follow the advice given him in the Emperor's name by Don Juan de Mendoza; and that were he to consent to stop until he received further instructions from his Holiness, it would greatly please his Majesty, who, as soon as he could, and in a few days, would let the Cardinal know when he could go to him and negotiate according to his commission. Thereupon he quitted Brussels, and arrived at Dillingen on the 2nd November 1553.

Dillingen, 2nd November 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time in MS.

826. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL SAN CLEMENTE.*

By reason of the virtue and merits of Messer Hieronimo da Imola, Doctor of Philosophy, resident since many years at Rome, Cardinal Pole has loved and respected him; and as the Cardinal San Clemente has always evinced courtesy and favour not only with regard to Pole's personal interests, but also respecting those of his friends and servants, he most earnestly requests him to afford Messer Hieronimo all such favour and assistance as he requires for the affairs of the University (*nelle cose del studio*), that his labours may be duly acknowledged; which Pole will consider an especial favour.

The bearer of this letter will acquaint Cardinal San Clemente with the latest news from England.

From Dillingen, [8th November 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

827. The SAME to the CARDINAL OF CARPI.†

Has received the Cardinal's letter in recommendation of the Knight of St. John's of Jerusalem, who has however not presented himself, having probably heard that Pole had stopped at Dillingen,

* Giambattista Cicala, a Genoese, created Cardinal with the title of San Clemente by Pope Julius III. on the 20th December 1551. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 325, 326.)

† Ridolfo Pio of Carpi. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 173, 177.)

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as may be known to the Cardinal, and will therefore not have cared to come thus far out of his way, without hope, for the present, of receiving any assistance at the Court from Pole, who would have rendered it, and will gladly do so, out of regard for the Cardinal of Carpi, should the opportunity present itself.

Refers himself for the rest to his agent, who will communicate the latest news from England.

From Dillingen, 8th November 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

828. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DEL MONTE.

Yesterday by a courier express, who came from the Imperial Court at Brussels in three days and a half, Pole received Del Monte's letter of the 28th [October] acquainting him with the Pope's intention about his stopping, in conformity with that of the Emperor. Has thoroughly considered and understood the whole, nor will he swerve from the obedience due to his Holiness, as will be more particularly narrated to Del Monte by Pole's agent. Being obliged to stop, has been truly fortunate to find himself in such good and noble company as that of the Cardinal of Augsburg, most especially as had he proceeded farther he might have found himself in the midst of places infected with the plague, which still continues in all the towns on the Rhine and thereabouts, although in some places it seems to be slightly diminishing. At Dillingen during the last few days they have been in alarm on account of the Marquis Albert,* who had taken the field with 2,000 horse and 12 companies (*insegne*) of foot, and occupied some towns and places belonging to the King of the Romans; but it is now heard that the Duke of Brunswick, captain-general of the confederates his opponents, has made him retreat into a fortified castle of his own, with the loss of 100 horse between killed and wounded, and the rout of the infantry; so they are quite free from all fear of seeing him at Dillingen, most especially as all the neighbouring places are on the watch, and with fresh garrisons. The Lord God will provide for all their need, and they will take counsel according to circumstances, as Dillingen is not more than moderately secure (*non essendo questo luoco più sicuro che tanto*).

From Dillingen, 14th November 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15 ? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

829. The SAME to CARDINAL MORONE.

Some benefices have lately fallen vacant in the church of Magdeburg, about which the Emperor has written in favour of a German, his councillor, named Bokhler, and the Cardinal of Augsburg gives assurance that he is Catholic and a very worthy person, so he supports his appointment to these vacancies; and as it is heard that the Pope has referred the matter to Cardinal Morone, Pole requests

* Albert Alcibiades of Culmbach or Bareith. He was proscribed in 1553, expelled in 1554, and died 8th January 1557, aged 35 years. (*See* Chiusole, p. 340.)

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him to support Bokhler and oblige the Cardinal of Augsburg, from whose agent, Messer Annibale, he will hear further particulars.

[Dillingen, 15th November 1553 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 176, tergo.

830. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The two Cardinals-Legates sent by the Pope, the one to the Emperor and the other to the most Christian King, to negotiate peace between their Majesties, perceiving the difficulty of effecting it, have departed on their way back, by order of his Holiness.

The Queen of England was crowned on the first of last month, and proclaimed, to the universal satisfaction and gladness of the realm.

Ayes, 148. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 177.

831. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Informed by their ambassador in England that eight French armed ships seized in the port of Plymouth the ship "Viara," laden with wines, belonging to divers Venetian noblemen and subjects, bound to London, which having been taken to Dieppe and not yet unloaded, the Signory's ambassador in London obtained letters of favour from the French ambassador there to the Governor of Dieppe, and also wrote a full account of the affair to him [the Venetian ambassador in France] that he might do what was necessary with his most Christian Majesty for the vessel's release. Desire him, should the ship not have been yet released, to repair to the King, and let him well know in how great account they hold this matter, not merely on account of the loss sustained by their nobles and subjects, but by reason of the detriment done to commerce by so gross an injury in return for so many loving demonstrations made on every occasion towards the subjects and dependents of the most Christian King.

To urge the King to cause the said ship with its cargo to be immediately released, and compensation made for the losses incurred, and that stringent orders be given to prevent the repetition of similar attacks on the ships of the Republic's subjects and ministers, and that for the future their vessels be not molested in French harbours, but treated as becomes the good friendship between his most Christian Majesty and the State. The perpetrators of the outrage to be also duly punished, in proof of the good understanding between his Majesty and the Signory, and to show the respect with which the King means them, their subjects, and their affairs to be treated ; and in this matter they both expect and desire an ample demonstration from his Majesty.

To remonstrate with the Constable and the Admiral, and with such other persons as necessary, and so far as compatible with the Republic's dignity.

Ayes, 156. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

1553.
Nov. 18. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

832. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Has received his Majesty's letter of the 19th [October] and what the Pope caused to be written to him by the Cardinal [Cristoforo] del Monte. Although he holds all the opinions and counsels of the Emperor in such great respect and esteem as is due, and though the Pope desires him thus to do, especially in this matter relating to England, yet nevertheless, being compelled to tell the Queen what he thinks in reply to her demand, he deems it his duty to do the like by the Emperor. Does so the more willingly, as it seems to him that Divine Providence presents a very fitting instrument for the performance of this office in the person of the Rev. Father Friar Pedro Soto,* the bearer of the present letter, and who will tell the Emperor Pole's opinion and his own likewise (*le dirà il senso mio et suo insieme*) with regard to this subject. Requests the Emperor to hear him graciously, as his very sincere devotion and love for his Majesty, and that of Pole likewise (who yields to none in wishing him all prosperity and grandeur, to the honour of God and the benefit of Christendom), deserve; and referring himself for the rest to Soto, he humbly kisses the Emperor's hand.

From Dillingen, 18th November 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

833. The SAME to the MAGNIFICO PIERO CONTARINI.

Although he would gladly have seen Contarini a second time, he is unwilling to cause so much inconvenience to him and others, who so constantly need his charitable assistance. Prays him, therefore, to rest content with having now performed this office by letter, and to pray, and obtain the prayers of others, that God may grant such completion as is hoped for, to the miraculous work of his hand, which Contarini justly considers a univeral cause of rejoicing seeing that the Divine Providence has demonstrated itself in those parts, where of late years it has been the least acknowledged, and has thus chosen to regard (*esaudir*) the blood of so many martyrs.

Has written to the Doge according to Contarini's suggestion, as he will perceive, and cannot but greatly marvel that so many impediments and delays should be found in so clear a case of right, and to the detriment of so many souls. Salutes Contarini's brothers, and prays God to preserve and prosper them and Contarini himself.

[Dillingen, 18th November 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18.? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

834. The SAME to the DOGE OF VENICE [MARC' ANTONIO TREVISAN].

The Bishop of Verona having conferred the Archpresbytership of Lonato on Pole's chaplain, Messer Pier Francesco Zini, quite unknown to Pole, being moved thus to do solely by his knowledge

* This mission is mentioned by Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 295. The Dominican monk Pedro Soto had been confessor to the Emperor. In 1553, he was theological professor in the University of Dillingen, and in May 1555, he was employed by Cardinal Pole for church reform in England until September 1556, when the Emperor reappointed him his confessor, and I believe he held that post until the Emperor's death.

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of Zini's good and sufficient qualities, Pole, so far from impeding this election, favoured it, although he thus deprived himself of such a servant; and he now hears that although the Bishop's right to confer the benefice has been recognized and approved by the Pope, the adverse party does not cease thwarting its collation, greatly to the cost of Zini, and to the detriment of the souls of his parishioners, who in the meanwhile remain without a rector. Requests the Doge to order the Commissioners appointed for the cognizance of this case to report upon it to the Doge without further delay, that it may then be despatched with such speed as is required by right, which Pole will consider a particular favour.

[Dillingen, 18th November 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 6.

835. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letters of the 29th ult., perceive that English affairs are proceeding prosperously for the Crown, especially with regard to the religion. Are glad to hear this, and commend his diligence. Understood the commencement of his negotiation with Commendone, and its result (*successo*); so, perceiving it to continue, they desire him adroitly to decline this business, and withdraw from it entirely, so as not again to meddle by any means; without letting it appear that he has any order from the Signory.

Ayes, 17. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

In the College, in the presence of the Chiefs of the Ten, the noble Soranzo being absent. *

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in v. iv. pp. 123–127. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli." Dated Dillingen, 1st December 1553.

836. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

Received her Majesty's letter, written to him in Latin, but as it had been thrown into (*conjectæ*) a packet with other letters (the person who sent it from the Imperial Court making no mention of the Queen), Pole had no idea that any one of them was from her, till he had read the others, when he recognized her autograph signature on the last page; yet as it was written in Latin, and not in the vernacular, which Princes are wont to employ when writing or speaking to their subjects and "*cum suis*," in which she had moreover written to him a few days previously,† he in truth could not but feel surprised. Should her Majesty have perchance acted thus supposing that so many years' exile had made him forget his native tongue, she really had good reason to do so, for he had found this to be the case with some of their countrymen, and it has very frequently happened to himself to be at a loss for certain words when making any continuous discourse (*aliquid perpetuâ oratione*);

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* 1553, Die 25 Novembris in Coll°. intervenientibus excell^mis. D. Cap̃ Ill^mi Cons. X. absente cl^mo superantio.

The Chief of the Ten, Soranzo, withdrew because he was the kinsman of the Ambassador.

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though whatever may have been the cause of this, nothing could be pleasanter or more desired by him than to read letters from her Majesty in whatever language. But as in her former letter, the Queen mentioned the danger in which she then found herself, and asked his advice about avoiding it, he thought fit to write the answer in his native tongue that he might be much more surely and distinctly understood, and sent it by a trusty messenger, that he might in the same tongue explain Pole's meaning, had it been at all obscure. Hopes that the letter and the messenger produced the necessary effect, and to her Majesty's Latin letter, will now in like manner reply in Latin, and supply any possible omissions in his former letter; nor does he desire any greater eloquence from the language, than that it may enable him to render the danger as visible to the Queen as it appears to himself, although by asking his opinion about avoiding it, she shows herself well acquainted with the fact, but is not this a proof that she does not know it entirely? Were a shipwrecked mariner to ask advice whether he should seize a plank or embark in a little skiff (*parvam scapham*), would this prove knowledge of the greatness of his danger? The Queen, or at least England, was assuredly wrecked when she threw herself overboard from St. Peter's ship, into the sea of this century (*in mare hujus sæculi*). It is true that this cannot be properly called shipwreck, as St. Peter's ship can neither go to pieces (*frangi*) nor founder. At present, Pole, and through him, God and the Apostolic See, show her the mode of escaping from the waves of the sea; which is, to re-enter the ship. If the Queen hesitates to do so, does she not show ignorance of the greatness of her danger? But she may be perfectly sure that those who remained out of the ark and were overwhelmed by the flood at the time of the Deluge, never incurred greater danger than those whose souls are now flooded by increasing cupidity and depraved opinions; whereas when they were joined to the body of the Church, before throwing themselves out of St. Peter's ship, it served them for an ark. Nor may the Queen suppose herself in less danger, because in her mind she never departed either from the ark or from her obedience to the Church, although materially consorting (*etsi corpore cum iis versaretur*) with those who plunged overboard. This might serve as an excuse before her accession to the Crown, but the accusation now becomes graver, as being saved herself she should save all others, just as the pilot of a ship puts his hand to the helm, but by delaying, hesitating, and consulting, they in the meanwhile all perish.

Has drawn a picture of the danger; her Majesty will judge whether it is the time to deliberate, or rather to act as ordained and prescribed her by divine and human counsel, for he sees that the Divine goodness has given her two advisers (*consultrices*) in this cause, the one divine law, the other that of nature. Both her letters* show that she had employed them, when she writes that having been educated (*enutritam*) in the old religion, she was determined to adhere to it until death, and that it

* Dated London, 28th October, and 15th November 1553. (*See* Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli, vol. iv. pp. 119–123.)

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had taught her that the title of Supreme Head of the Church, did not become a King, as she knew the powers, dignities, and prerogatives (*officia*) of a King and of a priest (*sacerdotis*) to be distinct, the one being a political body, of which the King is head, the other ecclesiastical, having a priest for its head. All this indeed she learned from the divine law, but when she added that the title of Supreme Head of the Church in her kingdom misbecame her sex, this is taught both by divine law and by the law of nature, as shown by St. Paul, who, when he forbids a woman to teach* in church, shows sufficiently how absurd and iniquitous it is for her to personify the supreme head in church, whose chief duty it is to imbue the people with doctrine; and as the same Apostle affirms that the wife of even one man alone cannot usurp authority over him, because it is contrary to the law of nature, so for a woman to call herself the head of that multitude which constitutes the Church, is forbidden both by divine as well as natural law. With the authority of these laws, what more can the Queen require? She has received from God the spirit of counsel; let her Majesty now entreat the spirit of fortitude necessary for the completion of the undertaking, which will infallibly ensue, should she have placed all her hope in Him from whom she received the kingdom, who said "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world," and who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, to whom he prays for her Majesty incessantly.

From Dillingen, 1st December 1553.

[*Latin*, 116 *lines*.]

Dec. 15.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 18.

837. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Are certain that by their letter of the 25th ult. about his withdrawing adroitly from the matter of religion in England, he will of his prudence have also understood their intention with regard to other negotiations about matters unconnected with the Signory; having nevertheless heard it reported in certain quarters that an envoy (*un homo*, Renard?) has been sent to England by the most Christian King to persuade Edward Courtenay (*al Sig. Cortoni*) not to brook the introduction of a foreign King nor to wrong himself, the envoy promising him his most Christian Majesty's assistance, and employing his (Soranzo's) mediation with Courtenay; although they do not believe the matter to have passed thus, or that he (Soranzo) meddled with it; will acquaint him with what has been told them, in order that, should these suspicions proceed from any close and constant intercourse between him and Courtenay, or from other causes of which he will be able to judge, this warning may put him on his guard, so as by courtesy and address to prevent anyone from suspecting such a thing for the future on such occasions as may hereafter present themselves; and in this the Chiefs are sure he will succeed, by means of his prudence and dexterity.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

* 1 Timothy ii. 12.

1553.
Dec. 21.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 183.

839. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from Brussels and France down to the 3rd instant, are informed that the greater part of the Imperial and French troops have gone into winter quarters, but the cavalry on either side forage, and both Sovereigns are amassing considerable sums of money.

By the letters from England hear that a marriage is being negotiated between the Queen and the Prince of Spain, the Emperor's son.

Ayes, 190. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 5.

840. MOTION made in the COLLEGE in the presence of the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Should the Imperial ambassador present himself to the College before the sitting of the Council of Ten, the justification (*expurgatione*) with regard to the matter of England to be made in such manner as shall seem fit to the prudence of the person appointed to perform this office.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 8.

841. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By his letters addressed to them on the 10th instant have understood what the Bishop of Arras said to him by the Emperor's order concerning their ambassador in England, and what he prudently replied, for which they praise him greatly; and, with the Council of Ten and Junta, charge him immediately on receipt of the present letter to do his utmost to obtain audience of the Emperor, with whom they choose him in any case to confer, that he may explain to his Majesty in their name the regret and trouble caused them by hearing not only that the Emperor, but that others likewise, believed their ambassador in England to have performed any office detrimental to the interests of his Majesty or of the most Serene Prince his son, the Signory not having had so much as the slightest thought or idea of the sort, still less of giving him such a commission, as they are certain the Emperor, of his great wisdom, may easily comprehend and know clearly, should he but be pleased to consider on how many occasions for many years they have proved their constancy by sincerely preserving the good friendship formed with him, which they will also maintain for the future, both with his Majesty and with his said most Serene son. Having proved this frequently, they deem it superfluous to convince his Majesty; yet, although they cannot believe in the performance by their ambassador of the offices attributed to him by persons, perhaps for their own ends, they have nevertheless written to him in such form as becoming, it being their will and intention that neither by their own acts nor by those of any of their ministers may any suspicion be formed, contrary to the true good will and extreme observance borne by them towards the Emperor and his most Serene son.

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The ambassador is in any case to perform this office with his Majesty and the Bishop of Arras, so that they may remain tranquil and well satisfied; and of the execution of this order he is to give notice to the Chief's.

And be it carried that tomorrow morning, the Imperial ambassador resident here be sent for into the College, and after the withdrawal of all who are not members of this Council, a communication be made to him in conformity with the present letter, in order that he may perform the like office by letter with his Imperial Majesty.

Ayes, 26, No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 8.

842. THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN TO GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Since their last, giving him notice of its having been reported that the French, by his means, sought to impede the marriage of that most Serene Queen to the most Serene Prince of Spain, they have received letters from the Signory's Ambassador with his Imperial Majesty, informing them that by the Emperor's order the Bishop of Arras had complained to him seriously, that he (Soranzo) did not scruple to perform evil offices against the Emperor and the most serene Prince, his son, and against the whole Spanish nation, and endeavoured to render it hateful to the English; expatiating greatly on this matter, although he professed to believe that he (Soranzo) had acted thus without the Signory's orders but from some opinion of his own. Will comprehend how much this has troubled them, it being their will that in matters which do not concern the State, their ambassadors are neither to interere nor lean more to one side than to the other, as much trouble and disturbance might ensue, to the Republic's detriment. They, therefore, with the Council of Ten and Junta, have chosen immediately to despatch the present missive, to order him entirely to abstain from similar offices, and not to take any action in that matter, associating both with the Imperial and French agents with such moderatiou (*modestia*) and prudence, and so uniformly, that the one side may not have cause to consider him more confidential and partial than the other; avoiding also such conversations as might create suspicion, owing to the casualties (*occasioni*) of the present time, so that they may not again have reason to repeat anything further to him about a matter of this quality; and of the receipt of the present letter, together with what he may have to say on the subject, he is to give notice to the Chiefs.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutral 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 183, trrgo.

848. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

The Imperial Ambassador having had audience of them this morning, to acquaint them, by the Emperor's order, with what has been negotiated in England, and with the fair prospect of the

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Queen's marriage to his son the Prince of Spain, as by the enclosed writing, which he then presented, they answered in such terms as to make him convince his Majesty of their good-will towards him and his said most Serene son, for the fuller expression of which they charge their ambassador to wait on the Emperor and thank him for this his confidential communication, letting him know that whatever prosperity and felicity may happen to his Majesty and the most Serene Prince, the Signory is very greatly pleased and comforted by it, as becomes their sincere friendship and the extreme observance which they bear his Majesty.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 11.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1554.

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Jan. 5. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 183, tergo.

844. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Her Majesty's Ambassador resident with them had audience of the Signory a few days ago; and after announcing what had been treated in the English Parliament, and that the marriage of the Queen to the Prince of Spain was negotiated, the Ambassador added her Majesty would always maintain the friendship which had subsisted between England and the Republic. The Signory thanked the Ambassador. Desire him (Soranzo) to repeat the Signory's thanks.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 8.

845. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By his letters of the 15th and 17th ult., have heard how prudently he conducted himself respecting Sir Francis Barnard's coming to the Imperial Court (*nella occasione della venuta a quella Corte del Cavalier Bernardo*).

By these same letters, perceive what he in the first place caused to be done by his secretary, and what he himself did subsequently, about the audience given him by the Emperor; and with regard to the Signory's ambassador in England. Although these offices were performed with the best intention, and for a good end, nevertheless, with regard to the words which he told the Bishop of Arras he had written to the ambassador in England, charging him "*neither by signs, gests,*" etc., the Ten and Junta would have wished that, without descending to so many particulars, he had expressed himself with greater regard for the Signory's dignity, as done by him on former occasions, and as—with his usual prudence—he will know how to do for the future.

In his letters of the 23rd, received after the above-written, he

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asks their orders whether he is to speak to the Bishop of Arras that he may desire Hironimo Falconeto to desist from the language held by him (as the Ambassador writes) about Soranzo in England. As Soranzo, by his letters of the 11th ult., has assured them that what was said about him concerning this affair of the marriage * deviated utterly from the truth (as written by him, they believe, to the Ambassador likewise, and as they themselves considered certain even before the receipt of his letters); and as their last missive prescribed to him the office he was to perform in this matter with the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras, they think that will suffice; and that it would be unfitting to do anything more, or to seem to take so much thought for every word uttered at the Court, even by malignants or frivolous persons; as so far from doing any good it would but rather increase suspicion.

Have chosen freely to unbosom themselves to him; and are very certain that being prudent, as he is, he will perfectly realise their intention.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxiii. p. 188.

846. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor has sent four personages of distinction as ambassadors to England to treat the marriage between the Prince of Spain, the Emperor's son, and the Queen. By order of his father, the Prince will cross from Spain to Flanders in the spring. The Emperor is arming in Flanders, and the Signory's letters from France, purport that his most Christian Majesty is doing the like, and that he has sent Pietro Strozzi into Italy, where he has already arrived, being now Governor of Sienna.

Ayes, 161. No, 1. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 5.

847. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Wish to know whether a Dalmatian, Captain Berislao, who was in the pay of the late Kings Henry and Edward, and now receives stipend from the King of the Romans, still continues or has been in receipt of any stipend from Queen Mary. Require also information about his condition and qualities; whether he is a man of valour and honour; and whether the English Government is satisfied with him. To obtain particular information, as it were on his own account, and with all becoming caution, and to acquaint the Chiefs with the full result.

Ser Thomas Contarini, C.C.X.
Ser Aloysius Donato, C.C.X.
Ser Hermolaus Barbaro, C.C.X.

Lectæ Ex'mis D'nis Cap. utr. manus.

[*Italian.*]

* As Francesco Bernardo had greatly aided the peace between England and France in 1546, the Imperialists might have suspected him of some similar negotiation in 1554.

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Jan. 19.
Lettere Secrete, Capi Consiglio X., File no. 5.

848. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the KING of the ROMANS.

Wish for information about Captain Giacomo Berslao (*sic*), a Dalmatian in the pay of the King of the Romans; what sort of man he is, and what pay or pension he receives from his Majesty; how long he has served him; and whether he is considered valourous and faithful; whether he is treated well, or in what form; whether his stipend or pension is current; and whether he has any stipend in England. To give them especial notice of all that he knows about this man, as they understand he was lately at the Court of the King of the Romans, who despatched him (*et è stato espedito da Sua Mtà.*), and that the Ambassador is aware of this. Should he not have full information, to write what he knows.

Ser Thomas Contarenus, C.C.X. — Lectæ Ex'mis D'nis
Ser Aloysius Donato, C.C.X. — *Cap. utr. manus.*
Ser Hermolaus Barbaro, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

849. QUEEN MARY of ENGLAND to CARDINAL POLE.

Most Reverend Lord and my good Cousin,

Owing to the change of the religion many persons who seem to be heretics,* as also married priests, have been found in the enjoyment of the principal ecclesiastical benefices of the realm, amongst whom are certain prelates, including Archbishops and Bishops who have been deprived and dismissed their sees by the last decree of the Parliament.† The Queen, therefore, pondering within herself how necessary it is to provide their churches with other pastors, and not choosing in any way to attempt anything whatever against the authority of the Pope and the Apostolic See, nor against the privileges and ancient customs enjoyed and observed by the Kings of England her predecessors, before this evil modern religion was introduced into the realm, she has thought it well to give Pole notice of this, that she may be better acquainted with his opinion; and also learn, by what way, without scruple of conscience, she could provide for the said churches until the obedience of the Catholic and Apostolic Church be again established in England; and she, therefore, with all earnestness, requests him to inform her, if, in virtue of his faculty, he has authority to confirm the collation of these benefices, or whether the Pope has reserved the disposal of them to himself. She also wishes to know whether Pole can confirm in the benefices already vacant the persons appointed to them, on account of their worthy qualities, and not without the advice of the most Catholic and lettered men of the kingdom. In case recourse to the Pope be requisite, the Queen requests Pole to inform her how she is to proceed in this matter; feeling sure that

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* Havendo per la mutatione della religione in questo regno trovati molti come loro demostrono heretici, et preti conjugati, etc.

† "Nel numero de' quali trovandosi alcuni prelati, si arcivescovi come vescovi sono stati per l' ultimo decreto del Parlamento deposti et soluti delli loro beneficii." "In October 1553, by a majority of 350 against 80, the mass was restored, and the clergy were required to return to celibacy." (*See* Froude, vol. vi. pp. 115, 116, ed. London, 1860.)

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he will continue the usual sincere friendship and goodwill which he has always borne her. Will not tell him how the Kings her predecessors had the election of similar persons, as he knows more about these things; and her lack of experience not sufficing for their explanation, she will say nothing more about them.

The Queen has written to the Bishop of Norwich, her ambassador with the Emperor, and commissioned him to visit and receive Pole on his arrival at Brussels, and not merely to salute and congratulate him on his coming, but also to deliver a message in her name; and she hopes in the Divine goodness to see him in his native land, when she shall be able more freely and fully to unbosom herself to him, assuring him that his coming will give her very great comfort, as known to the Lord God, whom she prays always to have him under His holy protection.

(Signed) Your most affectionate and most friendly cousin so long as the present life shall last me,

From St. James's, 23rd January 1554. MARY.

[*Italian. Translated from the original in English.*]

Jan. 28. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

850. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The Pope will have heard of the letter received by Pole from the Emperor inviting him to the Imperial Court, saying he should be glad to see him, and that the sooner he went thither the better would his Majesty be pleased. Three days after the receipt of this missive, Pole commenced his journey, hastening it as much as the season allowed, and on the 10th instant arrived at Louvain, sending thence immediately to announce his arrival to the Emperor through the Bishop of Arras. His Majesty evinced great satisfaction, and gave orders for him to be met and received with all pomp, as was in fact done on the 20th. The Duke of Savoy, in the Emperor's name, accompanied by the whole Court, went to receive him at a place outside the town* where Pole had stopped, and where he was greeted in like manner by the Bishop of Arras; who told him how glad the Emperor was to hear of his safe arrival, and that had his Majesty's health permitted he would have come in person to meet him. The Duke of Savoy, also, addressed him most courteously in the Emperor's name. But before Pole arrived at that place, when midway between Louvain and Brussels, he was met by the two ambassadors from England, one of whom is the Bishop of Norwich [Thomas Thirlby], and the other, a layman,† who the day before wrote him a letter which they sent by two of their gentlemen, apologising for not having gone to meet him as far as Louvain, their sole reason being that they were hourly expecting audience of the Emperor, which was in fact given them on the day of Pole's arrival.

The whole procession then moved towards Brussels, where Pole was met at the first gate by the clergy, and conducted under the canopy to the cathedral, being accompanied thence to his lodging

* Probably the monastery of Diligam (*sic*) near Brussels, from which some of Pole's subsequent letters are dated; nor may "Diligam near Brussels" be confounded with Dillingen in Bavaria.

† Query, Sir John Masone. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Brussels, 18 January 1554, p. 49.)

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most reverentially by a multitude of people. On the morrow he sent to request the Bishop of Arras to ascertain when it would please the Emperor that he should go to him; which office the Bishop courteously promised to perform on that same day, and came yesterday to tell Pole he had done so, and that the Emperor willingly and without delay would have seen Pole had not his Majesty been compelled to take a certain purge.

The Bishop then commenced making many apologies in the Emperor's name for having caused Pole to be stopped at Dillingen, saying it was owing to his Majesty's surprise that, after explaining his mind about the peace to the Cardinal Legate of Imola, who announced it positively to the Pope, his Holiness, before receiving the Emperor's reply, had immediately appointed Pole to negotiate it; in addition to which, with regard to the matter of England, the Emperor did not deem its discussion opportune whilst Parliament was sitting.

Without making much rejoinder to the excuse, Pole assured the Bishop of the sincerity of the Pope's proceedings, and said that his Holiness's goodwill was illustrated both by the first legation [to England], so suited to his duty and office, as likewise by the second [having for object peace between the Emperor and France]; and by so much the more as the Pope thought by the second to facilitate the first, relating to the matter of England; and that as to the affair of the peace, this delay seemed to favour its negotiation, which Pole professed himself ready and anxious to undertake; and that as Divine providence has ordained that the Prince his Majesty's son is to be King of England; it being therefore to be hoped and expected, as he is so Catholic, that on the restoration there of the religion the kingdom will enjoy every blessing, so that this plant may take root and bear fruit; Pole, as an Englishman, was consequently so much the more anxious to effect the peace, it seeming to him that it would greatly contribute to that result, and thoroughly establish the affairs of the religion in England.

The Bishop of Arras then thought fit to discuss the steps taken about the peace by the Legates who preceded Pole; and said that the King of France made them such replies and demands as to exclude every possibility of negotiating it; and that of this the Pope must have been very circumstantially informed. It has given Pole great pleasure to hear by the last letters from his agent at Rome, that by the Nuncio his Holiness is sending him especial instructions about the peace; the appointment of this Nuncio being in like manner a great comfort to Pole, as he believes him to be a personage from whom the Pope may promise himself the best possible service, to the honour of God and to the common weal, with regard to both matters.

Congratulates himself on the Emperor's not having given him audience, as he has been seriously indisposed from rheumatic gout (*cattaro*), which commenced at the close of his journey; but, beginning to feel better during the few days that he has remained quiet, he hopes to recover before the Emperor appoints him audience; and, unless he feels himself worse, will not on this account allow the opportunity to escape him. On the way received much courtesy

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from the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves; and as the other two Archbishops [Mentz and Treves?] had in like manner prepared to do him honour, he mentions it, to render due testimony to the honour and reverence demonstrated through his person towards the Apostolic See and his Holiness.

From Brussels, 28th January 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

851. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DI MONTE.

Having already by the accompanying replied sufficiently to his letter of the 8th ultimo, it remains but to tell him of the audience which he had yesterday of the Emperor, being called by the Bishop of Arras, who, together with the Duke of Savoy and other personages of the Court, accompanied him both going and returning. He found the Emperor risen from his bed, seated, and with his feet on another chair, looking very well, and better than Pole expected to find him. His Majesty had a third chair placed near him, nor would he allow Pole to speak to him until he also sat down.

After making the due obeisance and imparting the Papal benediction sent by the Pope, Pole congratulated the Emperor on his good condition, although not such as required for the present need and the common weal of Christendom; but nevertheless, as he found his Majesty improving, there was reason to thank God and to hope for yet greater prosperity. After presenting the Papal brief, Pole commenced talking about the causes of his legation, the Emperor seeming to listen willingly and to be gratified by what he said touching the Pope's good disposition; and, in short, to be glad to see him, both on account of the person who sent him, and for his own sake likewise.

Beginning then to reply about the matter of England, his Majesty proceeded to say that he did not think it as yet mature for negotiation; and when discussing the peace and the injuries received by him, he came however to the conclusion that, provided means be found for making it fair and durable, he never intended to exclude the negotiation, but that he was ill satisfied with what had been proposed heretofore, to the detriment of Christendom; and he said the business consisted in the means and particulars, to which he should be better able to reply after they had been intimated to him, and if they were such as to warrant hope of more certain quiet for Christendom; making it appear that he had more at heart the common weal than his own private wrongs.

This, in short, was the Emperor's reply, and as much as Pole could elicit from the audience, which lasted almost an hour; and when he told the Emperor that at this first interview he would not weary him further with details, praying him, as his wish for the common weal was worthy of himself, to vouchsafe moreover to bethink him of the means, as no one could give a better impulse (*indrizzo*) to the business than his Majesty; the Emperor answered that those who had offended were bound to propose the form of agreement, by restoring what they had so unjustifiably seized.

Rejoined that this concerned the settlement, which might be

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hoped for, after commencing the negotiations with the other side, but that to facilitate them, he requested the Emperor himself to think of the means, and give some hope of negotiation,* leaving it subsequently to Pole to sound the disposition of the parties (*tentar l' animo loro*): to which his Majesty replied, that daily events and opportunities would show better what was to be done. Pole then presented the Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate], whom the Emperor received graciously, and after he had kissed his hand, and said a few words, Pole took leave and returned home accompanied by the same personages who took him to the Court.

He is now anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Nuncio, with particulars about this negotiation [for peace], to enable him to give it some commencement, but greatly fears that the affairs of England, where certain tumults have been excited † on account of the marriage, may furnish additional matter for war, and render the negotiation of this cause more difficult.

In the middle of last night, the English Ambassador [Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich] sent to show Pole a letter received by him from the Queen's Privy Council, announcing the risings stirred-up (*escitati*) in two provinces of England, one of which is . . . . . [Devonshire] where the Prince was to land, as it is towards Spain; but the population remained staunch to the Queen, the only persons who rose being certain seditious leaders, who were supposed to have been already captured, or to have made their escape, not having found favour with the people.

The other rising (*tumulto*) was in Kent (near London, towards Calais) where the people mustered; but the Queen immediately sent the Duke of Norfolk thither with troops, and on the morning of the day when Pole wrote this letter, the Bishop of Arras told him that they were some 10,000 in number, and as they promised pardon to those who deserted the rebel leaders, many resumed their allegiance. The chiefs and some of the insurgents withdrew into the small town of Rochester with the intention of disputing the passage into Kent of the Duke, who was marching against them and anticipated a speedy victory.

The city of London stood firm for the Queen, together with the rest of the nobility, except the Duke of Suffolk, father of that Jane (*padre de quella Giovanna*) whom the Duke of Northumberland had made his daughter-in-law and Queen; it being supposed that he had taken flight, from fear of being sent back to the Tower, seeing that this had been done to the Marquis of Northampton;‡ and the Queen presupposing that Suffolk was gone into the province (*in quella provincia*) [Leicestershire] where he has his mansion and estate, her Majesty sent against him the Earl of Huntingdon,§ who has to wife the writer's niece,‖ and has as many adherents and no less authority in that country (*in quel*

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* Con dar qualche attacco di pratica con essi.

† Essendosi suscitati certi tumulti.

‡ The arrest of Northampton took place apparently on the 26th January. (*See* Froude, vol. vi. p. 154.)

§ Francis Hastings.

‖ Catherine Pole, eldest daughter and co-heir to Henry Pole, Lord Montacute.

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paese) than Suffolk himself, being of a rival family which is opposed to the Duke.

Such is understood to be the state of affairs in England ;* and these same letters say besides, that although the insurgents allege no other cause than their wish to resist the future domination of the Spaniards, yet was it nevertheless believed that they had also been instigated by the cause of the religion. Prays the Almighty to interpose His holy hand. Is compelled to delay sending his messenger with letters to the Queen until he hears that the insurrection in Kent has been more thoroughly suppressed, as it is impossible to go from Calais to London by any other road. Was invited yesterday, on behalf of the Queen [Dowager] Maria [of Hungary] the Regent, to attend mass this morning in the chapel erected by her Majesty. Went accordingly, and after the mass gave the benediction and "indulgence," urging the congregation to pray *pro pace et unitate ecclesiæ*; and subsequently, on descending with the Queen Dowager of France [Eleanor of Austria], and the Duchess of the Lorraine [Christine of Denmark], he saluted them in the Pope's name, alluding to the peace, and exhorting them likewise to lend a helping hand, and aid so holy a work, for the benefit of Christendom, as they offered to do, with all piety ; whereupon he took leave of them, saying he would visit them later more conveniently.

On arriving at Brussels, told the Bishop of Arras that he could not satisfactorily commence treating the affair of the peace, until by the publication of the jubilee he had invited the people to pray God for its conclusion ; and that he purposed having the bull published by the Bishops of the Low Countries. The Bishop of Arras asked to see it, and next morning sent word to Pole that he might do what he purposed doing, but demurred somewhat to the words *pro reductione regni Angliæ* ; and so when these few days of carnival are over, it will be issued.

From Brussels, 5th February 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxviii. p. 189.

852. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letters of the 15th ulto. were acquainted with the conclusion and stipulation of the marriage between the most Serene Queen and the Prince of Spain. To perform such office of congratulation as becoming.

Ayes, 187. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vlxviii., p. 189. tergo.

853. The SAME to the SAME.

In conformity with what he wrote to them on the 15th ult., the most Serene Queen's ambassador communicated to them this morning, in her Majesty's name, the conclusion and stipulation of the marriage

* This account was probably derived from the letter of Renard to the Emperor, dated London, 29th January 1554, of which there is a transcript amongst the Rolls House MSS. (*See* Froude, vol. vi. p. 161.)

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contracted (*seguito*) between her and the most Serene Prince of Spain; and he also stated the particulars of the marriage contract, adding how much satisfaction it had caused in England, where affairs were proceeding quietly. To this the Signory made a suitable reply, thanking her Majesty for so loving a communication, and rejoicing at this auspicious event. Desire him, when congratulating the Queen and Council, according to the order transmitted in their letter of yesterday, not to omit the Signory's thanks to both one and the other for this announcement, giving them in such affectionate and suitable terms, as he shall deem becoming.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

854. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DI MONTE.

By his last, dated the 28th ult., together with those of the 4th instant,* Cardinal di Monte will have heard what was known down to that time about the rising in Kent, and how the Duke of Norfolk, who had been sent against the rebels there by the Queen, was said to have returned to London, being deserted by his troops, who had joined the enemy; which intelligence was subsequently confirmed, it being also heard later that what had been said about the other rising [in Devonshire] was true. After this, news came that the leader there [Sir Peter Carew], not meeting with such support from the people as he expected, had fled to France. Of the Duke of Suffolk, who was said to have made his escape from fear of being again confined in the Tower, nothing more was heard, save (as Pole wrote in his former letters) that the Queen sent into the province whither he had betaken himself, the Earl of Huntingdon, who is his rival, and very powerful in that same district (*nel medesimo paese*).

Her Majesty, perceiving that the Duke of Norfolk, being deserted by his troops, had turned back, sent to tell the chief of the insurgents in Kent [Sir Thomas Wyatt], and the others likewise, that she was willing to use her natural clemency and to pardon them provided they would submit and return to their obedience; and as it seemed that the marriage which she had purposed making for the benefit of the kingdom was not generally approved, she promised not to marry without the universal satisfaction of the Parliament and the whole realm.

To this proposal the chief of the rebels is said to have haughtily replied that he commenced doing what he did against her for the liberty and benefit of the kingdom, and that the example of what was done by the Queen's father against the rebels at York [in 1536–1537], to whom he failed in his promise, putting so many of them to death, warned him to beware of placing trust in her; and that having a good cause he hoped for God's assistance.

On receiving this reply, the Queen caused Wyatt to be proclaimed a rebel, in London; and seeing the rebels continue their march in that direction, she on the 31st January arranged to present herself

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in a certain public place [Guildhall] where the chief citizens were to assemble, that she might acquaint them both with her proposal to the rebels, and their reply; adding also, that on the day of her coronation, when the ring which she wears was put on her finger, she purposed accepting the realm of England and its entire population as her children; and thenceforth she never intended to do anything but what was for their benefit; and that thus would she do for the future, promising especially not to marry without the universal consent of Parliament.

This announcement was to be made on the day above-mentioned,* on which day Count d'Egmont and his colleague (the Imperial ambassadors who went lately to England to conclude the marriage, with the intention of proceeding to Spain), by the will of the Queen and according to the opinion of the Council, departed from England, and arrived at Brussels on the day before yesterday. The cause of their departure was apprehension lest their presence should irritate the people, who had already expressed their dislike by deeds, and some of the Queen's guards who formed their escort, after embarking them, behaved disrespectfully towards them, both by word and by firing certain harquebuse shots.

From what was told Pole by a gentleman, his friend, who came over with these ambassadors, this Kentish insurrection seems to have been plotted and contrived with France (*con Francia*), but was not to have commenced so soon, and the reason for anticipating the outbreak seems to have been suspicion of one of their accomplices, who had been imprisoned for obstinately persisting in the religion introduced in the time of King Edward. It is said that they expected a great number of ships from France, as also troops; and by other letters from the King of France, which the Imperialists intercepted yesterday, it is reported very publicly that the French had an understanding with Madame Elizabeth the Queen's sister, who, being at a distance of 30 miles from London, and having been called by the Queen, excused herself on the plea of indisposition; so her Majesty sent her litter there (*onde la Regina le haveva mandato la lettica—sic*), nor is it yet known what she did subsequently. This is what Pole has been able to ascertain about the affairs of England, but he considers it a good sign that no further advices have been received since the departure of the ambassadors, as there is no lack of a way by which to send messengers without making them pass through Kent.

When the ambassadors took leave of the Queen, she said, with a great show of confidence, that she had not the slightest doubt of being assisted by the Almighty, having had experience of his help and power when in greater need, and being conscious that her mind was entirely intent on His service; and that she would not ask further assistance from the Emperor, feeling certain that he would not fail in whatever he deemed helpful for her. It is understood that he is providing the greatest possible number of ships, of which it seems he has already 12 in readiness, and 3,000 German

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troops, to repel any invasion which might be made by way of France, and that he will do all that shall be rendered expedient by the course of events; and it also appears that there is a talk of mustering as soon as possible 12,000 Germans, to be employed for this same purpose.

Should the Queen be bound by her promise not to marry without the universal consent of the kingdom, it is very probable that this matrimonial negotiation may be suspended, at least for a while, though Pole cannot say whether they will relinquish the thought of it; most especially as at Brussels, some of the chief ministers of the Emperor and of Queen Maria [of Hungary] are heard to express opinions at variance with each other, some of them seeming to consider the marriage hopeless, and that no further design of any sort should be formed about it; whilst others on the contrary seem to evince a belief that this insurrection took place on account of the religion rather than of the marriage, which in the greater part of England is approved of.* Prays God that what takes place may prove most to His service, and to the advantage of the country.

Pole's above-mentioned friend who came with the ambassadors, told him that he knows the Queen to have said and confessed freely that she had erred in placing trust in the counsel of the heretics, and it seems that she has become very suspicious of the greater part of her Privy Council.†

Does not write further to the Pope for the present, waiting to hear the result of these disturbances, which news cannot reasonably be long delayed. Cardinal di Monte will be pleased to acquaint his Holiness with what Pole has written to him thus in haste, sending it by a courier, who is being despatched on the sudden to Italy.

Is anxiously expecting the arrival of the Nuncio, of whom as yet he has no notice at all.

Within the last few days much has been said about the Emperor's departing speedily for Germany, with the intention of being present at the Diet of Augsburg, which is to be held after Easter, and it is said that the Bishop of Arras has already ordered the harbingers to be in readiness; and that his Imperial Majesty will soon send a personage to announce this journey of his to the Princes of Germany, that they may the sooner be present in person at the Diet. Unless our Lord God causes the disturbances in England to be completely quelled, there is great fear that they may prevent what might have been hoped through the peace.

From Brussels, 8th February 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9.

855. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

When first the news arrived of these disturbances in England Pole sent the Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate] to condole with the English ambassador [Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich] in Brussels, and to learn whether there was anything Pole could do for the

* Il quale nelle maggiori parti dell' isola sia tenuto per buono.
† Et pare che sia entrata in gran sospetto della maggior parte del suo consiglio.

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service and assistance of the Queen. The ambassador sent to say that nothing occurred to him, save that he thought it might be to the purpose for Pole to commence the negotiation for peace by proceeding to treat it in France; and on the morrow, when visiting Pole he repeated this, and Pole thought fit to communicate it to the Reverend Father Soto,* who having occasion to ask audience of the Emperor for other business, he told him, when asking it, to mention that he had also something to say to his Majesty on behalf of Pole, as he did.

The demand was made yesterday, and the audience took place today, when Soto, after representing this opinion and suggestion of the ambassador, said Pole thought fit to impart it to the Emperor, and to let him know, that if his Majesty approved of his going to France at the present time he would do so, provided the Emperor would be pleased to give him some hope,† such as authorising him to say that he had induced the Emperor to consent to send some personage to some neutral place to commence treating the peace, provided the King of France would do the like, and that Pole was to intervene for the same purpose, which he would do if it pleased his Majesty, although he was expecting the Nuncio with certain particular instructions about this matter, having free commission from the Pope to do whatever he thought expedient for the common weal.

The Emperor replied that he thought it was better to wait for the Nuncio, as, if God had thus ordained it, the peace would be made in an instant. First of all, Father Soto had said, how much sorrow and distress Pole felt at these disturbances in England, on every account, and particularly by reason of the regret it must cause the Emperor. His Majesty evinced the best possible opinion of Pole, and trust in him, and as to the affairs of England, putting aside the respect of the Queen, for whom he had great affection by reason of her piety and goodness, even had she not been his kinswoman, he showed (*mostrò*) that on the score of his own individual interest he was not at all distressed, and that he was induced to negotiate the marriage principally for the sake of the religion, both in England and in the Low Countries, and for their general good; and that as the thing was intact (*et che essendo la cosa integra*), he had returned to Spain the commission from the Prince, sent by him for the conclusion of the marriage, although in his conversation he did not make it appear that he had renounced the thought, but that it gave him no anxiety. He also said that the Queen had purposed telling the Londoners, that having at their suit renounced her intention of remaining without a husband, she should be ready to resume that same intention, seeing that the spouse of her choice was not to their entire satisfaction.‡

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* In the Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, p. 20, are the instructions given to Father Sotto or Soto, by Cardinal Pole, when he sent him to the Emperor from Dillingen in November 1553.

† Et che a sua Maestà piacesse darmi qualche attacco.

‡ From this it may be inferred that if the Queen made her speech in Guildhall on the 31st of January it was after Count d'Egmont and his colleague had embarked, and on the 9th of February the Emperor merely knew what the Queen had *purposed* saying.

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Father Soto greatly praised this intention of the Queen, and said the Emperor should acknowledge, as a special favour from God, that these disturbances had taken place before the Prince's arrival in England, as otherwise there could not but have been great danger. His Majesty seemed to admit and take it in the same way,* and not to intend doing anything by force.

This is the whole of Father Soto's conversation on this subject with the Emperor, whom he says he found in much better health than before, and that his Majesty himself moreover assured him, that it was a long while since he had felt himself better.

As yet no further news of events in England has been received, since the arrival at Brussels of Count d'Egmont, which surprises the Imperial Government and makes them draw sinister conclusions, it having merely been heard by letters from Antwerp that the advices from London, dated the 3rd February, announced the entry of the insurgents into the borough of Southwark (*nel borgo che è di qua dal fiume*), and that the Londoners seemed inclined to defend themselves, independently of other respects, from fear of being sacked by the rebels, who were some 3,000 in number.

It is also said that all the foreigners had been disarmed, more on account of a number of Frenchmen who were in London, than from any other cause, and that the Queen's speech in public had given great satisfaction.

The English merchants at Antwerp having shown signs of departure and already commenced selling their effects in haste, on hearing of the trepidation (*del tremulo*) of England, and the return of the Imperial ambassadors, his Majesty gave them to understand that they were to remain in all security, and in short gave orders (though with all gentleness of language) that without his commission, neither the merchants, nor their ships, nor their merchandise were to quit Antwerp.

Requests the Cardinal to acquaint the Pope with the contents of this letter and of the others written yesterday, all which go together, the courier who was to have departed yesterday being detained until today, on account of the news of Sienna, which causes much talk at Brussels, no less than the affairs of England.

From Brussels, 9th February 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

856. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

From Monte's former letters and from the credential brief, Pole fully understood the Pope's intention with regard to the course to be pursued by him about the Prince's marriage, and perceiving the progress of affairs, when the Reverend Father Confessor [Soto] was on the eve of departure [from Dillingen], and asked him what he was to reply about Pole's opinion in case the Emperor alluded to [what] it [had been], before he devoted himself exclusively to the office enjoined him by the Pope respecting the religion and the marriage, Pole desired him to say what was the truth, that several letters and messengers having been exchanged between the Queen and

* Mostrò de accettarla et intenderla al medesimo modo.

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himself, he never either directly or indirectly said a word relating to the intention of marriage (*pertinente al fin del matrimonio*), as his opinion in this matter had never been asked; and it not being his custom to interfere in similar matters, which require great consideration, he said not a word, nor did he give a hint on the subject. But when Soto asked him what his opinion was, Pole did not hesitate to tell him, in order that he might impart it to the Emperor according to opportunity, namely, that his first opinion would be, that the Queen, being of the age she is, should content herself with the spouse who has always stood her in the stead of parent, he being God the Father, and that during her life she should attend to doing whatever was to his honour, leaving the affairs of the succession of the realm to take their course.

This Pole would have said at the commencement, had he been asked, but as this opportunity did not present itself, and as according to general report the marriage with the Prince had been stipulated (*concluso*), Pole then said that as he was charged with the affair of the religion, which was not very popular in England (*non molto plausibile in quel regno*), he neither could nor ought to show himself favourable to this union, his knowledge of the national disposition convincing him that it was even more universally odious than the cause of the religion, lest he should additionally impede the first commission assigned him by the Pope;—so that although the marriage with the Prince would be concluded without Pole's assistance, he was convinced by the goodness of the Queen, independently of what may be conjectured of the Emperor's piety, that this was done for the purpose of having a better arm (*meglior brazzo*) whereby to establish the affairs of the religion; in which case the Emperor will not find any servant in the whole world more desirous of the Prince's tranquillity than he is, nor who will put himself more forward in whatever he can do, either through his own means, or through his kinsfolk or friends, to establish the Prince's rule (*stato*) in England in peace and quiet.

This was the reply of the Father Confessor [Soto], when Pole sent him to the [Imperial] Court* [in November 1553], and he is now the more confirmed in it, seeing that it coincides with the mind of his Holiness.

So much in reply to the first letter of Cardinal di Monte; and with regard to the second, concerning the instructions about the peace, which he is to receive from the Pope, it arrived in very good season as he has not yet had audience of the Emperor, not having received previously any commission about the peace, which must now be his chief business; and although the letter lacks certain particulars, it will enable Pole to temporise until the arrival of the Nuncio with the most minute instructions. Is very anxiously expecting him, and rejoices extremely that the Pope should have sent so worthy and adroit a personage.

In the meanwhile Pole will do his utmost to ascertain the bent of the Imperialists, according to the desire of the Pope, who also

* Compare this with "Instructions by Cardinal Pole to the Reverend Father Confessor of the Emperor." (Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, p. 20, No. 61. 1553, October, or beginning of November.)

1554.

wishes to know what he elicited from the conversations held with the Bishop of Arras and the English ambassadors. Speaking with the Bishop of Arras about the benefit of peace and saying that if at first, in general, for the benefit of Christendom, and then being sent by the Pope for the purpose, he greatly desired to succeed in it, so at present, as an Englishman, he is much more interested in the business than ever, and also for the greater service of the Emperor, who having established (*piantato*) his son in England, peace seemed necessary, in order that he might derive entire comfort from this step; and Pole foresaw that the Divine goodness, purposing by all means to render the Emperor's old age tranquil, after the many toils endured by him, had added this incentive of peace-making to the others, that he might more beneficially enjoy the English marriage.

The Bishop admitted the validity of this argument in favour of peace, to which however he said the Emperor was never averse, provided it could be made durable; and he then expatiated on the evil proceedings of the French, coming to the conclusion that if they proposed tolerable terms it would be seen that the Emperor will always have more regard for the common weal than for the revenge of his own private injuries.

With the English ambassadors Pole had already performed the office mentioned by Cardinal di Monte, with regard to exhorting the Queen to use her influence with the Emperor and the King of France, to bring the negotiation for peace between their Majesties to a good end; showing how much this would be to the honour and especial advantage of the realm of England, which has now greater need of peace than any of the other kingdoms devastated by the war.

The ambassadors returned thanks for this suggestion, saying they would write to the Queen; and Pole also will address a letter to her to the same effect, having received one from her Majesty since his arrival at Brussels, the tenour of which Cardinal di Monte will perceive by the enclosed copy, Pole having had it translated word for word as written to him in her own hand. Thereby Monte will perceive how much might be hoped from her goodwill towards the affair of the religion if there were anyone on the spot to encourage and show her the way to carry it into effect, seeing that in the midst of so many obstacles she cannot refrain from asking counsel and assistance from one in whom she places trust. Pole thinks of sending one of his attendants on purpose to give her such counsel and assistance as he can, until greater aid and favour arrive from his Holiness, to whom di Monte will communicate everything, and request him to assure Pole as soon as possible of that consolation [papal absolution?] which the Pope wishes to impart to the Queen and the country.

What Pole can do in this matter is to acquaint the Queen with his powers, that should the persons in question acknowledge and confess their past errors, remaining firm, and with unfeigned repentance asking absolution for them, Pole, through the grace given him by the Pope, is enabled to receive them into the Church, and, should they evince worthy fruits of repentance, and possess qualities worthy of the episcopal dignity, qualify them in such a manner

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as if they had not fallen into schism. As for the rest he does not doubt that her Majesty will find the Pope ready and inclined to console her.

In addition to this, Pole will exhort the Queen to send him one of those who evince piety, that he may come with powers from them to ask this absolution. This he thinks of doing, though could he have hoped to enter England he would have delayed the absolution until he be present there; but the ambassadors, when speaking with him about their commission from the Queen, mentioned two most important things with regard to his coming, announcing them to her Majesty's deep regret, that owing to the perversity of the heretics she did not see in what way he could enter the kingdom, repeating all that the Emperor had given him to understand on the same subject through Don Juan de Mendoza; nor did they assign any fixed time when he might hope, as they alluded to the marriage of the Prince, declaring that the principal cause of it had been the trust that by means of such an arm (*brazzo*) the affairs of the religion might be better established.

Replied that this end was holy, provided it could be said that God had united them, and that as no further progress than this could be made at present in the cause of religion, they should all continue praying the Almighty, by means of this marriage, to facilitate the matter and conclude it; and he then commenced speaking of the necessity for the peace, for which the Queen and the Prince should exert themselves. With regard to Pole's not going to England, he said he would do what he knows to be the wish of his Holiness, arriving there at the moment deemed most beneficial for the Queen and the kingdom, and attending in the meanwhile to the affair of the peace, to which should God grant success, Pole thinks thus to serve both one and the other, as on its own account and for the cause of the religion it is more than necessary. Pole then left the ambassadors, who seemed satisfied with his replies, but he marvelled that in stating their commission it seemed to him that they utterly excluded his going to England, whereas by the Queen's letter Cardinal di Monte will see that her Majesty gives hope of it; but perhaps the ambassadors alluded to his entry as *legate*, and the Queen as a private *cardinal*, which would not seem to him very fitting. God's will be done, and Pole will obey the commands of his Holiness.

From Brussels, the 10th February 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

857. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS of the TEN.

The ambassador from Ferrara, at the Emperor's Court, is a Piedmontese, and has almost daily communication with the Duke of Savoy, who is fond of him (*che lo ama*); and hesitating to address Damula personally on the subject, informed him through a confidential friend, that in the Duke's house, there being also present a gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, discourse was held about the offices said to have been performed by your Serenity's

1554.

orders for the drawing up in England, of a written statement of his proceedings, with the intention of sending it to your Serenity. I said, I thanked the ambassador for the kindness he had shown me, and that I should give good news (*bona nuova*) to the most noble Soranzo, as they will never find that he has comported himself otherwise than prudently in this matter, as he always has done in others, both because he has thus been endowed by God with good ability, as also because he had domestic discipline, which has taught him never to commit the slightest error, still less such a thing as this. Has also heard from others, that the aforesaid Ferrarese ambassador, has moreover performed some other good office in this matter; and I let it appear that I hold this gossip (*queste zanze*) in no account. After having written thus far, one Nicolò, a musician in the service of the Queen [Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary?] who is often in the habit of coming to the Venetian embassy, and is very intimate with the Emperor's second equerry, Monsr. d'Andelot, near whom he lodges, came and told me that a few evenings ago, when supping with said d'Andelot, Monsr. de Horbes (*sic*), a gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, said that his Majesty had complained of your Serenity's ambassador, saying that he would have him punished, and if he found that your Serenity had ordered what he did, his Majesty would find means to make you repent it. These words are important, most especially when repeated by these individuals about the Emperor's person, for both one and the other go when they please into his chamber; and I believe that these two said them to each other, for Nicolò seemed to tell me this with much personal fear, and under promise of secrecy, saying it would cost him his head if divulged; but I am in doubt whether the words were uttered by the Emperor, he being always habitually reserved in speech, yet is it my duty to acquaint your Excellencies with the whole. I answered Nicolò, thanking him for his goodwill, and saying I did not believe his Majesty spoke thus, that the ambassador will be acknowledged utterly blameless, and that I laugh at these vanities.

From Brussels, 18th February 1554.

Marc' Antonio Damula, ambassador.

In cipher throughout, with contemporary decipher—

Addressed: Excell^{mis} D^{nis} D^{nis} Capitibus Ill^{mi} Consilij Decem, D^{nis} Col^{mis}.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23.*?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

858. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last of the 12th,† after giving the Pope account of the auspicious result of the disturbances in England, he told him that, by reason of the delay of the Nuncio's arrival, he had commenced negotiating the peace; detailing what he had done in this matter with the Bishop of Arras. Has again spoken with him at great

* The date in the manuscript is Brussels, 23rd April, but the contents of subsequent letters make me substitute 23rd February.

† Not found.

1554.

length, but could elicit nothing save that they wished for peace, and that should the French propose reasonable terms, modifying the reply made through Cardinal Dandino, the Imperialists would listen to them willingly and reply. The Bishop added that Pole ought to have gone first to the King, who, having been the aggressor, should be the first to be instigated to propose the negotiation of an agreement, as had been previously said to Pole by Don Juan de Mendoza.

Replied that, independently of the Emperor's supreme rank, the Pope sent him in the first place to his Imperial Majesty, as to one who, considering himself the injured person, should be sought first of all, to favour the pacification; notwithstanding which, the Pope will also send him to France, on knowing that the Emperor approves of it. To this the Bishop of Arras made no answer; and, in short, again repeated several times that Pole could not hope for anything more from the Emperor, and that this was moreover expedient for the matter itself.

Pole then went to visit Queen Maria, and after congratulating her on the good news from England, presented the Papal brief, saying how much the Pope relied on her favouring the affair of the peace; and was listened to graciously, her Majesty saying that no one was more bound to desire it than herself,* considering how much the Low Countries suffered from war, and that she would always do her best; but that everything consisted in finding means to make a durable peace, and not such as the one stipulated heretofore.

Would not say more, in consequence of the determination announced by the Bishop of Arras, with whom having spoken a second time, and finding him confirmed in it, he at length said that he knew not what else he could do, but go straight to France for the performance of his legation, as he would do, with the Emperor's goodwill, after his next audience of him, which he had on the 19th, when he found his Majesty in the same good health as on the former occasion. Congratulated him on the victory granted by God to the Queen of England, as showing the paternal care and constant protection vouchsafed her by the Almighty, who by this fresh disturbance warned her above all to promote the interests of the religion, especially as it was seen that the people in the North of England and in Cornwall, who have always been well disposed towards the true religion, showed themselves in this need the most faithful and well affected to her Majesty. This the Emperor admitted, saying the Queen would not fail to do as became her duty and her piety.

Pole then commenced adroitly speaking about the peace, endeavouring to learn something more from the Emperor than had been told him by the Bishop of Arras, but after all could elicit nothing but the expression in general terms of his wish for peace; and that his goodwill and desire for the common weal would be known, when the French, by coming to some particulars as it behoved them to do, should show that they also wished for peace, and would give an opportunity for negotiating it.

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* "Con dire che a Lei toccava più che ad altri il desiderare la pace." Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary, was Regent of Flanders.

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At the end Pole said that, with his Majesty's good grace, he was going to France, and, as the Emperor made no reply whatever to the contrary, Pole settled not to return again to his Majesty unless the Nuncio arrived in the course of the present week, in which case, if the Emperor pleased, he would accompany him to audience; and with reference to this matter he mentioned the good qualities of the Nuncio, which had caused the Pope to make choice of him.

Having written thus far, a secretary arrived from the Duke of Mantua, and says that on the 12th instant he left the Nuncio at a short distance from Trent, travelling leisurely (*che veniva a giornate*) and in the company of the Cardinal of Burgos; so perceiving that his arrival at Brussels will be very tardy, Pole, as the season is so far advanced, will set forward in three or four days, to anticipate if he can and treat the peace before the re-commencement of hostilities in these parts (*in queste bande*). Leaves one of his secretaries at Brussels to acquaint the Nuncio with what has been negotiated, and to reside there for whatever may be required. Another of his attendants also remains there, with orders to follow Pole after the arrival of the Nuncio, and to bring what the Pope shall have been pleased to send him. As it was requisite to have a license to pass into France, when Pole discussed this topic with the Imperial ministers, asking them for a pass for this person whom he leaves at Brussels, as also for others whom he may have to send to and fro on account of this business, they made more difficulty than the Emperor himself, to whom he was compelled to have recourse about this, as they said they should prefer having the intercourse carried on by letters rather than by messengers; notwithstanding which, they at length consented to his sending a messenger when circumstances required him to do so.

On the 20th instant a new ambassador arrived from the Queen of England, with an honourable company of gentlemen, having been sent to the Emperor to give him particular account of the last successes; and on the morrow the old ambassador,* who is Mons. de Norwach (*sic*), came to tell him the reason why the other day (*l' altro giorno*) he did not come to visit him, saying that when he left England no news had been received of Pole's arrival at Brussels, though he heard of it at Calais; so having no commission about this from the Queen he hesitated whether he should come; and having asked the Bishop of Norwich his opinion, the Bishop declined interfering in the matter, saying that for his own

* This does not seem to be the "old ambassador, a layman"—the predecessor and colleague of the Bishop of Norwich, who was mentioned by Cardinal Pole in the letter dated 28th January. I am unable to ascertain his true name, or that of the "new ambassador," who arrived at Brussels on the 20th February. By the Foreign Calendar it seems that Sir John Masone arrived at Antwerp from Brussels on the 2nd February 1554, nor does he appear to have returned to Brussels until the end of April 1554. (*See* Foreign Calendar, p. 81, date May 3, Brussels.) Who then was the old ambassador, who on the 21st of February 1554 owned to having had scruples about visiting Pole? If Masone was the person who accompanied the Bishop of Norwich to meet Pole mid-way between Louvain and Brussels on the 20th January 1554, it seems improbable that he should have hesitated to pay him a visit at his own house; though the person mentioned in this letter may have been Masone, who, perhaps, went back from Antwerp to Brussels between the 2nd and the 21st February, but how to convert "Norwach" into Masone I know not.

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part there was no occasion for him to entertain similar doubts, as from the commencement he had been commissioned by the Queen to visit him.

The ambassador then narrated the course of events in England; and when Pole inquired how the Queen would proceed for the future, he said he knew nothing whatever, having no letters either from the Queen or the Council, but merely private advices; nor could he reason on future events, but on the past alone. Exhorted him by his fidelity to God, the Queen, and his country, to recommend her Majesty, with this great opportunity, to establish the affairs of the religion, without which establishment Pole said he could not hope God would allow her to enjoy the realm in peace.

The ambassador seemed to approve what was said to him, but with regard to Pole's going to England he said it was not yet the time. Answered that the Pope had sent him to seek the welfare both of the Queen and of the realm, and that in one way he should always seek it, namely by praying God, but would await the moment deemed opportune by the Queen for promoting it by his own presence, and in the meanwhile continue his journey to France for the negotiation of the peace, about which he would also write to the Queen, she having no greater need of anything than of peace; and he then exhorted the ambassador to write to her Majesty not to give the King occasion to make war.

The ambassador promised thus to do, and said that amongst the other marriage articles with the Prince, it was stipulated that she should not be compelled (*ristretta*) to take part in this war against France, but rather that the Prince should be the means for negotiating the peace.

Pole then mentioned that he was sending a messenger to England, as already announced by him on two former occasions to the ambassador, who always dissuaded him, but now he made no further rejoinder.

On departing Pole purposes sending this messenger and his letters to the Queen, and will acquaint the Pope with the result.

There is no hope that the Queen will be stimulated on either side of the Channel (*nè di qua nè di là*), but rather checked (*rafredata*), in proceeding about the affairs of the religion, and most especially with regard to the reconciliation (*reduttione*), but this must not prevent them from performing such offices from day to day as will conduce to this result; and the greater will Pole's exertions be, the more he sees the necessity for them, with the hope that the Almighty will not cease constantly knocking at the heart of the Queen, whom He, of his Divine goodness, has visibly exalted and defended.*

The bearer of the present packet will be Don Hernando de Vega, brother of the Viceroy of Sicily, who, as the Bishop of Arras says, is being sent by the Emperor, amongst other things, to thank the Pope for the paternal will evinced by him towards the Prince.

From Brussels, 23rd of April (*sic*) [February ?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

* Anci tanto più Io sono caldo in solicitarla, quanto veggo chè ne ha maggior bisogno, con speranza chè N. S. Dio non sia per cessar de batter de continuo al cuore de essa Regina, dalla sua divina bontà esaltata et difesa come si è visto.

1554.
Feb. 24 ?*

MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

859. QUEEN MARY of ENGLAND to CARDINAL POLE.

Since it pleased the goodness of God to place her in her present grade, she has never had anything more at heart than the union of England to the Apostolic See; so she never ceases thinking what ways and means would be the most expedient and easy for the accomplishment of this her desire. It is necessary for the public at large (*per l' universale*), to introduce it through the Parliament, which represents the entire kingdom, and especially by making known to every one in what errors they are living, and how many spiritual and temporal losses those persons incur who live separated from the body of the Catholic Church. For both these evils she finds there is no more opportune and efficacious remedy than to have good and Catholic prelates, who, being amongst the most important members of this Parliament, can by their own votes, and by persuading others to side with them (*et con il persuader gli altri al medesimo*), give great assistance to this cause; and having great cure of souls, they are able both of themselves, and by means of good curates their dependants, to persuade † every one individually to welcome willingly the Acts of the Parliament, in which even should this point concerning souls (*questo ponto delle anime*) not be carried, these examples and persuasions would nevertheless prepare the way to introduce it universally, or, at least in the greater part of the population.

For the accomplishment of this holy work, and to commence this act, which is so important as an indication of her goodwill, the Queen has made choice—according to the tenour of her privileges and the custom of her predecessors—of twelve Bishops, as by the enclosed list,‡ who, from the knowledge and information obtained about them, are amongst the most Catholic and well affected to the Apostolic See, and on every other account the most suited to this burden, of any she has been able to find in England for presentation to the Pope, that they may be confirmed and inducted in these churches, according to the mode employed before the introduction of the schism. And therefore, both for the avoidance of further delay in doing what she ought for the honour of God and the common weal of her kingdom in this matter, as also for other necessary causes, she has been compelled to summon Parliament on the 2nd of April next.§

Has also determined to present these prelates to Pole, as the representative of his Holiness and the Apostolic See, requesting him to admit this presentation (always with reservation of the Pope's approval), and send it in her name (*et mandarla in nome mio*) as speedily as possible [for confirmation?] to his Holiness, so that in conformity with these and other letters written on the subject, she

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* Again is the date in the MS. incorrect; and I can only guess that the letter was written about the 24th February.

† Et per mezo de buoni curati inferiori e persuader particolarmente ognuno che abracci, etc., etc.

‡ The list does not exist. In Froude's 6th vol., p. 198 (ed. 1860) there is the following paragraph: "The Pope had granted permission without difficulty to fill the vacant sees; and on the 1st of April [1554] six new prelates were consecrated at St. Mary Overies."

§ "Parliament met at Westminster on the 2nd of April. The Oxford scheme had been relinquished as impracticable." (*See* Froude as above, p. 212.)

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may have the presentation of these bishops, praying the Pope to be pleased to confirm and institute the persons presented by her to the sees, Pole in the meanwhile giving them license to take possession, should the confirmation and institution not arrive in time, so that they may sit in Parliament and produce the good effect desired.

Pole is to direct the business in the way that shall seem best to him, as she refers herself entirely to his judgment; and by this letter, she appoints him her proctor (*procuratore*) to make this presentation, with faculty to substitute others in his stead at Rome for the same purpose, promising on her part to do whatever can be done for this holy union.

From St. James's, 12th March (*sic*), [24th February ?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 29.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 19.

860. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Yesterday they received his letters of the 28th ultimo down to the 7th instant giving a copious account of the disturbances in England, and of the battle between the insurgents and the Queen's troops, her Majesty remaining victorious, the like news having been communicated to them by the English and Imperial ambassadors, who this morning entered the Signory's presence. This intelligence caused them such pleasure and satisfaction as become their sincere friendship with that most serene crown. To congratulate the Queen in their name, assuring her of the pleasure and consolation derived by them from her success; they hoping that her cause being so just, as it really is, her affairs will proceed prosperously and have the good result desired by her. To perform the like office with the Bishop of Winchester, and such other Lords of the Council as he shall think fit.

Lectæ in pleno Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

March 1.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 4, tergo.

861. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The four ambassadors from the Emperor went to England to the Queen, with whom they treated and concluded her marriage with the Prince of Spain, his Imperial Majesty's son, which marriage [contract] the Emperor subsequently confirmed and signed; and in Cornwall and Kent, the people, wishing for a native Sovereign and not a foreigner, resented this, taking up arms and rebelling. On account of this insurrection the four ambassadors quitted London and returned to Brussels. The last London letters inform the Signory that the rebels in Kent, under their commander Sir Thomas Wyatt, were approaching London, hoping for support from the Londoners, but on the 7th February, the day of the letter's date the Queen's infantry and cavalry marched against them and fought a battle near London, in which her Majesty's forces were victorious, capturing Wyatt, and five other men of quality, who have been taken to London and committed to the Tower. The Emperor, on

1554.

hearing of this victory, sent orders to Spain for the Prince to come for the consummation of the marriage, and has provided a number of ships for his passage. The Emperor has summoned a Diet at Augsburg for the second week in Easter (*per l' ottava di Pasqua*), with orders for the Princes of Germany to appear, and giving out that he himself will attend, [that Cardinal Pole, who is on his way to England to the Queen his near relation, has had audience of the Emperor, to whom according to report, in the Pope's name, he proposed terms of peace with the King of France,]* and that news has been received from Spain of the death of the Emperor's mother, and of the Prince of Portugal, his son-in-law, leaving his widow pregnant; and by letters from France of the 13th February, it is heard that she has been delivered of a son, who succeeds to the Crown of Portugal.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 14. Neutrals, 10.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

862. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Having written what was necessary about his coming into these parts, to the Cardinal di Monte,† it merely remains for him to tell the Pope, that on the third day after his departure from Brussels, the Bishop of Arras sent to him by an express, a letter from the Queen of England, of which he encloses a translation; and the Bishop said the Queen wished it to be delivered to him as soon as possible. On the day after its receipt Pole sent one of his attendants in haste to England with the reply, the summary of which, should the Pope so please, he can hear from Pole's agent at Rome, and save himself the trouble of reading the instructions given to the messenger.

Had he not been compelled by the shortness of the time, Pole would not have given any positive reply to the Queen until he had first heard in detail the will and order of his Holiness, whom he informed, on receipt of the Queen's penultimate letter, that she then made him the same request; and knowing of the Parliament which is to commence at Oxford on the 2nd of April,‡ he believes it to be the cause of the haste evinced by the Queen, when she says that *mora trahit periculum*, and that she purposes making use of these bishops in this Parliament; so that Pole deemed it by no means expedient to interpose any difficulty or delay in gratifying her Majesty's pious wish, and giving this commencement of recourse and submission to the authority of the Pope and the Apostolic See. On the return from England of his messenger, which he hopes may take place at any rate by Easter, Pole will immediately give notice to the Pope of the whole.

From St. Denis, the 2nd March 1554.

[*Italian.*]

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* The bracketed paragraph in the *register*, was to be ciphered in the *letter*.

† The letter has not been found.

‡ "The Queen intends to keep Easter at Windsor, and immediately thereafter to repair to Oxford, where she means to hold a Parliament and keep term." (*See* Foreign Calendar, 22nd February 1554, Westminster, No. 157, Wyatt.)

1554.
March 6.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xxi. p. 90.

863. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That of the moneys destined for ambassadors, 600 golden ducats be given to the nobleman, Ser Zuan Michiel, ambassador elect to the Queen of England, on account of his expenses for four months, and 150 ducats at the rate of 6 livres and 4 "soldi" per ducat, for the purchase of horses, 30 ducats for coverings and trunks, 50 ducats as a gift for his Secretary, and 40 ducats for two couriers, at the rate of 20 ducats each, and also 200 ducats for couriers, despatch of letters, escorts, guides and safe-conducts.

The treasurer of the Council to pay Michiel's agents on the expiration of three months after his departure from Venice, at the commencement of the fourth month, 150 golden ducats, namely, one month's salary, so that he may always have one month in advance, and thus from month to month.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 8.

864. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, ambassador elect to England, do appear tomorrow morning before the Chiefs of this Council, who will tell him that as the Emperor, suspects Michiel's predecessor [Giacomo Soranzo] of having performed some evil office in the matter of the marriage of the Prince his son, and against the Spanish nation, the will of the Council is, that Michiel do proceed with all speed to his legation, so that within the next ten days at the furthest, he is to depart from Venice and go with all diligence to his post, keeping secret what will be told him by the Chiefs aforesaid.

Ayes, 26. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxix. p. 5, tergo.

865. MOTION made in the SENATE about English News destined for Constantinople.

The Emperor's Ambassadors went to England to the Queen, and concluded the marriage between her and the Prince of Spain, the Emperor confirming it. Some Englishmen, resenting this marriage, rebelled, as they wished to have a native for their King, and not a foreigner. Owing to this insurrection, the Ambassadors quitted London, and returned to Brussels; and the rebels in Kent, with troops under the command of their leader, Sir Thomas Wyatt, approached London, hoping for support from the inhabitants, but they were met by the Queen's soldiery and worsted, Wyatt being captured and many others taken to London and committed to the Tower. Some other chiefs of the rebellion were also arrested; and the Lady Jane Grey, who had heretofore been proclaimed Queen, and her husband, were beheaded. The Emperor on hearing of the victory sent an order to Spain for the Prince to come immediately to consummate the marriage, and a number of ships have been provided for his voyage. His Imperial Majesty has sent back

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one of the aforesaid Ambassadors to England, and has summoned (*indito*) a Diet at Augsburg for the second Easter-week, desiring the Princes of Germany to attend it in person, and giving out that he himself also would be there. In Flanders, negotiations were on foot to obtain from the states of those provinces (*li signori delli paesi di Fiandra*) a considerable sum of money. [Cardinal Pole had arrived at Brussels on his way to England from the Pope to the Queen, whose near relation he is. It is said that he is sent on account of the religion, that he will quit Brussels before the end of February, and that his right reverend Lordship has exhorted the Emperor in the Pope's name, to make peace with the most Christian King.]*

Ayes, 86.

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Lettere Secrete Capi Consiglio X., File no. 5.

866. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.†

Have elected as Ambassador in England the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, who this day departed on his way to his embassy. Have given him notice of this for his instruction.

Ser Petrus Maurocenus, C.C.X. Lectæ Cl^mis et Sap. utr. manus.
Ser Thomas Contarenus, C.C.X.
Ser Hieronimus Grimano, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 10, tergo.

867. COMMISSION from the DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Ambassador designate to England.

Have elected him as their Ambassador to reside with the Queen in the stead of Giacomo Soranzo. On arriving at the court, to present his credentials to the Queen, and express their congratulations on her accession and on her marriage. To announce his appointment as Soranzo's successor, offering his services for the maintenance of the good understanding between the two countries, and recommending to her Majesty the Republic's merchants in England; and whenever they apply to him (Michiel) for assistance and favour, to afford it to them.

If the Prince of Spain, the Queen's Consort, should already be there, or if not, immediately on his arrival, is to perform every office with his Highness to convince him of the Signory's observance towards the Emperor, and of their esteem for his Highness, as also of their intention to persevere in the friendship existing between them and his Imperial Majesty.

To present himself to the Councillors and exhibit the Signory's credentials, addressing each of them in such terms as to assure them of the affection which the Signory bears their Excellencies; and after he has remained a few days with his predecessor, and received from him all due information, they give Soranzo leave to return, as by the accompanying letter to his address.

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* The bracketed passage was ciphered in the despatch, but not in the register.
† The letter to be transcribed in cipher.

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To visit the other personages of the Court, and the Lords of the Council, according to their grade and authority, so that in return for these compliments, they may favour the interests of the Republic and its merchants.

To visit the Ambassadors of foreign powers at the English Court, so as to preserve the Signory's friendly relations with their sovereigns, taking the same course with regard to the Lords and personages in attendance on the Prince of Spain. During his residence at the Court is to use every possible effort to learn its negotiations and designs (*trattatione*), and the events of the kingdom, giving them especial notice of everything day by day.

On his journey to England, should he meet with any Prince or personage whom he might think it fit to visit for the advantage of the Signory's affairs, he is not to omit doing so, performing whatever office he shall deem becoming, in conformity with their grade and station.

For his expenses, have appointed him 150 golden ducats per month, 600 of which to be paid in advance, besides 150 ducats, at the rate of 6 livres and 4 soldi per ducat, for the purchase of horses, 30 for trunks and coverings, and 20 for a courier, as usual.

Ayes, 186. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 12.

868. COMMISSION from the DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR SORANZO in England.

Having granted his request to return home, are sending Zuan Michiel to reside with the Queen in his stead. To take leave of her Majesty and return. Are well satisfied with him, and commend the diligence and prudence which he displayed in such matters as he had to treat during his legation.

Ayes, 186. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 8.

869. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, on his way to England.

Warn him not to go to the courts either of the Emperor or of the most Christian King, but to proceed to his legation through France, adroitly avoiding the court, without showing that he does so designedly, or by their order. He is to desire his predecessor to do the like on his return, and after having read together this letter and its extract (*con l' estratto di esse*), they are to burn them in secret, to prevent their falling into the hands of other persons.

Ayes, 23. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 8.

870. The SAME to the SAME.

Not to interfere in matters not relating to the Signory, save as regards learning the state of affairs. Not to evince partiality, but to proceed alike with the ministers, both of the Emperor and of the most Christian King, so that the one may not suspect him of being more inclined to the other. In conversation, and in all his other

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acts, to avoid giving cause to any one to suspect or talk as they have done of late, much to the Signory's displeasure.

Ayes, 23. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

871. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

Wrote to him from St. Denis on the 12th ult.,* announcing his arrival there, and how the King had let him know that on account of Passion week,† during which he purposed, as usual, abstaining from any business, Pole should be pleased to delay his coming to him until after the holidays. Did not think fit to make any further reply, but as he chanced to have compiled a discourse (*discorso*) on this affair of the peace, in order not to lose the occasion and opportunity afforded by the season, he sent it to his Majesty under cover to the Constable, telling him that as he could not then have audience of his Majesty in person, he thought he might confer with him by means of this writing, but referring himself to his Excellency, in case he thought fit to give it to the King, as he wrote back he had done, and that his Majesty had read it with interest and seemed to be pleased with it, as he himself indeed subsequently said to Pole. A copy of this discourse ‡ will be given to Cardinal di Monte with this letter. The Archbishop of Vienne, who, on hearing of the King's determination about Pole's going to Fontainebleau, went back [from St. Denis] to the Court, returned on Good Friday, being sent by his Majesty; so Pole departed from St. Denis on Easter Monday [26th March], and on the 29th § arrived at Fontainebleau, accompanied by the Cardinal de Chatillon, who, having been called by the King for this purpose, joined him near Melun.

He was also met, at his Majesty's desire, by the Duke of Lorraine and by Mons. de Guise, and by all the other personages of the Court, and immediately on alighting was taken to the King, who received him most graciously. After presentation of the papal brief, and when his Majesty had read it, Pole explained to him the Pope's great wish for peace between him and the Emperor, owing to the need of it for Christendom, and for the individual good of their Majesties; which desire was such that, had he not been prevented by age and indisposition, his Holiness would willingly have undergone any toil in his own person for this holy purpose; Pole adding such other words on the subject as seemed fit to him at this first interview.

The King, in reply, evinced great pleasure at the Pope's paternal disposition, and also commended Pole, saying in short that for his own part he was anxious for peace and the common weal. On taking leave of his Majesty, Pole went to the Queen [Catherine de'

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* Not found.

† As the dates of these letters are occasionally transcribed incorrectly, I make note that in the year 1554, Easter Sunday was on the 25th of March. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, Table Chronologique, p. 33, ed. Paris, 1770.)

‡ Not found.

§ In Wotton's letter to Sir William Petre, dated Paris, 17th April, Pole is said to have arrived at Fontainebleau on the 8th April. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, p. 72.)

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CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE. (4th April).

Medici], and after saluting her in the Pope's name, exhorted her to perform such good offices as might be anticipated from her piety, which she seemed well-inclined and ready to do.

On the same evening the Constable [Anne de Montmorency] came to visit Pole, and had a long conversation with him, in which he commenced by testifying at great length to the good-will and desire of his most Christian Majesty, entertained and demonstrated from the commencement, not merely to preserve but to augment his friendship with the Emperor; and after saying much in justification of what the King had done, he spoke of himself, saying that under all circumstances he had ever been desirous of peace and favourable to it,* mentioning the causes, both public and private, which then, and now more than ever, induced him thus to do. Of this Pole showed himself convinced, and said he was certain that this last war was neither commenced nor well conducted by his advice, through which, coupled with good management, the forces of France had shown themselves much greater than before,† and that his Excellency having been the chief instrument to the King's honour in the management and execution of the war,‡ such help was now expected from his prudence and piety, for the conclusion of a good peace, as would obtain yet greater honour and benefit for his Majesty, and all Christendom also.

The Constable then invited Pole to propose some suitable arrangement (*qualche partito conveniente*), offering himself as ready to assist and favour the business with all his might. Told him that from the Emperor he had nothing but a testification of his goodwill in general about the peace, his Majesty having shown him the demand he made in the time of the former legates, to which no reply had been given, so he was expecting it, and if it were such as evinced a disposition to come to some good settlement, Pole said that in that case the Emperor would show by deeds that he was not averse to peace; so it merely remained for Pole to exhort his most Christian Majesty to make such a reply as would render his good-will intelligible, and serve as a good beginning for this negociation, instead of preventing it; and he said that as the Constable was better acquainted than anyone else with all the particulars of the claims made by these two sovereigns, it seemed becoming for him to devise and propose some arrangement, reasonable and acceptable for both parties, in which case Pole would not fail performing such office as his position required by recommending to either side such modifications as seemed to him expedient to facilitate the conclusion of the affair. The Constable, however, again repeated that Pole was to suggest some specific agreement, promising that he also would do the like; and as Pole always persisted in the same proposal, Montmorency departed, but seemed

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* Esser stato sempre in ogni tempo stato desideroso et fautore della pace.

† E gli dissi che io era certo che questa ultima guerra non era incominciata ne ben aministrata co'l consiglio suo (*sic*) mediante il quale con il buon governo insieme le forze di questo regno se erano mostrate molto maggiori che prima.

‡ Et chè essendo stata S. Eccelenza principal instrumento all' honor del Re nel maneggio et essecutione della guerra.

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CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE. (4th April).

satisfied, as he moreover evinced more largely (*largamente*) when talking with the Nuncio, always, however, again inviting them to make some specific proposal (*qualche particolar propositione*).

On the same evening the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at the court, and next day came to visit Pole, with whom he remained a long while, the conversation always relating in like manner to this affair of the peace, towards which he also seemed well disposed, and said he felt himself the more bound to promote it, besides other respects, being a Cardinal and member of the Apostolic See.

On the day before yesterday* Pole was invited to dine with the King, who, after dinner, gave him a very gracious and leisurely (*commoda*) audience, at which Pole told him in detail what he had negociated with the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras at Brussels, and the reply they gave him, adding that it was now expected that his most Christian Majesty, in conformity with the good disposition evinced by him towards the peace,† should make such reply to the Emperor's demands, as to give certain testimony to the world of this his will; Pole having previously said that he would not further exhort the King to make peace, perceiving that without further exhortation the Lord God had so well disposed him. His Majesty in reply again thanked the Pope for this pious office, performed to effect the peace; and then commenced saying diffusely how much he had always wished for it, and how from the beginning he had not only been disposed to abide by the last agreement made by the King, his father, with the Emperor, but was also content to increase and augment his friendship with him, to effect which he attempted by many ways, some of which he narrated to Pole; but as they were not accepted, and as it did not appear that the Emperor ever held his friendship in account, an opportunity for war occurring subsequently, the peace was broken. And the King declared that it was not by his fault, nor because he had given cause for it, but that he entered upon this war provoked (*spinto*) by these causes, nor at present has he reason to wish for peace, but rather for the war's progress; and of what sort that progress has been the King said was well known; notwithstanding which, on account of the common weal, he will always be ready to make peace, provided he sees reciprocity on the other side, and that fair terms be proposed tending to this end.

The King said all this very civilly (*con molto bel modo*), and with great moderation (*e con gran modestia*), never making any mention of the Emperor, save in honourable terms; and he also said that between himself and the Emperor there had not occurred those particular causes for enmity, which arose between the King, his father, and the Emperor, and made them even challenge each other; and that he himself has always esteemed the Emperor, with whom he was and is ready to form the best possible friendship (*ogni buona amicitia*), nor on his part will he fail to prove this by deeds. And

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* "Non heri, l' altro." In the 16th and 17th centuries; the Italians thus expressed "the day before yesterday"—"*Not yesterday, the day before.*" Cardinal Pole dined with Henry II. of France on the 2nd of April 1554.

† Con dirli poi che hora si aspettava che Sua Maestà in conformità del bon animo et dispositione che ella mostra alla pace facese tal risposta alle domande dell' Imperatore che bavesse a dar certo testimonio a tutto il mondo de questa sua voluntà.

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CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE. (4th April).

with regard to replying to the Emperor's proposal, made through the Cardinal of Imola, as Pole requested, he said in the first place that was done at the time, but that he might speak about it to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, who would explain the King's mind more fully to him, repeating again, and confirming, his good disposition towards peace.

On the morrow, which was yesterday, these two personages came to Pole, and the first to speak was the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose discourse was a mere introduction, he referring himself to the Constable, to whom he deferred both on account of his age and authority, and because his Excellency had the chief charge of these affairs. At the commencement of his discourse, the Constable expatiated even more than he had done the first time on the King's goodwill and inclination towards the peace, and then justified more in detail the cause of the war, by showing that the King had been compelled to enter upon it, repeating more distinctly what the King and his Excellency had told Pole previously. He also confirmed their goodwill towards peace; but with regard to the point of the reply which remained to be given, he said in the first place that it had been already delivered, alleging both time, place, and form. And having brought with him the Emperor's identical proposal, he requested the Nuncio, who was present, (and very opportunely assisted Pole, as he had done previously during the negociation,) to read it; and thus in the course of perusal the Constable purposed answering article by article, which Pole sought adroitly to prevent, by inviting the Nuncio to continue the reading, so as subsequently to obtain a more positive and coherent (*più resoluta et unita*) reply in writing to all the articles together, and not merely by word of mouth, as he feared they intended doing.

When the writing had been read, the Constable again said that there was no occasion to make any further reply; to which Pole rejoined, showing on the contrary that it was necessary both to reply and to make the answer in such a form as to render manifest to everybody the goodwill of his Majesty. This Pole urged to the utmost, setting forth to them what he had negociated with the Bishop of Arras, from whom he had endeavoured to obtain [the assurance] of some intention, which might give hope of being able to modify their proposal in such parts as needful (*che fussero convenienti*), and in conformity with the answer made to him by their Lordships; coming to the conclusion that it was for France to make this modification, and that the reply to be given them would prove consistent, provided they proposed reasonable terms, and showed that on this side they had really the wish to make a good and lasting peace.*

Pole, therefore, repeated that it was necessary to make a fresh reply, and such as to testify the goodwill both of the King and of their Lordships; about which they at length said they would speak again to the King, and that they hoped in this respect Pole would be satisfied.

* Concludendo chè a questa parte toccava la detta modificatione, et chè all' hora così responderiano, quando si proponessero cose che havessero del ragionevole e che dimostrassero che dal canto di qua, se havesse veramente voglia de far una buona et stabil pace.

1554.

CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE. (4th April.)

His secretary, Fiordibello, whom he left at Brussels with orders to await the Nuncio's arrival, and to follow after his first audience of the Emperor, has brought him the Pope's brief, addressed to the Queen of England, together with Cardinal di Monte's letters of the 28th February in reply to Pole's of the 28th January and 12th February. Pole hopes that the missing packet about which the Cardinal writes will have arrived subsequently, and that he will also have received the last letters which Pole wrote, on his departure from Brussels, and from St. Denis.

On the second day after his arrival at Fontainebleau, there madè his appearance unexpectedly, one of the sons of his sister* [Ursula], who has allowed himself to be induced by evil counsel to quit England, with his brother-in-law and another gentleman, solely on account of dissatisfaction at this marriage made by the Queen (*per la mal contenteza de questo matrimonio della Regina*); and he had the audacity to present himself to Pole, who, on hearing the cause of his departure, expelled him his presence instantly (*subito lo scacciai da me*), desiring his (Pole's) attendants not to associate with him. This circumstance has greatly displeased Pole on many accounts.

This evening, the King sent to Pole, by one of the Royal secretaries, a certain writing in reply to the Emperor's proposal, of rather an irritating tenour than otherwise (*più tosto irritativa che altramente*), and which he will transmit in a few days by a messenger express, acquainting the Pope at the same time with what little else he may be able to elicit from the King, of whom he is to have audience tomorrow preparatory to his (Pole's) departure; and at any rate, he has determined that the best thing for him to do is to proceed towards Brussels, should the French ministry say nothing to the contrary, without sending any other messenger in advance, save on arriving at Cambrai, with the intention of making a final effort, if possible, to bring the negociation to some commencement with one side and the other, avoiding to the utmost all cause for mental irritation.

Next Sunday, the 8th (God willing), Pole purposes making his public entry into Paris, being invited thus to do in the name of his Majesty, who also chooses him to publish the jubilee; and they also, with all courtesy, invite him to make use of his powers (*facultà*), offering to have them published; and on the morrow he will set out for Brussels, where he hopes to arrive before the 20th instant.

Having written thus far yesterday evening, he went this morning to take leave of the King, from whom, although he used every endeavour, he was unable to obtain any of the points (*particolari*) desired by him, as he will acquaint the Pope in detail by the messenger to be sent hereafter; and, in the meanwhile, he humbly kisses Cardinal di Monte's hand, requesting him, with due reverence, to kiss in his name his Holiness's feet.

From Fontainebleau, 4th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

* Query, Robert or Thomas Stafford, sons of Ursula Pole, by her husband, William Lord Stafford. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index and pp. 69 and 79, Nos. 177 and 198.)

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April 4. **872.** CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

"Our" Fiordibello brought him Cardinal Morone's letter of the 28th February, written in reply to several of Pole, and together with it was the supplementary brief for the powers (*facultà*) to confirm the Bishops and perform other necessary acts in England, concerning which he will say nothing further, referring himself to what Ormanetto is writing to Messer Giovanni Francesco. Will continue to follow the prudent and loving suggestion of Cardinal Morone about writing to the Palace; and thanks him much for the affection demonstrated as usual in his favour in this and all other matters. Subsequently, on his way hither to the Court, he received Cardinal Morone's other letters, dated 19th March, giving advice of the receipt of all his other letters written from Brussels.

Returns thanks to Cardinal Morone, for the office performed with his Holiness on account of his appointments (*mei provisioni*), praying him to kiss the Pope's feet in his name for his Holiness's graciousness in providing for his need even by extraordinary means. Has availed himself of the very prudent suggestions of Cardinal Morone with regard to the most Christian King and the French Ministry, in proposing and treating the affair of the peace, concerning which he will say nothing more, as, together with the present letter, he is sending him a copy of what he writes to Cardinal di Monte, and of the reply given to Pole by his most Christian Majesty,* which he will send to Brussels.

The coming of Pole's nephew to Fontainebleau has greatly troubled him, and he would have felt it still more had not the Almighty in this matter, as in everything else, not disdained to comfort him through the faith which he has in His divine providence, whereby it was ordained that, when he left Dillingen to go to England, Pole determined not to give him any letter of recommendation, either to the Queen or to others.† As Pole has to return to Brussels about this affair of the peace, he would think it very desirable for the Nuncio in France not to depart, Pole, as stated, having found him very adroit, and an able instrument to negotiate with his Majesty and the French Ministry (*et con questi altri Signori*). This Pole mentions, having heard that the Pope seems to purpose sending another in his stead; and therefore he notifies this his opinion to Cardinal Morone, that he may speak about it to his Holiness.

From Fontainebleau, 4th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 5.
Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xxi. p. 99.

873. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That out of the moneys appointed for ambassadors 250 ducats be paid to the nobleman Ser Lorenzo Soranzo, son of Ser Francesco, on account of moneys disbursed by his brother Ser Jacomo Soranzo,

* Not found.

† By Pole's letters from Dillingen, dated 20th and 22nd October, it appears that the nephew then in his company was Thomas Stafford.

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knight, the Signory's ambassador in England, for carriage of letters, fees to couriers, and other expenses.

Ayes, 24. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

His father, Ser Francesco, member of the Junta, withdrew.

[*Italian.*]

April 6. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 14.

874. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The ambassador of the Queen of England has been recalled from Brussels by her Majesty, as she purposes sending him with other personages to Spain to the Prince the Emperor's son, the English advices stating that these personages were to depart immediately.* The Prince will come speedily to consummate his marriage with the Queen, and the French are fitting out and arming ships and other vessels in several places off the coast of Brittany, along which the Prince will pass, and they are mustering a large number of infantry in those parts, and according to report the Marquis of Brandenburg has entered the service of the most Christian King.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

875. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Deems it his duty to give the Pope a more particular account of all that has passed hitherto, both in the matter of the negociation about England as also about that of the peace, than can be transmitted by letter. For this purpose, has made choice of the gentleman the bearer of these credentials,† of whose good and rare qualities the Pope will have heard from Pole's agent, and Pole himself has had experience of him. Beseeches the Pope to give the messenger full credence for whatever he shall announce in Pole's name, and to acquaint him subsequently with his Holiness's pleasure with regard to the doubts raised by Pole.

From Paris, 8th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 20. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

876. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

His last, dated the 10th from St. Denis, were sent through Dr. Chizzola, and previously from Fontainebleau he wrote an account to Cardinal di Monte of all his negociations at the French Court; and then continuing his journey back to Brussels, was met three days before his arrival by some gentlemen in the service of the Queen of Hungary, and afterwards by that same Mons. Adambri (*sic*) who accompanied him on his way towards France. Then on his arrival, which took place yesterday, he was met, according to the Emperor's order, by the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Arras, who were also accompanied by Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], he having arrived at Brussels two days previously.

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* John Earl of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal, and Thomas Viscount Fitzwalter were at the Groyne on the 18th April 1554, and possibly were accompanied by Sir John Masone, who was ambassador at Brussels on the 28th November 1553. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, pp. 32, 74.)

† It is seen by subsequent letters, that the gentleman was Dr. Chizzola, who afterwards accompanied Cardinal Pole to England.

1554.

Pole expects to have speedy audience of the Emperor, and will give full notice of the whole to the Pope either by letter or by a messenger express.

From Brussels, 20th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

877. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By Dr. Chizzola, who was despatched on Pole's departure from St. Denis, he gave the Pope full information both of the affairs of England and of the peace, and his Holiness will have seen in writing the reply given him in the King's name. Having arrived at Brussels on the 19th, as he wrote to Cardinal di Monte, he yesterday, the 21st, had audience of the Emperor, to whom he narrated as delicately as he could the result of his negociations in France, and the reply which was at length given him, endeavouring to mitigate it to the utmost, but without exhibiting the written document. In conclusion, Pole said he returned the more willingly to his Majesty, knowing that his stay in France might have been somewhat injurious to the quiet of England, concerning which matter he mentioned the coming of several Englishmen to France, including even his own nephew, and all that it had behoved him to say and do in this case.

The Emperor, in reply, did not seem to receive this proposal from the King in a way to give hope of what is desired, showing that he did not in the least believe that the French were acting sincerely. As Pole had stated to him how the King said he had never been otherwise than inclined to remain united with his Imperial Majesty, and that he had several times endeavoured to link himself more closely with him, but the wish not being reciprocated he was at length compelled to proceed to hostilities, yet was he not, nor should he ever be otherwise than inclined to this amity, most especially as between them there never had been those causes for enmity which arose between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty's father; to this the Emperor replied, that of yore from the King his father he had not in the course of many years received so many and such grievous injuries as King Henry had done him within a brief period. In short, he said nothing to indicate his approval of Pole's return, and the regard which he had evinced for the affairs of England by coming back to Brussels, but remarked that as Pole was unable to do anything further it would have been better for him to remain in France, or should that have appeared to him unbecoming for the above-mentioned reason, which his Majesty seemed to hold in account, that he should "have gone on his way,"* which were his precise words; and this they say suspecting that Pole's return may subject the Emperor to some reproof.†

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* "Che io fosse andato di longo le quali furno le sue formali parole." Meaning that Cardinal Pole should have returned to Rome. (*See also* Pallavicino, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, vol. iii. p. 297, ed. Faenza, 1793.)

† E ciò dicono, dubitando che questa mia tornata potesse esser occasione de qualche suo incarico.

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Pole concluded by praying the Emperor of his piety and prudence to ponder the whole affair better, and not to lose the opportunity for doing that good towards which he is disposed; and with this he took leave of his Majesty.

Had thought it would be well for the Nuncio to go to the Bishop of Arras to perform such good offices as possible with him, but the Nuncio chancing to be present when the Bishop visited Pole, who commenced talking to him about what he had already discussed with the Emperor, the Bishop interrupted him, saying it was unnecessary to make further repetition, as his Majesty had acquainted him with the whole, and that by no means could any other reply be expected than the one already given him. To acquaint the Pope with the whole more commodiously than he could by letter, he has thought it well to send him his auditor, Messer Nicolo Ormanetto, who knows every particular, and to whom he requests the Pope to give the same credence as he would to Pole himself.

From Brussels, 22nd April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 24. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

878. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The Pope will be fully acquainted with everything by Pole's auditor, so he has nothing else to say to his Holiness save to beseech him not to have the slightest scruple with regard to Pole himself individually, and to remain very sure that he will be most perfectly satisfied with whatever the Pope shall be pleased to command him; and he has been induced to write this letter fearing lest his Holiness's great graciousness might cause him to do otherwise, which on no account would Pole wish; and he humbly kisses the Pope's most holy feet.

From Brussels, 24th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 26. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

879. CARDINAL POLE to MONSIGNOR SANTA CROCE, Nuncio in France.

Arrived at Brussels on the 19th instant, and on the 21st had audience of the Emperor, to whom he narrated the summary of what he had negotiated in the Pope's name with his most Christian Majesty, and what he had brought back. Although Pole did not fail to make the statement in such form as seemed to him most expedient to obtain the result desired for the common weal, yet could he not comprehend from the Emperor's words that there is either desire or hope for any negotiation about the matter of the peace. So perceiving that for the present he can do nothing, he acquainted the Pope with the whole and awaits his orders, not ceasing to pray God to point out the means, which man cannot discover, for pacifying these two great sovereigns for the consolation and safety of Christendom. Subsequently, Pole caused the written reply which he brought with him to be delivered to the Bishop of Arras, from whom he has heard nothing further; and this he notifies to the Nuncio, that he may no longer remain in suspense, and that it may be communicated

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to his most Christian Majesty and the other personages of the French Court.

From Brussels, 26th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original despatch. Venetian Archives.

880. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Papal Nuncio here received letters lately from the Right Rev. Legate [Cardinal Pole], dated [Brussels?] 27th ult., whereby it is understood that Pole having had audience of the Emperor, to whom he announced what he brought back from this court, his Majesty replied that, as the King held out for honour (*stava su 'l honorevole*), and made the great demands notified by me to your Serenity, the Emperor would make no further reply, save that both parties should attend to their interests, and that he would not make any agreement with the King, unless to his own honour, he having no fear whatever of French bravadoes (*de bravate de Francesi*). So the Nuncio having sent the identical letters of Cardinal Pole to the Constable for communication to the most Christian King, his Excellency said to their bearer that in a short while his Majesty's forces would be in such order as to enable the Emperor to ascertain whether they will be bravadoes or not; and to say the truth, since the receipt of this intelligence they seem here to be hastening their military preparations.

The Portuguese ambassador has news from Lisbon that the Princess, the Emperor's daughter [Joanna of Austria], was to leave Lisbon on the 6th instant for Valladolid, where she was to reside as Governess of Spain during the absence of her brother the Prince, he being still in that city, with the intention of going postwise to meet her; then proceeding straight to Coruña to embark at the end of this month on board the Fleet, and cross over to England together with 6,000 Spanish infantry, who, he says, are ready to embark; and that the English ambassadors had arrived at Bilbao;* and at this court it is said that the English Parliament had decreed that those who spoke against this marriage should incur the penalty of rebellion (*che quelli che parlassero contra questo matrimonio cadessero in penna (sic) di ribellione*).

Two days before I left Paris, the noble Zuam Michiel, destined by your Serenity to represent the Republic in England, arrived there; he continued his journey by the speediest and shortest road.

Compiegne, 11th May 1554.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original despatch. Venetian Archives.

881. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At the close of my conversation with the Constable [Anne de Montmorency], he told me he understood the Emperor was going

* By the Foreign Calendar, date 18 April 1554, p. 74, No. 188, it is seen that John Earl of Bedford Lord Privy Seal and Thomas Viscount Fitzwalter, landed not at Bilbao, but at Coruña.

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to Bruges, where some persons said he would be joined by the Prince of Spain, together with the Queen of England, for the consummation of the marriage in that place, which did not seem credible, seeing that the Queen of England scarcely ventured to go out of London, wherefore she would not absent herself from the realm, there being apprehension of some fresh tumult; but should the Emperor move to Bruges, it would be for the additional support of his interests in England (*per dar più favore alle cose sue in Inghilterra*), and to render the Queen as secure as he could. The Queen, by the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, caused divers persons to beheaded daily, of which fate her own sister ran great risk, having been a close prisoner for many days, though she is now understood to have been set somewhat more at liberty; and the Emperor, to secure England for his family, in case no children be born to the Queen, was negotiating the marriage of her sister aforesaid, to the Archduke of Austria [Ferdinand], son of the most Serene King of the Romans; and as to Courtenay, it was supposed he would be soon put to death; and were the right Rev. Cardinal Pole to go to England, the Constable believed the like would be done by him, so that no one who could lay claim to that crown might remain alive. (*"La quale per il medesimo effetto di sicurarsi meglio che può in quel Regno, col consiglio del Vescovo di Vincestre fa tagliare ogni dì molte teste a diverse persone, del che la istessa soa sorella ne è stata in pericolo grande, essendo sta tenuta in gran stretta molti giorni, ma al presente si intendeva, che è alquanto allargata, et che l'Imperator per sicurarsi che quel Regno resti nella Casa soa, in caso che non nascessero figlioli della detta Regina, trattava di maritare la predetta soa sorella nell' Arciduca d'Austria figliuolo del Seren^mo. Re de Romani; et a quanto a Cortené si giudicava che questo sarebbe fatto morire; et che si per sorte il Rev^mo. Cardl. Polo andasse in Inghilterra, soa Eccellenza credeva che il medesimo sarebbe fatto a lui, perchè non restasse in vita più alcuno che possi pretender a quella Corona."*)

Compiegne, 22nd May 1554.

[*Italian.*]

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MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x. Printed in vol. 4. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc. pp. 138-148.

882. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Has received his very long autograph letter, so that he cannot but thank him greatly in the first place for this labour of love, although their friendship is such as not to require a similar office.

Perceives to his very great regret what Morone tells him about the dissatisfaction which the Pope felt in consequence of certain advices given him by the Nuncio,* who, by a courier despatched from Brussels on the day of Pole's audience of the Emperor, wrote that his Majesty disapproved of his return. This news seemed the more distressing, as from the "Report" of Dr. Chizzola hopes had arisen of the total restoration (*reduttione*) of the realm of England to the union and obedience of the Church, there being also some idea of the possibility of commencing a negotiation for peace

* This Nuncio was the Dominican Fra Girolamo Muzzarelli. (*See* Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 296.)

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between these princes, about which the Pope spoke in consistory, thus rendering his own joy universal, and gave orders for fresh thanksgivings. Morone then adds, "*Sed ecce mutata sunt omnia*," by reason of the Nuncio's advices, which contained nothing but what could be known at the time, namely, that Pole's return had not been agreeable to the Emperor. Cannot comprehend how any of the news brought by Chizzola could be contradicted on this account, as it was all based not on words but on facts, such as the Queen's autograph letter to the Pope, the Bishops' proxies (*procure*), together with all the other advices from England authentically proved, so that for the desired conclusion of the total restoration of the realm to the obedience of the Church, nothing remained but the restoration (*la reduttione*) of the Church property as demanded by the Pope, although by the last letter written to Pole on the subject by the Bishop of Winchester (*da Mons. Vintoniense*), which Chizzola took with him, no hope whatever could be had that this restoration would be made in the last session of Parliament (*nel Parlamento ult^o finito*); neither does Pole see any change to the contrary, with regard to what Chizzola brought and narrated about the disposition (*animo*) evinced by the King, concerning the affair of the peace.

Although the Emperor did not subsequently demonstrate satisfaction at Pole's return, yet does he not see, most especially with regard to the matter of England, that this indicates such great change, the dissatisfaction relating not to the cause, but to Pole himself individually (*ma alla persona mia propria*). So should it be deemed that he is so connected with the cause, that by removing the cause would suffer, and he would thus displease the Pope, whereas a remedy might be applied by removing certain umbrage taken by the Emperor, and that this is in great part in Pole's power, Cardinal Morone may rest assured that Pole would rather die than fail to do his utmost to relieve the Pope from any anxiety.

This is the warning given to Pole by Morone in the rest of his letter, coupled with suggestions for the attainment of this end; touching which, what Pole might be able to effect will be more intelligible to Morone when he shall have heard what part of his suggestions Pole has already adopted. For instance, Morone, wishing to explain the causes which might have made the Emperor doubt his sincerity about the affair of the marriage, considers that one of them was Pole's habitual silence (*taciturnità*), and lack of such demonstration of joy as the circumstance required; wherefore Morone exhorts him to remedy this, by doing the contrary both in public and private, saying that this would be the sole remedy to remove every sort of umbrage.

Believes that he heretofore, by letter, assigned reasons to Morone, which in Pole's opinion might acquit him with every one, of not having been well satisfied with this marriage,* but he does not deny that whilst at Dillingen,† he abstained from speaking about

* Che al parer mio potria giustificarmi in questa parte, apresso ogn' uno che havesse opinione che non fusse ben contento di questo matrimonio.

† From the middle of October 1553 until January 1554.

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this matter, although it was publicly discussed by everybody; and that when writing, and at several times sending messengers to the Queen, even when the marriage was supposed to be concluded, he nevertheless did not write to her on the subject, neither did he give any opportunity for speaking about it. He acted thus, because it did not seem to him, in conformity with modesty nor expedient for the benefit of the chief cause of the religion which he had in hand, to speak about such a thing, before the person whom it concerned had either asked his opinion or given him any hint of it. But subsequently, on his arrival at Brussels, the Queen, by means of her ambassadors, caused him to be spoken to about the marriage, and informed of the reason which induced her to make it, saying that it was solely from her wish to be enabled perfectly to reform and establish the affairs of the religion through the union (*congiontione*) with so powerful and Catholic a Prince, and simultaneously to give the entire realm some consolation from the hope of her having a successor.*

Thereupon, Pole thought it was the fitting moment to speak about the marriage, as he did, saying that these were the true means, and that her Majesty being induced to make it for such an end, it might be said that she did not marry of her own will, but that in fact God united her; for the auspicious result of which union Pole would always pray, offering to serve their Majesties in what he could to that effect; adding many other words of this tenour, and making as it were a public speech. Morone was also informed of what Pole said in conformity with this to the Emperor at his first audience, moved by what Morone had written to him on the subject according to the Pope's order, announcing his Holiness's joy at this marriage, and then saying the same with regard to himself, offering his services, &c.

From that time to this, Pole, when speaking with the personages of the Imperial Court, and with the ambassadors sent thither from England, has never allowed any opportunity to escape for very clearly expressing his goodwill in this matter; nor has he failed subsequently to do the like with the Queen by letters, and by means of the messengers whom he had occasion to send to her. All this he did before his departure from France; and the Divine Providence, to prevent any suspicion and dispel all umbrage from the Emperor's mind, foreseeing perhaps that no verbal evidences would suffice for the purpose, as it may be always said they are words, as are writings also, afforded him the opportunity of giving testimony of his mind by deed,—which opportunity was such that had he opened his breast he could not have more clearly shown the sincerity of his heart,—rebuking his nephew [Thomas Stafford] and expelling him his house in the way he did, without even choosing to see certain letters which he wished to give Pole from malcontents as impassioned as his nephew himself; and Pole subsequently spoke to the King, exhorting him not to give ear to similar persons and proposals. From this mode of proceeding, bearing in mind the time

* Et per dar insieme a tutto il regno qualche consolatione della successione sua

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and place and the Prince, who perhaps heretofore, for similar causes, would have wished Pole to have visited his kingdom before going to the Low Countries, and by his departing immediately after this* those persons who consider all these circumstances, may, he believes, see that he could give neither a greater nor a surer pledge of his goodwill, so that had any umbrage remained, it would all have been removed by this act alone, on account of which, had nothing else come of it, he expected that his return to Brussels would have been most acceptable; and he also purposed continuing to testify his goodwill by words as he best might.

On hearing that the Parliament had concluded nothing further about the return of the kingdom to the obedience, he did not write to the Queen, not choosing to distress her by complaining of this delay, as he interpreted and understood it to proceed less from her than from the Providence of God, who had ordained that in like manner as by the matrimonial discord of an English King and of a Spanish Queen, the obedience of the Church was abolished (*levata*) by that kingdom, so by the matrimonial concord of a Spanish King and of an English Queen was it to return. Pole, therefore, prayed God for the speedy and auspicious coming of the Prince, nor does he doubt but that in the next Parliament holden the first act will decree the return of the realm to the obedience of the Church, as the foundation of all the good which may be expected from a King and Queen who are so Catholic.

Wrote this in his last letters to her Majesty, and argues in the same strain with everybody; and to those who, because the King is a foreigner, seem dissatisfied with this marriage, he is accustomed to say that God wills to deceive the English (for their consolation) with this foreign King, in like manner as they deceived themselves—to the offence of God, and so much to their own public and private detriment—in KingHenry, in whom they had placed their whole hope of worldly felicity; and that in like manner as for trusting too much in that Prince and forgetting God, they were so chastised that no hostile foreign Prince could have punished them more severely, so at present, when apprehensive of losing all consolation by having a foreign King, they, if they obey God, will be deceived to their advantage, finding greater consolation in him than could be expected by them from any native sovereign. Thus does Pole converse and reason with everybody, be they satisfied or dissatisfied, and makes himself, as it were, a prophet for the purpose of soothing those who are irritated, and confirming the bias of the well disposed as much as he can by words; and if this be not sufficient to remove all umbrage, he knows not what more he can do; and any further step would make him suspect himself of affectation, of which he is by nature very abhorrent,† and render him less persuasive than he wishes to be; notwithstanding which, should any better means be suggested to him, he has not the slightest objection to carry them into effect, having no scruples of conscience whatever; and this he says before

* This somewhat obscure passage is explained by a subsequent paragraph.

† Et ogni passo che andasse più oltra dubitarei de haver dell' affettato dal che per

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God, and, although at the commencement this marriage-case seemed to him a disputable problem—*in utramque partem* whether advantageous for the parties or not, it appearing to him of more doubtful profit to the Prince than to the Queen—nevertheless, now that it is concluded, he accepts this marriage as a fixed article (*un articolo fermo*) of the providence of God—who alone may gainsay it—and all Pole's deeds and words have been in conformity with this precept.

This will suffice in reply to Morone's exhortations, that Pole should endeavour to remove from the Emperor's mind any umbrage conceived by him with regard to this marriage, nor can he see that his Majesty could have any other umbrage or other cause for taking offence, either on account of this his return from France, or for what he negotiated; there being two most cogent reasons for his return, for one of which he deserved to be thanked, and his Imperial Majesty, moreover, seemed to approve and be gratified by it, namely, that he returned the more willingly to Brussels, to avoid the concourse of those opponents of the marriage who went over to France. Although he gave them no harbour (*ricapito*), and was moreover contrary to them, the mere report of his remaining in France might nevertheless have encouraged many persons in England to depart thence (not being distinctly acquainted with his opinions), as several did, during his brief stay in the French territory. So that by his departure, depriving every one of any hope in him, he did service both to the Queen and to the Emperor, and showed how much he desired the quiet of England, and failed not, at the risk of offending the most Christian King and others, to perform such offices, as he did, departing immediately afterwards; and had there been no other cause, this would have amply sufficed to justify his departure from France.

Concerning the matter of the peace Morone has heard everything, and seen the King's reply, which is made in such a way that the Emperor having predetermined to make either war or peace might take just occasion from that writing to do either one or the other, for should he wish to make war he may take the opportunity from the exaggerated demands made in the first part of the writing, and if he intends to make peace the last part opens the road for him to commence negotiations, most especially as Pole narrated what had been said to him verbally on the subject by the French ministry; so that had he been the most astute man in the world, and his sole object that of serving the Emperor, he could not have done better than the occasion caused him to do, without astuteness of any sort. Should the Pope be of opinion, as Morone writes, that Pole has not given any just cause of offence, he may be yet more confirmed in it on learning more in detail how matters passed; and as Morone says that Pole's silence might have caused his nephew [Thomas Stafford] to believe and tell others that he, Pole, was not well satisfied with this marriage, he chooses Morone to learn the opportunity granted him by the Almighty at Dillengen for proving quite the contrary, for whilst there his said nephew having in the pre-

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the Queen should marry a foreigner, Pole reproved him sharply,* and for this reason would by no means allow of his then going to England, but as he nevertheless chose to go contrary to Pole's opinion, he would not write to the Queen or others in recommendation of him, nor allow any of the rest of his retinue (*ne lasciar che altri mei*) to make mention of him in England.

It remains for Pole to answer the last part of Morone's letter, where he endeavours to remove the suspicion which he supposes Pole to entertain that the Emperor is offended with him, so that he wishes to be recalled, Morone showing that Pole was deceived in the chief suspicion, based on the sudden departure of that courier, which mistake has given him pleasure. But if Morone will consider the words said to him about his return, first of all by the Emperor, and the mode of discourse subsequently held with him by the Bishop of Arras, and what he afterwards said still more openly to the Nuncio, Morone will perceive that if they did not choose to have recourse to the cudgel and drive him away, it was impossible for their language to be more violent, and had he not taken it in this sense he would have shown himself to be little more than a stone. Will not repeat the words, knowing that Morone will have heard the whole [from the Nuncio]† and from Ormanetto; but to tell him the thing as it is, neither the Emperor's language nor that of the Bishop of Arras caused him to suspect them of seeking his recall, but the Nuncio, with good reason, was the first to draw this inference, from the sudden departure of the courier; and as notwithstanding all this, Pole could not convince himself thoroughly of the fact, he requested the Nuncio to speak with the Bishop of Arras to ascertain better the Emperor's mind, as he did, and on hearing what Morone knows, it then seemed to Pole that both one and the other of them had just cause to think that these Imperialists (*questi Signori*) were determined he should not remain in those parts.

Morone is not, however, to suppose that Pole failed to bear in mind his hint, that the Emperor, if from no other cause, at least on account of his own honour, when he heard what Pole brought from France, could not but show himself dissatisfied, and that this dissatisfaction did not arise on account of Pole individually, but by reason of this reply. Such was Pole's interpretation also; in proof of which although he knew of the departure of the courier he would not write until he heard further, solely to avoid saddening the Pope, until more convinced by deeper investigation of the basis and root of the matter. But when he heard the words uttered by the Bishop of Arras, considering at the same time all that had been said and done by the Emperor from the commencement of his legation down to the present time, as also the sudden departure of this courier, Pole inferred that this resolve was positive, and that

* Havendo esso mio nepote detto alcune parole in presentia di altri per le quale *mostrava gran despiacere* che la Regina fusse per maritarsi in un forastiero, io lo rebuffai acerbamente.

In the printed version (vol. iv. p. 144, last line) "*mostrava grandissimo piacere.*" The mistake is a very gross one, and vitiates the sense of the whole letter, which is one of the most interesting in the collection.

† As in vol. iv. Epist. etc., p. 146.

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the Pope to avoid distressing him (as he might apprehend, knowing his gracious nature) was induced to retract his assurance;* and thereupon, despairing of any good result, Pole determined to write and beseech his Holiness not to have the slightest regard in this case for him personally, but solely to consider the cause and the satisfaction of the Emperor, without which there was no hope of doing anything.

Morone will thus see whence Pole's request proceeded, not from any wish for repose nor from any other motive, but merely that his Holiness might be better served, seeing that in this matter for one reason or another (*per qual rispetto si voglia*) Pole was personally disagreeable to this sovereign; and if in this respect he had deceived himself, and if his Majesty shows himself averse to him, as hinted by Morone, merely on the point of honour, most especially considering what he said to him at the time that as to Pole's goodwill towards him he was very sure of it (*considerando massimamente quel che sua Mtà. mi disse al hora, che quanto al animo mio verso Lei ella era sicurissima*),† but that Pole's return to Brussels was a great affront to him; Pole leaves this and everything else relating to himself and the negotiation, to the very prudent judgment of his Holiness after he shall have seen Pole's letters, and heard Ormanetto's "Relation," considering also what may have been conjectured subsequently to the contrary, namely, that the Emperor would perhaps not dislike Pole's remaining at Brussels, owing to some new idea formed by them on the subject, and from what the Queen caused to be said to his messenger, of which Pole's Messer Gio. Francesco‡ will give the Pope account.

Morone will see that such is the state of the case; nor has Pole anything more to say, save that after the Pope shall have decided as God will have inspired him to do in this business, should he think that Pole's personal services can benefit it, he will refuse neither trouble, toil, nor danger, which he knows the cause must bring him; but that cause, and the person who has to command him, are such that not only will he not shun them, but willingly undergo any peril and hardship; and by God's grace he has no need to be exhorted thus to do, as Morone of his piety exhorts him at the close of his letter, to which part he will reply in his own hand, that he may complain to him more freely and express better his inmost sense in the matter, as at present he does not choose complaints to interfere with the thanks which he is bound to return him for these and so many other loving offices both in this and every other business relating to Pole, for which he knows himself to be more obliged to him than to any other friend he has in the world.

It now behoves him to ask pardon of Morone for having wearied him with so long a letter, although as Morone sees he could not do

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* Et che ne (*sic*) S. Stà per non contristarmi, come Io potevo dubitare conoscendo la sua benigna natura, se inducesse a far replica.

† In vol. iv. Epist. etc., p. 147, "considerando *ultimamente* quel che sua Maestà *disse all' hora* che quanto all' animo mio *verso di* . . . . ella era sicurissima."

‡ Gianfrancesco Stella. (*See* Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 297.)

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less than write at length; notwithstanding which, he has not yet said all that would be necessary for the cause, so he prays him to hear the rest from Pole's agent, and to consider what he is certain he knows, that this cause, or these causes, are not Pole's more than they are Morone's, by reason of the pious mind with which God has endowed Morone towards his honour and the common weal and service of his Holiness; and with this making an end, he humbly kisses his hand, recommending himself to his devout orisons.

From the monastery of Dilingen (*sic*) near Brussels, 25th May 1554.

*Autograph Postscript.**

Morone warns him, in case the Nuncio did not communicate to him the letter sent by the first courier, that he is not to show the Nuncio the letter addressed to Pole by Morone, nor has he shown it; as not only did the Nuncio say nothing to Pole at the time of having written, but when Pole's abbot [Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto] asked him about this, he denied having written, and apologized to Pole for this contradiction (*di questa varietà*), showing that he did everything for a good end, and Pole cannot believe it to be otherwise, as he is more than sure of the Nuncio's love and good will to him, which Pole deservedly reciprocates. With regard to his mode of writing, namely, that whilst Pole was speaking to the Emperor, he was not so far off as not to hear a few words, especially the following—that the Emperor would have wished Pole, as he had no further reply from the King, to return to Italy by another road; although it might be suspected to imply that the Nuncio was dissatisfied, because Pole did not call him to be present when he had his conference with the Emperor, Pole cannot suppose that by this form of speech the Nuncio intended to say that he was not altogether pleased at Pole's not taking him in his company when he went to confer with the Emperor, which he could not have done, even had the Nuncio been his colleague; nor does he know whether he did right in doing what he could to have him called subsequently, with the Emperor's permission (*piacendo all' Imperatore*), when some conversation on the subject took place with his Majesty; but the Emperor interrupted the discourse in such a way it was impossible (*ma l'Imp. interruppe il ragionamento in tal modo, che non si puote far cio*), and Pole called the Nuncio, leaving the Bishop of Arras alone, and had this last been called by the Emperor, Pole doubts whether from the interruption caused by one and the other, he should have been able to understand his Majesty's will (*mente*) as well as when talking alone with him. But be this as it may, with regard to the disposition (*animo*) of the Nuncio, he cannot but take whatever Pole did in very good part; and as for his writing unknown to Pole, he did what all novices are accustomed to do when they commence negotiating, to show themselves intelligent and diligent as they ought to be.

* The postscript is not printed in the 4th vol. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," Letter 52,

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With regard to his nephew [Thomas Stafford], Pole forgot to mention that on hearing of his having behaved so well in the Queen's service against the Duke of Norfolk (*sic*) [Suffolk],* for which he is greatly praised by everybody, Pole gave him to understand that he had forgiven him for going to England contrary to his will and opinion; and that should he continue to serve her Majesty well and faithfully, he would always be ready to show him such favour as he could; so that both from this, and from what has been already written in the letter, it can be seen that Pole's silence could not have caused him to act thus, as even he himself, after being rebuked at Fontainebleau, and driven away, confessed that he had neither promised himself nor expected any other reply from Pole.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. ?†
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

883. CARDINAL POLE to his AGENT in ENGLAND.

Writes him this for his more full and ample instruction about what he has to treat at present in Pole's name with the Queen, about the affairs of the religion.

Pole has been informed through a good channel, that there are certain persons in high authority, who not approving what has been done with regard to the absolution from schism demanded lately by certain bishops lately created, and which was conceded them, may possibly endeavour to persuade the Queen that it would be unadvisable (*che non saria ben fatta*) for any single person (*alcuna persona particolare*) to request such absolution, or to seek any reconciliation with the Church, until the return of the whole realm to the obedience of the Apostolic See be determined and concluded by the public consent of Parliament.

Considering therefore what sort of counsel this is (*che sorte de consiglio sia questo*), and that being adopted, it would utterly cancel the merit obtained with God, for the most laudable act performed in England with regard to the religion since the Queen came to the crown, and as this counsel would thus impede and irreparably injure all those whom God has inspired, and will inspire, with the very devout wish to return to the unity of the Church, Pole deems it his duty towards God, and her Majesty, and the whole realm, and becoming his legatine office, to warn the Queen of the poison concealed in the said counsel (*del veleno che sta nascosto nel detto consiglio*), and therefore charges his agent to inform her Majesty in his name of what he has heard and feared; for if it be true, as must be better known to her Highness than to any one else, and if this persuasion (*persuasione*) has not yet been employed, but deferred or totally suppressed, which is not impossible, it is fitting she should be informed of all that may be proposed to her, both that her Majesty may be confirmed in the holy act already performed by

* Thomas Stafford served probably under his kinsman the Earl of Huntingdon, whose pursuit of Suffolk is mentioned by Froude, vol. vi. pp. 154, 169. The Duke of Norfolk was always true to Queen Mary, and died, being 80 years of age, on the 25th August 1554. (*See* Collins, vol. i. p. 98.)

† No date of the day of the month in MS.

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her, as also by the grace of God to render her more ready to resist any such counsel and persuasion as may be offered her hereafter.

The agent is therefore to inform her Majesty of the quality of this sort of counsel, which thwarts those, who, being harassed by conscience and the embarrassment of schism, demand and insist on demanding (*dimandano et dimanderiano*) absolution. Is to demonstrate to the Queen that this counsel, which defers the absolution from the schism committed, is no less odious before God than the act and counsel of those of whom Christ says, "*Væ illis qui scandalizant unum tantum ex pusillis istis,*" such being those who from weakness of faith and not from malice, lapsed into the schism, not having had sufficient strength of mind to resist the fear of the sword hanging over their heads, and which threatened them with death. To impede the spiritual salvation of the meanest individual would be odious to God; and more odious to act thus towards others whose high position and example might be of great assistance, if not impeded by the Bishops, who, wishing to be reconciled and being rejected on account of this counsel, might renounce their holy intention of returning to the bosom of the Church.

Is to request her Majesty to be pleased to consider what sort of counsel this is, there being so great a multitude infected with schism, to prevent an individual, either of high or low degree, he having by especial grace of God the desire to return to the obedience of the Church, from executing his holy desire, until all the others are convinced, and induced to do the like. This counsel may be compared to a case in a pest-house, where there being a great number of patients, and a certain remedy being proposed for one of them, it is rejected because it cannot be taken simultaneously by all the others. Such in truth is this counsel; and if it be contrary to all reason as applied to bodily infirmities, how much less can it be admitted for the grave and pernicious infirmities of the soul, amongst which schism is the chief. And this counsel is so much the more pernicious when speaking of a bishop, whose individual recovery it would be most unfitting to delay for one single hour or moment, still less for weeks and months.

This reason, together with the others, being represented to her Majesty, Pole hopes, from the great favour which God has hitherto conceded to her spiritual and temporal welfare, that she will not need further exhortation than she has already received from his Divine Majesty, warning her of the mischievous effects and great detriment of such counsel, so contrary to the Queen's holy acts performed in this matter. And the agent is to demonstrate that her Highness should not only not draw back in this case, but that the longer Parliament delays decreeing the universal return of the realm to the obedience of the Church, the more should she endeavour that private individuals having this desire should not only without any obstacle on her part be enabled to have recourse to the place and persons with whom they will find that remedy which will restore them to health and to the grace of God, but that they should also know that her Majesty will the more commend them the more speedily and fervently they seek to obtain it. By acting

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thus, the Queen will do the will of that great Lord who has given her *potestatem gladii,* which power is declared by St. Paul, who says, "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same."*

Above all, with regard to the bishops, whose nomination belongs to the Queen, her Highness has to observe this—that no one who has fallen into the schism, and finds himself separated from the obedience to the Church, to the observance of which all Catholic bishops are especially bound by oath, be allowed to assume any ecclesiastical cure (*entri ad haver alcuna cura nella Chiesa*), until he be reconciled to God through his return to the obedience of that Church. The observance of this rule would not only be spiritually beneficial to private individuals (*persone particolari*), and to pastors and their flocks, until the return of all be established by public consent, but when this return shall be proposed in Parliament, this precedent will render it of much more easy attainment. For this reason Pole commenced by saying that this act of bringing back the Bishops without delay from the schism to the unity and obedience of the Church was the most praiseworthy act performed by her Majesty since it has pleased God to give her the crown; and Pole trusts she will persevere in this course until the Almighty give her the grace to induce the whole body of the realm, by common consent, to accept the obedience to the Apostolic See, for which Pole, in company with all those who sincerely love and desire the honour of God, and the welfare of the Queen, pray constantly.

From the monastery of Diligano (*sic*) [near Brussels], . . . [25 ?] May 1554.*

[*Italian.*]

May 28.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," v. iv. pp. 133–138.

884. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Will not keep him longer in suspense about what he wrote in his last in reply to Morone's letter of the 6th, that he had cause to complain of Morone, who, when exhorting him to convince the Emperor and everybody of the sincerity of his mind, showed he suspected that from satiety of worldly affairs, and not thirsting much for fame,† Pole willingly avails himself of any opportunity to withdraw from the negotiation of business (*da retirarmi da negotij*) and return to privacy. Morone says that although God is sufficient of himself to direct matters as He pleases, and maintain his glory, He, nevertheless, chooses us likewise not to neglect the opportunities which He sends us for doing his will. This mode of persuasion on this subject, had it been adopted by anyone else

* Romans xiii. 3.

† According to Froude (vol. vi. p. 198) already on the 6th April 1554, the Government had availed itself of the Pope's permission to fill the vacant sees; but by this letter it would seem that the measure was still opposed by Paget and the party of the statesmen, the rivals of Gardiner, on the 25th May, which date I assign to the letter, because on that day Pole wrote to Morone from the monastery of Diligano (*sic*).

‡ Et per haver la mente non molto avida d' honor.

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CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE. (28th May.)

not intimately familiar with him and acquainted with his opinions, would not have surprised him; as in conversation he is often accustomed to attribute the entire glory of every work to God, saying that what is best is known to Him; Pole also often withdrawing from active life for the enjoyment of study, and not showing himself desirous of those grades which bring with them greater occupation through business.

This might give any other person than Morone cause to think either that he is very indolent because he holds his private studies in more account than any sort of active life, or else that he shares the opinions of those, who are convinced that as God by his providence and omnipotence accomplishes everything, they have merely to remain idle, as He will discover and employ them immediately. But that Morone, who by this time must know Pole, should seem to share this opinion, cannot but surprise him, most especially as by reason of their intimacy, Morone not only knows what those studies are, which, as some persons suppose, render him too much of a recluse, but also the cause of his pursuing them.* Of that cause (the opportunity for doing so being now afforded him) he will now remind him, by stating the object of his actions, and the extreme limit of his ambition, which in truth, as he remembers to have told Morone heretofore, has never been so great (whether from pusillanimity or some other cause) as to make him wish to be that chief or magistrate (*magistrato*) who has to command all men, assigning to each individual his task, though he has never been averse, but on the contrary always inclined, to serve those who, finding themselves in that position, know how to command well, and have the wish to do so.

Thus far has it been his desire and ambition to lead an active life, and by "commanding well," he means whatever relates to the honour of God, and to the attainment of the welfare of others. This has been his desire and sentiment always; nor does he ever remember to have withdrawn either from the service of his Sovereign or from that of any private friend, save because they had not recourse to him; or, if they did call him, did not allow of his serving to their true welfare and advantage. Testimony hereof can be borne not merely by one part of his life, but by its whole tenour, down to the present time, ever since he was old enough to take service, and commencing with that Prince [Henry VIII.] to whom he was more bound by nature than to any other, and so anxious to serve him that he would have done so, at the cost of any sort of toil, and even if necessary by risking his own life rather than enjoy length of days in all prosperity in the service of others; which shows that he renounced King Henry's service for no other reason than because the first service demanded of him was contrary to his Majesty's honour and advantage. Pole did this, although by means of the proposed service, there was opened to him, in his own country, the path to dignity and riches; and that he renounced his

* As admitted by his enemies both at home and abroad, Reginald Pole was always intent on the reform of the Roman Catholic church.

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service for no other cause may be seen by what he did subsequently, when called by that Sovereign [Pope Paul III.] whom God has ordered all men to obey for his honour, and by whom Pole having been several times enjoined to perform commissions not only toilsome and fatiguing but also very dangerous, no one can with truth say that he ever retreated a single step to avoid either trouble, fatigue, or any danger, having always been most ready to obey them.

From this fact, and from all Pole's other actions, those who may chose well to investigate his career will find the cause of his declining negotiations, which he never shunned nor renounced for his own private studies, which he does not consider worthy to take precedence of the slightest service he could render to the meanest person in the world, though it is very true that he has never been accustomed to interfere and canvass employment, always waiting to be called, from fear of committing the same error as that of those persons of whom God says through the Prophet, "*ipsi currebant et ego non mittebam illos.*" Would not therefore feel surprised (as said by him above) if other persons ill acquainted with his life and the inward workings of his mind were to attribute his withdrawal to other causes than the true one, which is, that he always waited to be called, and to receive commands from those to whom God has given authority to command him in whatever related to his Divine Majesty, and to their true honour and advantage; and in that case he trusts in God, that neither trouble nor danger of any sort would compel him willingly to retreat.

But to enter now more into details about the negotiations he has now in hand at Brussels; Morone might inquire why, being called to a service which he always professed to desire, he should now seem desirous of relinquishing the negotiation. To this he will say in the first place what he thinks, which is, that he has such satisfaction, at being called, and for such a service! that his satisfaction is the greatest he could desire in this world, and he considers it a greater benefice than if the Pope had conferred on him alone all the benefices bestowed by him since his accession on all the rest of the cardinals together. And the true cause of this his great satisfaction is the one aforesaid, when he stated the limits of his ambition and his wish to serve such a master on such service; which satisfaction increases hourly by seeing himself stimulated by the Pope to this end without expecting from his service anything but the true honour of God and his own, together with the common weal, at which Pole rejoices immeasurably, it being the thing desired by him beyond all others. Nor may Morone suppose, that in negotiating this matter he does not know the nature of the sea of England in which he has to navigate, and what storms and toils he must endure to bring the ship into harbour, anticipating that both will be much greater than any he has endured hitherto, though he trusts in God that this will not make him wish to return to the harbour from which he departed; nor does he think that the letters written by his commission to his agent at Rome demonstrate any such desire.

Those letters were written solely to remind the Pope that, if from

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any cause induced by the present times, Pole should not be considered suited to the persons with whom he has to transact these negotiations, and his Holiness were able to avail himself of some one else who might seem more to the purpose, he should not have the slightest regard for Pole individually, which, by reason of the Pope's gracious nature, might, he knows, easily be the case, as he desires nothing but what is beneficial both to the cause and to his Holiness.

Such was the substance and intent of those letters; and this he announced to the Pope through Ormanetto. If Pole's love for the honour and advantage of those with whom he would have to negotiate could render him a fitting instrument for this purpose, he would not wish for any one else (*io non crederei a niun altro*); and as to knowledge of the state of affairs everywhere, in order to see what is for the honour and profit of all parties, Pole does not believe it to be so hidden as not to be easily visible to any impartial statesman, however slightly acquainted with it. But if Pole's wish to obtain more honourable and advantageous terms makes him appear less adapted to the business, Morone may know for certain that he has never spoken, nor will he ever speak, of honour and profit save in conjunction with the public and individual weal of those with whom he negotiates, which individual advantage, however, he cannot discuss without showing at the same time how it is coupled with the honour of God and the common weal; and in like manner as a physician, wishing to give food to a sick man in pain, seeks to raise him a little from his bed, and although the patient remonstrates and shows himself averse to be moved, yet does the physician do his duty; so would Pole act were he not positively forbidden, knowing the nature of the malady to be such that, unless the sick man be somewhat raised from his bed, it is impossible to give him food such as would benefit him. But Pole would not attempt to do this unless he saw that the pain was somewhat mitigated, as, otherwise, he would show himself an indelicate physician.

Does not doubt that Morone will understand not only what he means by this simile, but his entire sense both about the business he has now in hand and all the other matters which may occur hereafter. And in this Morone will recognize the love Pole bears him, and the trust he places in his friendship, when, in the midst of so many loving offices performed by Morone in his favour, and for which he can never sufficiently thank him, Pole nevertheless takes occasion to complain of him, and all for the sake of giving Morone a more sure pledge of his mind, of which pledge he may avail himself by promising* for him in this case in such quarters as necessary, and to impress better in Morone's heart the sentiments of Pole, which are rooted there with that love which God has given him; and may He, of his mercy, increase it daily more and more in them until they are utterly dead in the flesh, and alive for love eternal in Him.

From Brussels, 28th May 1554.

[*Italian.*]

* Del qual pegno ella potrà servirsi promettendo per me in questo caso dove fusse bisogno.

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May 29 ?*
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

885. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [ROBERTO] DE' NOBILI.

Thanks him for his letter announcing his promotion to the Cardinalate, on which he congratulates him, alluding to his rare endowments, of which Pole had personal knowledge.

From Brussels.

[*Italian.*]

June 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

886. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke Henry [*Erigo ?*] *of Brunswick* [*Wolfenbüttel*], *although he had promised to serve the Emperor, prefers harassing the Hanse Towns, from which he exacts considerable sums, and has written to the Emperor that his Majesty has nothing to fear from any power, and that the Marquis Albert* [*Alcibiades of Brandenburg* (*Culmbach*)] *is mad, poor, miserable, and universally detested. A military commander has sent the Emperor a plan of operations for the next campaign against France, and amongst other suggestions recommends him to import as soon as possible* 3,000 *troops from England, both to reinforce his army and to remove the opportunity for insurrection there; and concerning this plan the Emperor spoke very drily to Don Ferrante Gonzaga, and gave orders for the two German regiments, which are nearly completed, to be marched towards Liege. It is not credible that his Majesty will undertake any expedition until the arrival of the Prince of Spain in England, and until affairs there are quieted; nor will he choose the Spanish troops which accompany the Prince* (*in number upwards of* 6,000) *to be employed for Flanders, but keep them as a guard against such accidents as may occur in England.*

His Majesty, having been uneasy because some time had passed without news from Spain, was rejoiced yesterday by hearing, through a courier who left England on the 26th ulto., that on the 12th the Prince had sent his household and the noblemen who are to accompany him to the sea coast of Galicia, and on that same day he was to depart, riding postwise to Tordesillas, a few leagues from Valladolid, to take leave of the Emperor's mother, and would then go to meet his sister the Princess of Portugal, who was already on the borders of Castille, of which kingdom she has been appointed governess; and after the meeting he would proceed to embark at Corunna, where they calculate he arrived two days ago, and with the first fair weather he will cross thence to England, a passage of from four to six days, or more, according to the winds; but he has sent in advance the brother of Don Luis Davila† as ambassador to the Queen of England, to whom he is coming with four ships.

The courier also reported that her Majesty had quitted London and

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* No date of time. Roberto de' Nobili was made Cardinal by his uncle Pope Julius III. on the 22nd December 1553, when only 14 years of age. He died at the commencement of 1559, at the age of 18, but such was his piety that Cardinal Borromeo said he should be satisfied with himself could he equal it, and Cardinal Pole pronounced him "the ornament and glory of the Apostolic College;" and Julius III. thus made some amends for the infamous appointment of Innocenzio del Monte at the age of 16. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 332, 335.)

† Don Pedro Davila, Marquis de las Navas. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

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was gone to Windsor, and on hearing of the Prince's approach will go on to Winchester (some seven miles from Hampton, where the Prince will land), and meet him there, though it is true that several changes have been made in this matter, and may be followed by others if deemed necessary for greater safety and quiet, *as both at Brussels and in London they are always apprehensive of those English brains* (quelli cervelli Anglesi), *so prone to sedition; wherefore*, she has left a good garrison of some 4,000 infantry in London, with a governor, her confident; and has had proclamations issued, inflicting heavy penalties on any Englishman maltreating any Spaniard either by word or deed.

The Bishop of Cortona has arrived at Brussels from the Duke of Florence on his way to congratulate the King and Queen of England; Don Hernando de Gamboa, from the King of Bohemia; and the Count of Monte Cuculo, from the Duke of Ferrara; as also Don Pedro Lasso, from the King of the Romans, being likewise there on the same errand.*

It is asserted at Brussels that the Lady Elizabeth has been taken under custody to Windsor, whither the Queen was going, and that there is a misunderstanding between the Bishop of Winchester and Paget. Is informed by a person likely to know, that the most Christian King, when speaking with the Cardinal Legate, said he intended that the treaty stipulated by him with the late King Edward should continue in force with the present Queen, as Pole recommended, approving this.† Subsequently, having heard through her spies that King Henry, when talking with some of his courtiers, said he had no treaty whatever with her, Queen Mary spoke about this to the French ambassador resident with her, who said it was true that some months ago, in his King's name, he asked the Queen to form a new and closer understanding (intelligentia) *with him, as the treaty made with King Edward became void on his death. Thereupon the Queen desired her ambassadors in France to tell the King what Noailles had said, and to learn the will of his Majesty, who replied that his ambassador knew not what he was talking about, and that he (the King) would maintain his friendship with the Queen inviolably, as also his treaty with King Edward, nor would he indeed make peace with the Emperor more easily by any other means than those of her Majesty, who sent all this intelligence to Brussels, and Damula would not wish it to be known that he transmits it to Venice.*

Some eight or ten ships have been armed in England, to keep the sea clear and guard it against the French vessels, which very frequently attacked ships on the voyage to these parts; so it is thought that those seas will now be safe, which work has been effected by the Alcalde at the Court of Brussels, who narrowly escaped being captured by the said corsairs.

Brussels, 1st June 1554.

P.S. (evening).

The ambassadors from the Kings of the Romans and of Bohemia,

* These embassies are also recorded in Foreign Calendar, date 4th June 1554, p. 90.
† Il chè fu a sua Maestà consigliato et laudato dal Cardinal predetto.

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and many other personages, have asked me about your Serenity's ambassador to the Prince of Spain. I reply that your ambassador arrived in England on the 22nd ult., as has been written to me thence. I do not know whether what I say is in accordance with your will.

The syndics [at Milan] have been authorized to arrest Franzino, Don Ferrante's commissioner and general agent, and also a Spanish captain. It is believed that important discoveries will be made and great things justified; so Don Ferrante is very dispirited, and told the Emperor that his ministers act with passion against him, and commenced declaring them suspected; but his Majesty interrupted him, saying that in many matters which he is unable to transact in person, he must avail himself of his ministers, who would certainly not swerve from their duty; and that he was to be of good cheer, and have no farther suspicion, but he will go to England to kiss the Prince's hand, and afterwards they will discuss his affairs. Since the news of his Highness's departure from Valladolid, perceives the verification of his prognostic, that the Prince's coming regulates all the Emperor's proceedings, as yesterday and to-day he has given audience to many persons, consulting with his ministers about what is required for England, and the expedition to be made in Flanders against France.

Brussels, 1st June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini, Applicato di I^ma. Classe del R. Archivio Generale di Venezia.*]

June 2.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 84.

887. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By advices from the Imperial and French Courts, understand that their Majesties are increasing their cavalry and infantry forces, and that the most Christian King is also levying Switzers and Grisons for employment in his army, some of these last being sent by him towards Sienna for the defence of that city, and the Signory conceded them passage through the Republic's territory. No further confirmation has been received of the report that Marquis Albert of Brandenburg had agreed to serve the most Christian King.

They have heard from England that the Captain Wyatt, head of the rebels who was captured some time ago, had been executed in public, and that by a decree of the English Parliament the Prince of Spain, the Emperor's son, had been proclaimed King of England, as he is the consort of Queen Mary.

Ayes, 188. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

June 3.
Original despatch. Venetian Archives.

888. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Pole having sent to the Queen of England to know whether she approved of his sending one of his attendants in honour of the wedding, her reply was that he might send, but not a Churchman; *and he had previously written to her, that if she wished to rule in peace it was above all desirable for her to make an adjust-*

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ment between the Emperor and the King of France, as she being the consort of the Prince of Spain, and he being the enemy of the French, it would be difficult for her to remain at peace with them; and that war at this commencement of her reign, together with the change of religion, and the introduction of a foreign King, could not but endanger the affairs of England, and encourage the malcontents who are in arms to bestir themselves daily; and should she now demand money for the purpose of waging war, it would perhaps not be granted her, and might cause rebellion; so she should do her utmost to effect peace between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty. The Queen replied that she was aware of this, and would do her utmost accordingly. And Pole sent back to say, he is of opinion that peace will never be made unless a conference is held between the ministers of the two powers for the discussion of the difficulties and terms to be proposed reciprocally; and that her Majesty should prevail on them to send commissioners to meet and negotiate, etc.

Brussels, 3rd June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini*].

June 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

889. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It having been told me in secret that these Lords (questi Signori) *were discussing a truce, at La Fère, where there was to be an envoy from Queen Maria, the Emperor's sister, she having interposed to negotiate it, I, wishing to hear something farther on the subject, left Compiègne, and came to this place two leagues from Coucy* (Cusij), *where the most Christian King arrived yesterday. I heard that in that place* (in detto loco) [*La Fère?*], *they held constant consultations; and lately the wife of the Duke de Bouillon, who is now a prisoner of the Imperialists, said to a certain gentleman, her friend, that in that place of La Fère these Lords discussed this negotiation for a truce, and that they agreed about everything, except its duration. The Emperor proposed to make it for less time than his most Christian Majesty would wish, which some persons find it very difficult to believe, it not seeming reasonable to them for the Emperor to break off the negotiation, which was being treated more to his repute by the Cardinal Legate Pole, for the sake of having it subsequently renewed by other similar means* (per farla poi negotiare per un altro tal mezzo). *They moreover say that it also seems to them unreasonable for the most Christian King to give ear to this scheme* (maneggio), *his Majesty having made such preparation for an attack on the Emperor in this quarter* (dal canto di quà), *chiefly with a view to keeping him so impeded as to prevent his giving any assistance* (alcun favore) *to the Queen of England, some hope being still entertained here of fresh insurrections in that kingdom on the arrival of the Prince of Spain, and most especially should they see the Emperor so harassed as to render it impossible for him to afford her Majesty any military succour. Although these things were said to me by*

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way of conversation, I would nevertheless not abstain from writing them, that your Serenity may know in detail all that is heard here.

Premontre, 5th June 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

890. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has desired the Duke of Brunswick to suspend the march of his troops (che intertenga le sue gente), *and immediately on receiving notice to bring them hitherwards; so perceiving all these preparations and the delay in undertaking any expedition, it may be inferred that his Majesty awaits the arrival of his son in England before taking the field. Very considerable provision is being made, destined apparently for Flanders, but it proceeds slowly, nor has anything more been heard from Spain since his last.*

Brussels, 7th June 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

891. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Pole communicated the reply received from the Emperor about the peace to the Nuncio in France, from whom, on the day before yesterday, Damula heard the rejoinder of his most Christian Majesty, thus, that as the Emperor will not have peace, preparation must be made for war; the Nuncio adding that great preparation is in fact being made, both for Italy and Flanders. The Queen of England desired her ambassador at Brussels to notify the answer given by King Henry to the English ambassador at his Court, and to learn the Emperor's will respecting the last words, purporting that his most Christian Majesty would make the peace more willingly through the mediation of the Queen. Masone spoke to the Bishop of Arras, enquiring how the Queen was to regulate herself, and whether she was to treat peace with the King. The Bishop said it was impossible to make peace with the French, as they never keep their promises; and when Masone asked whether the Emperor had any wish to make peace, Arras said, "Yes, provided it be a good one." The ambassador enquired, "How can a peace be made if not treated; and how can it be treated, unless consent be given and arrangements made?" Arras rejoined that first some knowledge must be obtained of the will of the French; whereupon Masone continued that the knowledge was very evident from the words about the peace, uttered of his own accord by the King to Dr. Wotton, and that he Masone considered the peace desirable, both for the Emperor and for England; adding, "The Prince is a new plant, planted in the realm of England by his father, who, if he wishes it to bear fruit, must let the soil rest quiet a while, as otherwise, if harassed at this commencement, it is doubtful whether the fruit will benefit him." The Bishop rejoined, that the greater the de-

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for it; and that they themselves must propose the terms, as also the restitution of many things. Masone repeated that these terms might be treated at a conference between commissioners from the parties, and should no agreement ensue, nothing but words would be lost, whilst the Emperor would have shown that he was not averse to peace. The Bishop then said, "Well, we are determined, and will no longer believe the French, who have themselves been the authors of the war whilst we were at peace;" and when Masone insisted that Arras should speak about this to the Emperor, he said he would, and that possibly when these two sovereigns are with their armies in the field, they may then more to their honour talk of peace, propose terms, and perhaps conclude them, as has been the case heretofore.

In the meanwhile, the Queen of England, although she wishes for the peace, will not say a word about it to the most Christian King until receipt of the order hence, though immediately on the arrival of her consort she will discuss the matter with him, in virtue of an article of the marriage contract whereby the Prince promises that the kingdom of England will neither directly nor indirectly take part in the war against the most Christian King, but endeavour strictly to observe the peace now existing between France and England, as also the conventions stipulated heretofore between the two countries, and never to give cause for infringing or altering them.

Brussels, 7th June 1554. Evening.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

892. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News came of the arrival of four ships from Spain, with the Ambassador from the Prince to the Queen of England; but it has been ascertained that they were two Spanish caravels, which from foul weather had been well nigh two months on the voyage, so that nothing more is known about the Prince's coming than was written in Damula's last, save that bets are laid that he will be in England on the 20th or 25th instant; and they talk about the winds and changes of weather with very anxious hope.

The Emperor is well, and on the 7th instant was occupied in making his will, or, to speak more correctly, in revising it; for he has made it several times.

Brussels, 10th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 10. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

893. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

By Morone's letter of the 20th ult. has understood what he tells him concerning the brief which the Pope was about to send him, and how Ormanetto would return to Brussels, by which opportunity Pole would also wish the Pope to send some determination respecting the Church property, about which the Queen has asked the agent every time she spoke to him since his last return to England.

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By Pole's last letter of the 13th* Morone will have heard that the Queen, not thinking it desirable for him to send the Bishop of Worcester nor any other churchman with his congratulations to the King, he had not yet determined what person to appoint for the performance of this office. He subsequently made choice of their Messer Michiel (*de Messer Michiel nostro*),† who is in England, most especially as this resolve has been approved by the English ambassador at Brussels [Sir John Masone], and by a messenger express Pole will send the congratulatory letters for the King and Queen to Michiel, together with the instructions for his verbal announcement, and this he will do immediately on hearing of the King's arrival in England. Morone will also have heard that on the 28th May the Queen quitted London and went to Richmond‡, which is on the way to Winchester, where the marriage is to be celebrated. By the last letters from London, dated the 5th, nothing further was heard about the coming of the King, but a Count had arrived at the Court sent by him from Spain with a present for the Queen, who had despatched the Bishop of Lincoln (*il Vescovo Lenconiense*) and another nobleman to meet him, and the Imperial ambassadors were already on their way to Southampton.

By the enclosed extract,* Morone will see what Pole's agent wrote in his last letter; and a few days ago, when the English Ambassador came to dine with him, he told Pole that the day before, the Bishop of Arras had informed him that the Queen, having been moved by certain threatening words uttered to her by the French Ambassador, sent immediately to desire her ambassador in France [Dr. Wotton] to acquaint the King with this, in order to know his will towards her. The King replied that his will was the same it always had been, not only to maintain, but even to augment his friendship with her, adding that should peace have to be negotiated between the Emperor and him, her Majesty would be a good mediatrix. This having come to the knowledge of Masone, he mentioned it to Pole, because it was in accordance with what they had said together on the subject, which conversation Masone wrote to the Queen,§ and with this opportunity communicated it to the Bishop of Arras, who said in short that the Imperialists would never be the first to make a proposal of peace, without entering into further details. He did not, however, evince aversion to the discourse, neither did he a few days ago, when discussing the same topic with Pole's Abbot [of S. Saluto], as Morone will have heard by the Abbot's letters, addressed to Messer Gian Francesco. But from what is heard and seen on both sides, the projects and preparations in course, show that they are thinking more of war than of peace, which, however, in reason, must have some limit. Nor will Pole fail to avail himself of every opportunity that may offer, should he have to remain at

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* Not found.

† The Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michiel had arrived in England in April or May 1554.

‡ At the beginning of June, the Queen fled from London to Westminster. (*See* Froude, vol. vi. p. 228.) In the Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, p. 87, it appears that the Queen went to Richmond on the 30th May.

§ *See also* Foreign Calendar, 1554, June 11, Brussels, p. 94.

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Brussels, in which case he would deem it advisable for his Holiness to give him some especial commission whereby to open the way for writing or sending to France. Pole had heard nothing previously about the request for Legates made by the Emperor and the King of the Romans, nor could Morone have done better than to await the Pope's decision. Much is said at Brussels about this Diet, and that the Emperor purposes attending it, which is not credited, as some months may elapse before these other negotiations are arranged. The letter from Germany has convinced Pole of the favour vouchsafed him by God, who allows him to be slandered in every quarter, continuing to him, however, of his goodness, that disposition (*animo*) always to desire and seek whatever may be for the common weal.

From Brussels, 10th June 1554.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Despatches from England. File 1. Venetian Archives.

894. NARRATIVE forwarded by GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Bortholo de Riedes, writer (*scrivan*) of the ship "Bemba," Manoli de Paris, master, arrived in London yesterday evening. Reports that on the 2nd instant, he, with the ship, set sail from port Benedetto in Brittany, and steering towards England, they, on the 6th, between Cape Lizard (*Capo Laserti*) and Brest, when in mid-channel, fell in with 320 French vessels, as counted by him and the ship's company. This fleet was tacking in the channel, and the "Bemba," being alone, lowered all her sails, and after an hour the flagship fired a salute of one gun, which the "Bemba" returned, and then four of the principal ships set sail, making towards them, the whole fleet following. At an hour before sunset, the flagship, commanded by Viscount di Albanova [?], came under the "Bemba's" bow, demanding the launch (*la barca*) and the clerk (*il scrivano*), who immediately went on board, together with the noble Messer Daniel Contarini,* and having exhibited the letters patent from the most Christian King, they requested to be allowed to continue their voyage; whereupon, the commander-in-chief, after speaking to another captain of the largest ship (whom the clerk subsequently understood to be a Scot), asked him whether he had any news of the Spanish fleet. The clerk answered that he knew nothing at all, having been four months absent from Spain. He then required them to give him five butts of wine, which were not given spontaneously, but he sent his men to take them, and not only did

* In the preface to vol. i. Venetian Calendar, p. lxiii., I mentioned a decree, issued by the Republic in the 14th century for the appointment of four young patricians, to serve on board the Flanders galley, that they might "see the world, be inured betimes to toil, and learn to expose their lives for their native land." In the commission given to Andrea Priuli, captain of the Flanders galleys in February 1517 (Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. p. 349), allusion is again made to these young noble sailors; and it is now seen that they continued in the merchant service, after the Republic had ceased to send the Flanders galleys to England. Subsequent documents prove that in December 1569, when the French pirate "Sore" seized two Venetian merchantmen off the Isle of Wight, the magnificos Andrea Dandolo, and Marc' Antonio and Paulo Venier were serving on board of them, and were, I believe, the last of the patrician arbalast-men in the Venetian merchant-service.

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they take the wines, but also a silver-mounted knife belonging to the master, and some of his sailing-compasses; and they allowed the ship to go on its voyage.

Being asked about the quality of the French ships, he said the captain told him that eighty of them were armed, and that part were with him the commander-in-chief, and part off "the Land's End" (*sopra il Capo dell' Isola*); but so far as the clerk could judge, all the vessels, one after the other, having passed astern of his ship, he does not think that more than ten or twelve of them were armed, each being of about 600 Venetian butts burden, but the flag-ship, which sailed admirably (*qual era bonissima di velle*), was not thought to be of more than 400 butts. The rest were small vessels, like Venetian marcilians, with very few men on board, without artillery; and all these vessels on leaving the "Bemba," made towards France.

Being asked whether, so far as he had heard, there was any Englishman on board the fleet, he said he had heard nothing at all, save that the commander-in-chief gave him an Englishman to take to England, dressed in the garb of a courier, but with the air of a gentleman, recommending him very earnestly. When the ship arrived at Dover, four of the Queen's galleons were there; and the Englishman, seeing that the gondola was going ashore, asked to be landed with the rest, as was courteously conceded to him, so the gondola on its way having neared the galleons, their commander chose to examine each of the persons on board the gondola, and recognizing the Englishman by his pronunciation, after asking him several things, ordered his arrest, and had him taken on board his galleon, the gondola being allowed to depart. The clerk added, that from the Englishman's conversation on board the ship, he thinks him a French spy. The captain of the galleons showed nothing but the usual marks of friendship and courtesy towards the "Bemba."

London, 11th June 1554.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.
Despatches from England.
File 1.
Venetian Archives.

895. NARRATIVE forwarded by GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Is sending by way of Antwerp, duplicates of his letters of the 9th, and adds a report made by the writer of the ship belonging to the magnifico Messer Lorenzo Bembo and Co., who arrived in London yesterday, having left the vessel at Margate. The Signory will perceive that he gives an account of the French fleet which was off the coast of England, and of its amount and quality; but with regard to so extraordinary a number as 320 sail, which he says he counted, intelligent Londoners believe them to be fishing boats, which at this season unite and put to sea for the herring fishery, and that their junction with the few French men-of-war was accidental rather than from their being of any use for hostilities, as none of them carry arms, and scarcely sufficient men to direct the boats and carry on the fishery.

The Right Reverend Chancellor confirmed this to Michiel's

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had he the slightest apprehension that these vessels could cope with the Spanish fleet were they to fall in with it; of which he is yet more convinced by the news at length received by him last evening of the landing at Plymouth of the Marquis de las Naves,* who made the voyage [from Laredo] without any danger. The Chancellor merely knew that he had arrived at Plymouth on Saturday the 9th, but told the Secretary (Michiel does not know whether on the authority of the Marquis, or according to the opinion of others) that the Prince will be in England in a fortnight, though, as the Marquis will soon be at the Court, his landing-place being only 100 miles off, the particulars of this, and of all his other news, will soon be known, and if imparted to Michiel, he will forthwith transmit them to the Signory.

Two days ago, there also made his appearance Count Camillo da Montecucolo, sent by the Duke of Ferrara, to congratulate the Prince and the Queen in his Excellency's name.† Yesterday he went to the Court, and her Majesty received him graciously. When visiting Michiel, he told him he should await the Prince's arrival, and then return to Italy, postwise, as he came.

The Queen is still at Richmond, on the eve of departure (it is said) for Oatlands, seven miles in advance [towards Southampton?] but her movements will be delayed until she receives sure news of the Prince's arrival.

Has received the Signory's letters of the 22nd ultimo, with the summaries from Constantinople down to the 22nd April, which he will communicate to the Chancellor as usual, her Majesty not being in London.

London, 12th June 1554.

[*Italian.*]

June 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

896. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When speaking to the Bishop of Arras about the affair of the Magnifico Spatafora, said that he had been absolved by the Cardinals, and that his lordship could speak about it to the Cardinal Legate, Pole, who would acquaint him with the life and manners of Messer Bortoloméo [*Spatafora?*], and requested him to take his character from such a man, *to which the Bishop did not answer one word; nor since the Cardinal's return from France has he ever been to visit him.*

News came of the arrival in England of the Marquis de las Navas, but it was untrue; nor has any farther sure intelligence been received from Spain.

Is informed that off the headland of England there are many French men-of-war, but very small ones, and that they are stationed there to intercept the ships from Spain.

Being unable to go in person by reason of a violent cold, sent to thank the English Ambassador for the favour which the Queen con-

* Don Pedro Davila, Marquis de la Navas. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

† In the Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, p. 89, and Index, this Ferrarese ambassador is styled "Count Roderigo de Monte Cuculo."

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ferred spontaneously by desiring that, for his safety, the Ambassador Soranzo should embark on board her armed ships, which is considered a great favour, in addition to the others received by him on this his departure, as announced to Damula by private letters from London.

With this, sends the packet from England.

Brussels, 15th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

897. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The mustering of the army (la massa dell' essercito) *seems to be delayed longer than was expected, the Constable not having yet left the court, as he has been somewhat indisposed. Some persons are of opinion that they will put off making this muster* (massa) *until they hear of the arrival of the Prince of Spain in England, to see what his fleet and the troops he brings with him may do. In consequence of his passage they have raised a certain amount of troops in Normandy and Britanny to guard those coasts;* 300 *men-at-arms are quartered in those parts until the fleet has passed. Within the last few days the French Government* (questi) *has entertained a suspicion that on the arrival of the Prince in England that kingdom must* (si debbi) *declare itself the enemy of this one* (di questo), *because should the army of the most Christian King attack these provinces of the Emperor which have been promised as dower-security?* (contradote) *to the Queen of England, it is apprehended that, besides the other reasons whereby the Prince her husband may persuade her to make war, this of defending her own* (di difendere il suo) *will have great weight* (serà di molta importantia); *so the Constable sent lately for the English Ambassador* [*Dr. Wotton*] *and spoke to him at great length about this suspicion of his most Serene Queen, as told me by the Ambassador himself, and he answered that said Queen is well disposed to maintain* (osservare) *the peace and friendship she has with his most Christian Majesty, and that she has shown such constancy in her actions as to warrant no suspicion of her allowing herself to be persuaded by her husband to do anything at variance with her intention and her promise.*

News have been received from England that they were expecting the Prince of Spain there very soon. He was to embark on the 31st ulto.; so the Queen had left London, and was going to Winchester to meet the Prince.

Premontre, 16th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

898. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Spanish gentleman arrived at Brussels this morning, having landed at Southampton on the 15th, with the Marquis de las Navas,

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who was sent by the Prince of Spain to the Queen of England. The Prince might be on the coast of Galicia to embark there by the 10th, and his arrival may be hoped for hourly. *The Duke of Savoy has received a gratuity of* 15,000 *crowns; has paid all his household, and given orders for everybody to be in readiness to go out in the course of this week; and the troops still continue marching, but are not expected to take the field until the Prince arrives in England; and the French are raising forces in great number.*

The Emperor is sending those most beautiful tapestries representing the Tunis expedition, and a quantity of jewels, as a present to the Queen of England.

With regard to the Emperor's request to the Pope to send legates to the Diet of Augsburg, nothing was said either to Cardinal Pole or to the Nuncio, nor did they know anything about it, save by letters from Rome; and his Holiness sent Pole a copy of the Emperor's letter written to him on this subject, that he might be acquainted with it, and give his opinion about the Diet; Damula's being that by this demand for legates, the Emperor wished to cajole (dar pasto) *his Holiness, as for the present they will neither hold the Diet, nor talk of religion.*

Brussels, 17th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 18.
Parti Secrete, Consiglio X., File no. 8.

899. ENGLISH AMBASSADOR in VENICE.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the Chiefs of the Ten.

That the Ambassador for England be answered in such gracious form of speech as shall seem fit to the Doge, that they are content to have his servant arrested, as he requested them to do.

And be it carried that the servant aforesaid be arrested by order of the Chiefs of this Council, and kept in custody in a secret place in such a mode as shall seem fit to them, so that he may not be able to speak with any one.

Ayes, 6. Noes, 17. Neutrals, 5.

Ser Francesco Minio,
Ser Alvise Foscarini,
Ser Ermolao Barbaro,
Chiefs.

[*Italian.*]

June 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

900. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is heard from Britanny and Normandy that in those seas the French Government (*questi*) assembled lately a large quantity of ships, to cause suspicion to the Prince of Spain on this his passage to England, *but I understand that of the said ships there were only*

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it having been chosen to make use of them for the purpose of making a great show.

Premontre, 20th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in Italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 20. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in v. iv. pp. 153 158. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," with the date as above.

901. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of AUGSBURG (*Cardinale Augustano*) [Otho Truchses].

No one could induce Pole to publish the books addressed by him heretofore to the King of England, for his own perusal exclusively (*ut ab uno illo legerentur*). Is now afraid that the publication will be extorted from him by a stranger, whose effigy and name are alike unknown to him, and who openly declares himself Pole's enemy. This person resents the arguments of the books, as inferred by that part of his letter addressed to Pole at Rome (and which Pole now sends to the Cardinal of Augsburg) threatening speedily to publish something against them. The writer seems to be a German; he declares Pole's assertions to be false, and accuses him of printing the books in such a manner as to prevent their falling into the hands of persons capable of confuting them.* The intention of Pole is manifest through his intended preface to the whole work, at the time when counselled and well nigh compelled to publish it. Such apparently, is the will of God, and he therefore sends everything to the Cardinal of Augsburg. In the meanwhile, touching the censor's accusations, Pole is charged with acknowledging the true doctrine of justification, and endeavouring to prevent its being divulged amongst the Italians. This he confutes by asserting that according to the apostolic doctrines and the authority of the Church, he believes justification to proceed from faith accompanied by works, as learned by him, not from the interpreters and masters who arrogate to themselves the true meaning of those words, but from the Apostles Paul and James.

With regard to the diffusion of this doctrine in Italy, he merely counselled certain persons, who chose to preach, to abstain from that gift of gospelling,† to which no one had called them. Christ being essentially truth and justice, no one possesses him who swerves from justice and truth, as this writer does when he says that Pole

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* "Tum in eo me graviter accusat, quod libros eos ita curaverim imprimendos, ut caverim ne in eorum manus pervenirent, qui ea quæ a me scribantur, callideque (ut ait ipse) legentium animis instillentur, et possent, et parati essent refellere." It is not easy to comprehend how the printing of a work, even for mere private circulation, could diminish the chance of its being confuted by hostile critics.

† "Et monuerim, ut ab eo *evangelizandi* munere, ad quod nemo eos vocasset, abstinerent." Dr. Johnson writes that the word "*to gospel*" in Shakspeare, in whom alone he found it, "is used, though so venerable in itself, with some degree of irony; I suppose from the gospellers, who had long been held in contempt." Macbeth addressed the murderers of Banquo thus—

"Are you so *gospell'd*
To pray for this good man, and for his issue,
Whose heavy hand hath bow'd you to the grave,
And beggar'd your's for ever?"

Macbeth was first performed in 1606. Cardinal Pole used the word "*evangelizandi*" ironically in 1554, so it must have been anglicised shortly afterwards, but I know not exactly when.

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went to a certain gospeller at Augsburg (such being the title conferred by them on their doctors), promising him to espouse their cause,* whereas Pole never was at Augsburg. The Cardinal of Augsburg knows well that lately when again passing through Germany, he did not go there; and of his very great kindness, the Cardinal, hearing that he was distant two days journey from the city, sent his attendants to him to conduct him to Dillingen, where having been the Cardinal's guest during some days, or rather months, no doctor of the sect ever spoke to him, not that he was averse to a conference, but that none of the gospellers asked it.

As to the abuse lavished on him by this libeller, would not heed it, were he at present in the position of a mere private individual, it having always been his custom under similar circumstances to remain silent, but as he now holds a public office he is compelled to reply. Being accused therefore of canvassing the popedom, he confutes the charge in detail, alleging his aversion to all honours (especially to that which is supreme), and the testimony of his friends, as also his own demeanour, and the book written by him on that occasion, and of which he sends the Cardinal of Augsburg a manuscript copy (having hitherto communicated it but to a very few persons), that, should he think fit, he may print it. Pole himself is of opinion that it will easily acquit him before all candid judges of the suspicion of having earnestly sought this supreme dignity, and refers himself to what he wrote after the conclave to the Bishop of Badajos.

Pole also finds himself accused of cruelty, and of wishing to re-establish the peace between England and France, for the purpose of a combined attack on Germany. With regard to cruelty, Pole may possibly have said that a putrid member should be severed from the body, but at any rate he never said that recourse should not be had in the first place to lenitives, on which account he was reproached by some for being too merciful. At the Council of Trent he always supported the mildest measures, considering that the prelates assembled there, being entitled "fathers," should comport themselves as parents, and that the heretics, although rebels, were their sons.

Touching the Germans, the Cardinal of Augsburg's countrymen, not only Pole, but the entire English nation, are bound to them by yet closer ties of friendship, both one and the other being of Saxon origin; and as the Germans are linked with the English by the bond of human friendship, so are they also joined to them by the strongest of any, which is divine love, because England conferred on her German kinsfolk this boon, that they received the faith and religion of Christ through the English Saint Boniface, which ought to be an eternal pledge between the two nations. On this account Pole the more laments that the Saxons should have raised the standard of rebellion against the Roman Church, their example being followed by England, and that not content with their own

* Cum dicit, Augustæ me ad *quendam Evangelicum* (sic enim doctores suos appellant) divertisse, et apud eum præ me tulisse, me causæ illorum favere."

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apostasy they should endeavour openly to pervert the whole of Germany and all other Christian nations.

Brussels, 20th June 1554.

[*Latin.* 240 *lines.*]

June 21. Senato Mar. v. xxxii. p. 150, tergo.

902. CLAIMS on ENGLAND of the VENETIAN NOBLEMAN SIR FRANCIS BERNARD.*

The nobleman Francesco Bernardo, knight, having been unable as yet to negotiate anything with the Queen of England about the credits claimed by him from that crown (on account of damages sustained in divers manners for the service and advantage of his late Majesty), by reason of the disturbances after the death of King Edward, petitions the Signory to prolong therefore for one year, the license to go to England conceded on the 27th of March 1553; Put to the ballot, that the above-mentioned license be prolonged for another year.

Ayes, 172. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Lettere Secrete, Capi ConsiglioX., File no. 5.

903. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.†

A few days ago the reverend ambassador of the most Serene Queen Mary came to them saying that he wished they would order the arrest of one of his servants‡ for certain important things, which he would specify after it had been made. The Chiefs answered him that this matter of arrest is of great moment, and by the Republic's laws and ordinances entails difficulties, as sundry and important considerations must be had. Subsequently the ambassador entered the College, where the Chiefs were present, saying he had been told that his said servant had uttered certain words to the disparagement of the most Serene Queen, demonstrating ill-will towards her; and he repeated the same demand for the arrest, in order (as he said) to examine him thoroughly, with the assistance of a secretary on behalf of the Signory. Although anxious to do what is agreeable to the Queen, nevertheless as such proceedings are unusual, and might create great confusion, they were unable to satisfy the ambassador in this matter, having frequently denied similar requests to many Princes, ambassadors, and other personages, because an infinite number of persons of all nations proceed freely to Venice and her territory, where everybody discourses, even of Princes, according to their opinions, and it is not customary to take heed of their words, the like system being observed at other courts; and had the Signory proceeded to this arrest, the example would have subjected them to so many similar requests from ambassadors and other personages that discussions of the sort would have arisen daily, to the confusion of the Republic's laws and regulations,

* The name and title of Francesco Bernardo is given as above in the index of Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1547–1553, p. 362.

† The name of this servant and his misdemeanours are recorded in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date June 16, 1554, p. 97.

‡ Transcribed in cipher.

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and causing not a little disturbance to the Signory. Have given him detailed account of these things for his own information, and in order that if spoken to about them further by the Queen, or by any of the Lords of the Council, he may be able to reply according to this letter in such form as of his prudence he shall deem fitting, giving the Chiefs notice of the result.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

In Collº. intervenientibus Cap. Illmi. Consilij X.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

904. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Valladolid of the 24th ulto. say that the Prince of Spain had already seen his sister, and was expected to embark in the middle of this month at the latest. Hitherto the weather has been fair, but it is now cold, and the northerly winds are against this voyage. The Marquis de las Navas has brought the Queen a beautiful large diamond as a present from her Consort, and unless some new resolve be formed, it seems that the marriage will be celebrated at Winchester.

Sir Philip Hoby, late English Ambassador at the Imperial Court, has arrived at Brussels. Damula believes he is on his way to the baths of Abano, but in a future despatch will say for certain whether such is the case.

Brussels, 23rd June 1554.

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

905. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor's delay in mustering his forces is now causing him great trouble and detriment. During the whole of this year he determined to await the arrival of his son in England, in order to avail himself of the money and troops which accompany the Prince, and therefore procrastinated, disbursing but little pay, and detaining much cavalry and infantry in Germany; nor can they be got together speedily, as the journey thence to Flanders is very long, nor is the money sent thither sufficient to make them march.

Brussels, 29th June 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

906. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It may be hoped that in a fortnight from 16 *to* 20,000 *foot will be mustered, and the Emperor will regulate himself according to the proceedings of the enemy, who, yesterday and today, besides plundering everything in the neighbourhood of Brussels, also burned many villages, capturing such men of wealth as they found abroad, great numbers of the peasantry being destitute, and making their escape into Brussels; those who can save their apparel, bringing it into the town, where in a few days they must be famished, as the*

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harvest cannot be got in for a month, and the French are destroying it, victuals being brought from day to day for the momentary supply; but the enemy lost a great opportunity by not entering Brussels immediately and making them all decamp in double quick time. Nothing is said about the Emperor's departure, nor is it expected to take place until he has an army in the field, when Damula will follow him wherever he goes, unless he forbids him. Yesterday his Majesty tried on his armour and found that the corslet and a jerkin of buckskin (di coro [cuojo] di cervo) *which he wears under it were tighter for him than usual, by three fingers breadth, so he is stouter than he was, and, from what his attendants say, is better than he has been for some years.*

Cardinal Pole, who had been residing at an abbey, as Damula wrote, on hearing that his Majesty intended to depart, came into Brussels and informed the Bishop of Arras, through the Nuncio* [*Muzzarelli*], *that he should remain there until he received farther orders from Rome, and wished to know whether the Emperor had any other commands to give. Arras said he would inform his Majesty, who would not depart for the present, and that within a month at the latest he will have such an army that it will make the French scamper home if they can get there. But in a few days Pole purposes making another attempt, by speaking about the peace or causing it to be spoken about, provided the Emperor will give him audience; nor did the Bishop of Arras take it amiss that Pole should remain at Brussels, of which he had some doubt, remembering what Arras said to him* [*last May*] *when he returned from France, as written by Damula.*

It was reported today that the Prince of Spain had arrived in England on the 28th, but Damula finds that a Spanish ship has arrived at Antwerp, having sailed from Coruña on the 18th, bringing word that the Prince was to embark on that day, and they hope soon to have news of his arrival in England.

Brussels, 30th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

907. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador is going to Rheims, as I also shall do immediately on the Queen's departure thither, she having remained where she now is on account of a slight indisposition which suddenly seized her eldest daughter, Madame Isabel; but on that same day they sent off the Dauphin with the most Serene Queen of Scotland and her Majesty's other daughter to Rheims, and the Queen herself will soon depart, that castle (*quel castello*) [of Coucy?] not being considered very safe on account of its vicinity to the enemy's fortrssses.

I have heard on good authority, that as soon as the army is united his Majesty will push on with it (si spingerà con quello) *towards Brussels, in order if possible to dislodge the Emperor, and*

* The earliest of Damula's letters which has been preserved is dated 1st June 1554, and

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if able, they would even enter the city and have it sacked, which will remain to be seen; and of what may take place I shall give your Serenity notice from time to time.

Dr. Wotton tells me that according to his last advices from London, the Prince of Spain has not yet appeared in that kingdom, and this he attributed to contrary weather; nor by this present letter have I anything more to tell your Serenity.

Laon (*Lan*), 30th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

908. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to DOGE FRANCESCO VENIER.*

Congratulates himself and the whole Republic, as do Cardinal Pole, the Cardinal of Burgos, all the Italian ambassadors, and very many others, on his election.

Brussels, 1st July 1554.

[*Italian.*]

July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

909. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Arras informed the Nuncio [*Muzzarelli*] *in reply to the demand mentioned in his* (*Damula's*) *last, that the Emperor was content with whatever pleased the Pope; that the Legate Pole might remain here at his option; and that before the Emperor's departure, the Bishop would go to visit him, which he had not chosen to do hitherto, because regard should be had, on account of the French.* (perchè si die haver rispetto per causa de' Francesi).

Brussels, 4th July 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

910. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By merchants from Spain, who have come from Spain on board a ship which has arrived at Antwerp, it is heard that they saw the Prince's fleet sailing from Spain hitherwards, so that by this time he may be in England; and that he is bringing upwards of seven thousand infantry, and money to an enormous amount (*et danari assai assai*); both of which will arrive very opportunely.

Brussels, 5th July 1554.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 20.

911. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send him their letter of credence to the most Serene King [Philip] of England; on his Majesty's arrival there to present it, addressing him in their name, according to the terms of his commission, and should his Highness have already arrived, he is again to perform this office.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

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July 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 20.

912. DOGE FRANCESCO VENIER to the most SERENE [PHILIP] KING OF ENGLAND.

Sent lately to the Queen of England his noble Zuan Michiel to congratulate her on her marriage to his Majesty, and to reside as the Doge's ambassador in that kingdom, charging him on the King's arrival there to perform the like office of congratulation on this marriage and on his accession to the English crown.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 20.

913. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send him a letter of credence to the King [Philip] of England ; to present it on his Majesty's arrival.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

914. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From what has been heard, the French make no progress, but had a design on Namur. Some say they did not enter either Flanders or Brabant from fear of getting themselves into a war with England, as by the last convention made in 1542 *the English are bound to assist the Emperor should those provinces be invaded; nor is Marienburg included, as being in the province of Liège; so the English ambassador resident at Brussels, who would fain save his country from war, has written to his Queen that Marienburg is not amongst the places which the English Crown is bound to defend, but should the Emperor's son become King of England, and be able to make war, it would be easy to find a pretext for waging it. The Bishop of Arras told Cardinal Pole that the Emperor would willingly have been accompanied by him, but that the urgent need compelled his Majesty to depart on the sudden. When Pole observed that having been unable to effect the peace he could only say that should a spirit come for that purpose, he would try to prevent them from letting it depart, the Bishop replied that a good peace could only be made by a good war ; and when the Cardinal rejoined that war was never good, Granvelle continued, that although it was commenced by the French, they will not finish it, either at such time or in such fashion as they shall wish. He then commenced magnifying the Imperial forces and disparaging those of France, saying that the Emperor with so many realms, including Peru, being occasionally pinched for money, he would fain know what to think of the* [*French*] *King, who has but one kingdom, and that having already sold the church chalices, he is no longer able to do deeds ; whereupon the Cardinal prayed God that no occasion might arise for their marshalling all their forces one against the other.*

Brussels, 8th July 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher ; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1554.
July 9.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 33.

915. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILIFFS (BAYLIS) at Constantinople.

Informed them by their last letters that the Grisons sent by the most Christian King to succour Sienna were on their march to that city. They subsequently joined the French troops raised at Parma and La Mirandola, and with horse and foot marched out of Sienna, under the command of Pietro Strozzi, into the Florentine territory, whereupon the army of the Duke of Florence pursued the French, and some skirmishes took place. The Duke's army then went to Pistoia, a place belonging to his Excellency, where it was reinforced by troops from the Duchy of Milan; and the French army, having enabled the Siennese to get in their harvest, returned into the Siennese territory, the Duke's army doing the like; and toward Porto Hercules, the Prior of Capua, when taking a Florentine castle, was dangerously wounded by a harquebuse shot.

Have advices from England that a personage has come to the most Serene Queen, being sent to her with a great present (*con grosso presente*) of jewels, by the Prince of Spain her husband, who was to embark at Corunna in the course of June, on his voyage, with the fleet, to England.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

916. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal de Tournon is of opinion that the Emperor has delayed raising other troops, having for some time been expecting the Spanish infantry, which is to come with the Prince his son, of whose passage to England he said they had as yet no news whatever; and that it was heard that the most serene Queen of England having need of money, had sent in quest of it to Antwerp, and to make a bargain with the merchants at the rate of 30 per cent. interest per annum; so, judging from the Queen's scarcity of money, his Right Rev. Lordship inferred that kingdom would remain at peace with this one.

Rheims, 10th July 1554.

[*Italian.*]

July 11.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in Vol. 4. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc., with the date 21st June 1554.

917. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

In the midst of the congratulations addressed to his Majesty from every quarter on his marriage to Queen Mary, Pole has a double claim to make himself heard, being Legate from the Pope, for the purpose of reconciling England to the Church, and of establishing peace between the Emperor, King Philip's father, and the King of France. The marriage of Philip and Mary encourages him to hope for the best; the Queen, to whom the crown belongs by hereditary right, earnestly desires it, admiring his endowments and prerogatives, especially his inherited title of "Catholic," confirmed by his education in the bosom of the Church; and having always worshipped that Catholic faith, which has been so harassed in England, the Queen, who bears the title of Defender of the Faith, has called

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him to be joined to her, for its maintenance, by the most holy bond of matrimony. His Majesty will also comprehend that the interests and wishes of the kingdom call for peace between the Emperor and France. Offers the King his services, and wishes him all prosperity.

From the monastery of Diligam (*sic*) [near Brussels], 11th July 1554.

[*Latin, 56 lines.*]

July 12. Despatches from England. File 1. Venetian Archives.

918. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen yesterday received letters from the Prince and from her own Ambassador; the Prince was to embark on the 8th. This intelligence was forwarded last night in the greatest haste to the Emperor, whom it interests so deeply, that he will hear and receive it with no less joy and comfort than it has caused the Queen. His Highness' arrival in England from hour to hour may be considered certain, as from that day to this the wind was quite fair, and continues so. When it takes place, will give immediate notice of the fact, although as the Queen and the Emperor have many couriers on the watch in many places, for the instant conveyance of the news to many quarters, he thinks it may perhaps reach the Signory sooner through some other means than his.

London, 12th July, 1554.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

919. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the evening of the 8th the Emperor entered Namur, and on the 9th his army encamped near the town on a hill, where they subsequently raised trenches, a proof of their intending to remain there for some days. On the 10th the Emperor entered the castle, and would allow no one to accompany him, save Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] and the Signori Gastaldo and Doria; and on the morrow he chose to inspect the army, which has been lately increased by one thousand cavalry under the Prince of Orange, and by some Belgian bands* (alcune bande di questi paesi), *which are very sorry* (assai triste); *as also by* 10 *companies of High Germans under the Count of Nassau, fine troops, and by* 10 *other companies of Low Germans under Monsr. de Bederode; so that the Imperial camp may number from about* 16 *to* 17,000 *infantry, and about* 5,000 *horse, encamped as aforesaid, with Namur in their rear* (con le spalle a Namur) *in a very strong position, and secure from the enemy, as between the two camps there is a large wood and a strong and difficult road, which the French are not expected to take, and which is still being re-enforced,* 1,000 *Saxon cavalry under Count Schwartzenburg having already crossed the Rhine; and from the towns of Belgium* (queste terre) *they have ordered as many*

* This confirms the contents of a letter from Sir John Masone in Foreign Calendar, date Brussels, 10th July 1554, but it contains no other letter from Masone until the 2nd of August.

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as 8,000 *infantry, very sorry troops* (ben tristi), *and perhaps useless; and at Brussels a census has been made of all men able to carry arms, of whom a thousand have been selected, and will depart in two days. From other towns in like manner, troops paid for three months are being sent for his Majesty's service; and at Antwerp they are raising* 2,000. *On this account, and by reason of a certain tax laid upon beer, etc., the people of that place rebelled three days ago in a serious manner* (di mala maniera), *making much noise, and raising new questions* (et molta novità), *complaining that they were sent into the camp, and that it was intended to quarter the Spaniards in the town; so they seized the gates, and went to the burgomasters and governors, who barricaded themselves* (si rinchiusero), *to let the first ebullition subside, and then apologized to the people, asking their pardon, and also repealing their* [*new*] *taxes. There has also been some danger of a sack; and the people are still in possession of the gates, though it is hoped they will be pacified; and the Queen of Hungary, who is in a castle between Brussels and Louvain, has sent one of her attendants to allay the tumult.*

In the meanwhile on the 9*th the French took by storm a place on the Meuse, called Bouvines, a mile from Dinant. It had a garrison of* 50 *Spaniards, and some soldiers of the country, all of whom were cut to pieces; and then, with part of their army, the French crossed the river, and took the town of Dinant; after which, with a number of cannon, they battered the fortress, situated on the summit of a rock of no great height, but considered strong by reason of the difficulty of the ascent; and as neither the Germans nor the Switzers would make the assault, the Gascons attempted it on the evening of the* 10*th, but were repulsed with great loss, many of them having been killed by the artificial fire placed in the fosse. But on the* 11*th the French returned to the attack, and the defenders having first sent to the Emperor for a succour of* 300 *infantry, who did not make their appearance, commenced capitulating, and at length surrendered, their lives and body arms being spared them* (salve le persone con le arme di dosso). *Some say that the native soldiery who are from Liège, coerced their commanders, which others deny; but the result is that the French have possession of Dinant; and within was the Spanish captain Julian, with his company.* The Signor Giovanni Battista Gastaldo was sent in one direction and Don Hernardo* (sic) *dalla Noia in another, with strong companies of foot and horse to succour the place or damage the enemy, but the fortress was surrounded, and they could do neither one thing nor the other. The capture of Dinant is not of great importance, save on account of the Meuse; but yet it was taken in sight of the Emperor, and those who were averse to his Majesty quitting Brussels now show how much his*

* In the Foreign Calendar, entry 233, date Brussels, 7 July 1554, it is stated that Captain Julian had five ensigns of Spaniards and Liègois. At page 96 it appears by a letter written to Queen Mary from Rheims on the 14th July 1554 by Dr. Wootton, that Captain Julian had formerly served in England, and that he and his soldiers departed from Dinant "with their swords by their sides."

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reputation is affected by this feat, he being at Namur, distant about four leagues from Dinant.

Mons. de Vendôme has lately invaded the county of Artois from Picardy with 6000 *foot and* 2000 *horse, plundering and burning as far as the gates of Arras, to the great detriment of the province, making his way even into Flanders, well nigh to Lisle.*

A letter has come from the Court of the Queen of England, dated the 10th instant, with news that on the 22nd ult. the Prince of Spain arrived at St. James of Galicia, where he gave a gracious reception to the English Ambassadors, and signed the marriage articles, and went thence to the port of Coruña, where all were to embark with the first fair weather.

Last night the cavalry of the two camps had a skirmish, the French having come within a league of Namur. They lost eight or ten men, and upwards of a hundred of the Imperialists are missing; so says a courier just arrived on his way to England, and all the inhabitants of the territory of Namur are escaping towards Brussels as fast as they can.

Another courier has arrived from England, having left on the 12th, with intelligence that the Spanish fleet had been sailing with a fair wind, and it was considered certain that on the 14th or 15th his Highness would be in Southampton harbour.

From Brussels, 14th July 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

920. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Gives an account (*in cipher*) of the invasion of Flanders by the French.

The Prince's departure from Coruña has been appointed for the 8th instant, but as yet it is not heard to have taken place; *and of late there has been very stormy weather in the British Channel. A fortnight ago, twenty armed French ships sailed from Dieppe to join some others of the same nation off the Scilly Isles* (drieto alcune isole ditte Sille, al Capo di Anglia verso ponente).

Brussels, 20th July 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

921. The SAME to the SAME.

Gives an account of the war in Flanders (*in cipher*).

To-day a gentleman arrived who says he comes from the fleet which is bringing the Prince of Spain, and that on the evening of the 19th instant he left his Highness on ship-board with his fleet off the Isle of Wight at the mouth of Southampton harbour, having sailed from Spain on the 15th, and with fair weather during the whole voyage, which has greatly rejoiced the Queen and all the others. The gentleman went straight to the Emperor, and it may be supposed that the Prince disembarked to-day.

Brussels, 21st July 1554.

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July 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

922. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night a gentleman sent by the Queen, and another person also, both reported alike, that they have seen the most Serene Prince of Spain; that on the 19th he passed from his own ship into a frigate prepared for this purpose by the Admiral [Lord Howard of Effingham], who received his Highness and gave him a banquet on board the said frigate—so called by the English, although it is as large as a good-sized galliot—and on board of which, as by reason of the wind the ships could not conveniently get into port, he was taken to the landing place;* and then on disembarking he received and treated everybody with great graciousness and affability without any pomp or regal ceremony, mixing with them as a comrade, making many presents to several persons; and in Spain, to one of the Ambassadors of the Queen, he gave a gold cup worth 6000 crowns, and to the other a jewelled sword valued at 4000 crowns.† He is supposed to have entered Winchester to-day, and to have seen the Queen, and his coming is said to have been delayed on account of the money he brings, and which is said to be 3,000,000 of ducats: thus, 300,000 for the Queen of England, 1,000,000 for the merchants, and the rest for the Emperor. The infantry are in number about 4,500; the other particulars will be transmitted to the Signory from London,‡ and here we have not heard much more, as is usually the case with the first news (*come suol avvenire delle prime nove*).

Brussels, 22nd July 1554.

[*Italian.*]

July 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

923. The SAME to the SAME.

A courier from England arrived this morning, having left Winchester the night of the 25th. The Prince of Spain on landing was presented with the Order of the Garter, and received by a number of lords and others. On the morrow the Chancellor and many other Lords of the Council went to visit him on behalf of the Queen. On the 23rd he left Hampton for Winchester, accompanied by many marquises, dukes, earls, and other lords and gentlemen, besides those from Spain, having with him upwards of a thousand horse. He dismounted at the cathedral, where he was received by six bishops; and next day he went to visit the Queen, who came to meet him at the large hall. On the 25th the espousal was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing in the said church, with marvellous signs of great joy and satisfaction on the part of all the spectators; and during this ceremony the marriage articles (*le conventioni*) were confirmed and sworn to by the Prince, and the marriage was to be consummated that night. There were present at the espousal, the ambassadors from the Emperor, from the Kings of

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* In the Foreign Calendar, date 25 July 1554, there is a letter from the Council to Dr. Wotton describing the reception of the Prince of Spain, who was met on the water by the Lord Steward, but nothing is said about the banquet.

† The two ambassadors were the Earl of Bedford and Viscount Fitzwalter. (*See* Foreign Calendar, June 5, 1554, p. 91.)

‡ The despatches of this date, written from London by the Ambassador Michiel, have

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the Romans and Bohemia, from your Serenity, from Savoy, Florence, and Ferrara, and many agents of Sovereign Princes (*Signori*). The proclamation was entitled thus: Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Prince of Spain, Archduke of Austria, &c. On the 28th instant, they were to leave Winchester for Windsor, where the festival (*la festa*) of the Garter will be held, and the entire population had evinced great satisfaction. In ten days the King and Queen will be in London. It was not said when the coronation would take place.

Some of the Spaniards commenced disembarking either because they were ordered to do so, or because they were tired of being on ship-board, but the English government (quelli Signori Inglesi) *made them go back, and hastened the despatch of victuals to the seaside for the return of the fleet as soon as possible, and to send the Spaniards hitherwards* (a quelle bande) *immediately, it being said that they do not exceed* 4,000, *and that they are being supplied with clothes and arms of every sort, as they are nearly all destitute. They are expected to land at Dunkirk, and march through Flanders to join the army. It is understood that the Prince's coming was delayed owing, in great measure, to the difficulty he experienced in bringing this infantry out of Spain, as besides the dislike of* "questi Signori" [*the Spanish Government?*] *to the removal from their territory of so many men, few of whom return, there must be added the evil report taken to Spain last winter by the Spaniards who were disbanded here for the sake of economy, and proclaimed that their nation was very ill treated in these parts, both by the Imperial ministers and by the people likewise.*

The title of King of Naples, assumed by the Prince of Spain, seeming new to me, I therefore spoke about it to many persons likely to know when the investiture was conferred, and amongst the rest I sent to the Regent of Naples, who is more surprised at it than anybody, nor, like the others, does he know anything about it, but a lady in office at the palace (una dama di palazzo) *told a friend of mine, whom I sent to ask her the question, that this investiture was given at Augsburg when the Prince went thither from Italy.*

The above written advices from England were extracted by me from a letter addressed by the Lords of the Council to Sir John Masone; and when I expressed my surprise to him that the French Ambassador should not have been present at the espousal (*sponsalitio*), he was unable to assign any cause, nor has he any other advices than what I saw.

Brussels, 28th July 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

924. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Further account of the war in Flanders (*in cipher*).

The English Ambassador at this Court has sent to tell me that last night he received a courier with news of the arrival on that

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island of the Prince of Spain on the 20th ult.; that on the 25th, the espousals (*le nozze*) took place, and that he had consummated the marriage (*il matrimonio*). Wotton says that none but his guard of halberdiers, and the princes and lords who accompanied his Highness, disembarked with him, and that the rest of the troops remained on board the fleet, which numbers about 120 sail, now at anchor in one of those ports to take in victuals and refreshments (*vettovaglie et rinfrescamenti*), and they are then to steer towards Flanders, with a good sum of money, and the Spanish infantry, the amount of whom he was unable to tell me. He added that on the day of the marriage aforesaid, a courier arrived with letters from the Emperor to the Prince, renouncing in his favour the crowns of the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem (*che gli renuntiava le corone delli regni di Napoli, di Sicilia, et di Hierusalem*); and the Ambassador believed that by this time his Highness will also have been crowned King of England, and that in a few days a general Parliament of the realm will be held for the affairs of the religion, the Right Rev. Cardinal Pole to be present there, as your Serenity will be informed more in detail by your ambassador at that Court.

Compiegne, 31st July 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

925. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Auditor [Ormanetto?] of the Right Rev. Legate has arrived from Rome with letters from his Holiness, greatly commending all that Cardinal Pole has done (*tutto il procedere di S. S. Revma.*), giving him leave either to remain [in Brussels], or go [to England], at his option (*dandole libertà di stare et andare come vole*), and fuller powers to do what shall seem expedient to him there about the affairs of the religion, and especially with regard to such Church property as has been alienated and placed in the Exchequer, or bestowed on private individuals,* having no care nor thought for anything but to gain those souls (*nè pensier d' altro che di guadagnar quelle anime*), and bring them back to the obedience of the Apostolic See; so the Cardinal has sent one of his attendants to the King, and to the English Queen, to persuade both one and the other to attend heart and soul (*ad attendere con ogni spirito*) to the religion, and to bring back that kingdom to its pristine state (*et ridur quel regno nel suo pristino essere*), as becoming their titles of "*Catholic*" and "*Defender of the Faith*," and not to show themselves ungrateful for the great benefits conferred by the Almighty on her Majesty.†

But as Cardinal Pole strongly suspects that in England they will do neither more nor less than what the Emperor tells or commands them,‡ he has sent this same Auditor [*Ormanetto?*] *to acquaint his Imperial Majesty with the deep interest* (grande affet-

* Et specialmente delli beni delle chiese alienati, et posti nel publico et nel privato.
† Et non usar ingratitudine delli grandi beneficii che Dio ha fatti ad essa Regina.
‡ Ma perchè sua Signoria Reverendissima dubita assai che in Anglia non si farà più ne meno di quello che sarà ditto overo ordinato da Cesare.

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tione) *deservedly taken by his Holiness in this cause of England, and to demonstrate to him, that for his own advantage, he should desire Pole to go and introduce the Catholic religion into that island, and by means of it render the people much more obedient to the Crown than when they were of one creed, and their sovereigns of another.**

The Cardinal will await the opinion of the Emperor, who, as told to me on good authority, sent to the Prince his son by the Regent, Figueroa, when he went to England, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and Jerusalem, which has been kept a most profound secret, and was known solely to the Secretary Vargas and the aforesaid Figueroa; this step having been taken to give repute to the marriage, by conferring on the Prince the title of King.

Subsequent advices from the camp received yesterday announce that the Emperor chooses (vole) *the Prince to be forthwith* (de presenti) *put in possession of the entire government of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and of what relates to justice, acts of grace, and current affairs* (et le cose di justitia et di gratia, et li negocii pendenti), *and he has had it intimated to the Regents of Naples and Sicily, who are here at Brussels, to prepare for going to England for this purpose on receiving the order, though I do not believe it will be given so immediately, as there will be many things to do before effecting this change, and especially because a trustworthy person has told me that the Emperor wrote to the Prince, his son, saying it would please him, should the Queen give her consent, were he, shortly after the coronation, to cross over to these parts, he saying that he wished to come and assist his father in his present necessities* (in questi bisogni); *and I am informed that the object of this arrangement is to guarantee the Prince against any stir which the English might make at this commencement, and also to gain repute for him by his treating these momentous affairs of the war here. They are very intent on this scheme, and therefore give him the government of those kingdoms; and he will have councils* (consegli), *and men of gravity and esteem about him, thus obtaining great repute.*

Brussels, 4th August 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

926. The SAME to the SAME.

Account (*in cipher*) of the war in the Low Countries, and of a dispute with respect to the neutrality of Treves.

Cardinal Pole's Auditor [*Ormanetto?*] *has arrived from the camp; the conclusion is, that they put off his Right Rev. Lordship's journey to England, and it is evident that the Emperor does not approve of his going thither.*†

* Et col mezzo di quella a far i populi assai più obedienti a quella corona di ciò che s' erano essendo loro di una religione, et li loro Re di un' altra.

† È giunto dal campo lo auditore del Rev^mo Legato; la stima è che si proroga la andata di sua Sig^ria Rev^ma in Anglia, et si vede chiaro che Cesare non ha piacer che vi vada.

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The attendants of the Legate and Nuncio [*Muzzarelli*], *who have returned from the camp, say that, in the presence of the Duke of Savoy and the chief personages, they heard it said that the Turks have come to a rupture with your Serenity, on the authority of the advices from Trent, which were sent hence to the camp, but my letter to the Bishop of Arras will have explained the matter to them.**

Brussels, 5th August 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

927. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has seen a letter from Cardinal d' Epernon at Rome, touching the disagreement between the Pope and the Duke of Florence, and gives an account of the Cardinal's interview with the Pope on the subject.

It is reported here that the Spaniards who came with the most Serene Prince of Spain, having landed at a short distance from Calais, took a French fortress called Ambleteuse (Ablatu), *between Boulogne and Calais, and I detained my letter the whole of this day, in order to ascertain the fact, but receiving no further confirmation of it, save this public rumour, I will no longer delay this packet, and refer myself to my next for more certain news of the circumstance.*

Compiegne, 7th August 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

928. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago there arrived here Count Horn, sent by King Philip, and an English gentleman, on behalf of the Queen, to give the Emperor account of what took place at the marriage, and of its consummation. The Emperor in return has sent a gentleman of his chamber, Mons. d'Hibermon (*sic*), with congratulations, and, perhaps, to convey some other orders. The Ambassador from Ferrara has also returned hither from England, whither he went for these festivities, but comes back in a very melancholy mood, from having been deprived of the precedence claimed by him over the Florentine Ambassador, and because on his return he was plundered by English highwaymen (*dalli ladroni di quel paese*).†

Gives an account of the war in the Low Countries (*in cipher*).

I understand that three days ago, 500 cavalry escorted from Calais (a place belonging to the English) to the Emperor's sea town of Gravelines, a considerable sum of money, which came with the Prince of Spain, but I do not know the amount, and during these [last

* A ciphered paragraph in the letter dated 4th August informed the Senate that it was not for the honour of the Signory to have it reported that the Turks meditated invasion of the Venetian territory, or that they had put the Venetian fleet to flight, and therefore Damula wrote to the Bishop of Arras, suggesting the probable origin of this false intelligence.

† This Ferrarese Ambassador was Count Rodrigo Montecuccolo, *see* Foreign Calendar, year 1554, pp. 89, 90, 107. At p. 118, allusion is made to the dispute about precedence

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few] days the mart of Antwerp has become more liberal (*più larga*).

Brussels, 11th August 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta). vol. lxix., p. 35.

929. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have lately received several sets (*mani*) of his letters down to the 20th ult., the last of which announce the arrival in England of the most Serene Prince of Spain,* his reception at the port of Hampton, and the order given in the Queen's name to him and the other Ambassadors to betake themselves to Salisbury, where their lodgings were prepared for them. Desire him again to perform a congratulatory office with their Majesties in England.

Ayes, 202. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta). vol. lxix., p. 36, tergo.

930. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By advices from England dated the 20th July, the Prince of Spain arrived there on the preceding day with 130 large ships (*grosse navi*) and soldiery, and landed in Southampton harbour, and by letters from Brussels, dated the 29th, it seems that the marriage was celebrated on the 25th, and consummated that same night.

Ayes, 44. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 3.

Amendment. Ayes, 159.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

931. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By my last of the 5th I announced the return of Cardinal Pole's Auditor (Ormanetto ?) from the camp, he having then just arrived, so I was unable at the moment to learn any details, the summary of which was, that the Bishop of Arras told the Auditor that by no means was the Right Reverend the Legate to think of going to England without permission from the Emperor; and even were he to ask it during ten thousand years he must not think to obtain it unless he sent his Majesty the powers lately received from Rome, authorizing him to dispose of the Church property which had been alienated, and either placed in the Exchequer or bestowed on private English subjects; and, moreover, unless he acquainted his Majesty with his opinion and intention with regard to what he meant to do about the said Church property, as this was a very important matter, on which the quiet or commotion of all England depended.† On hearing this,

* On the 20th July 1554. *See* Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, July 25, 1554, p. 106.

† Scrissi del ritorno dell' Auditor del Rev^mo Legato dal campo, donde egli era venuto poco innanzi; et però non potei hora saper i particolari, liquali in somma furono che Mons. di Aras disse all' Auditor preditto, che il Rev^mo Legato non si pensasse di andar in Anglia ad alcun modo, senza licentia dell' Imperatore, et se ben la demandasse 10 mille anni, non pensasse di doverla havere se non mandava a sua Maestà le facultà novamente

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Cardinal Pole clearly understood that the Emperor does not choose him to go to that island, the Legate being unable to tell his Majesty what he purposes doing about the Church property, because it is of various sorts, and the mode of alienation varies, each of which [*cases*] *requires different cognizance and* [*a different*] *award.* So, as the Queen wished to see them, he has this day sent her a copy of the powers; and as she seemed desirous that he should go to England his Right Reverend Lordship will remain here awaiting a decision either from here or from there* (o di quà o di là), *but the English Government does not gainsay the will of the Imperial ministry* (ma quelli di là, non si parteno dal volere di questi).

Concerning the sum of money which, as written by me yesterday, was escorted from Calais to Gravelines, I understand from a person who was present when the cases were loaded and unloaded, that it does not exceed 300,000 *crowns. Great part of the silver brought from Spain is in plates.*†

It is being treated about, to give the government of the kingdom of Naples to the Queen of Poland,‡ *together with a council, and the Emperor has already said that he is content with this; and they are endeavouring to obtain the consent of the King of England, who is expected to give it readily, the kingdom of Naples being now weary and depressed* (afflitto) *by the many wrongs* (travagli) *endured at the hands of the Spanish governors. The ambassador of the Queen aforesaid* [*Bonna Sforza?*] *has purchased an organ at Antwerp for* 3,000 *crowns, as also goldsmith's work to the amount of* 6,000, *to give to the Queen of England, and will go thither to endeavour to arrange this business, which is supposed to be very near conclusion. A chamberlain* (un camerier) *of the Duke of Florence has arrived post-wise, express, and went off immediately to the camp. The Duke's ambassador keeps the news secret, but I understand it announces the rout of Strozzi's army, and some proposal* (partite) *from the Siennese; and they keep it secret, lest further orders or reinforcement be sent forthwith from France to Italy.*

Brussels, 12th August 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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havute da Roma del poter disponer delli beni ecclesiastici alienati et posti così nel fisco, come nelli particolari di Anglia, et oltra di ciò se non facesse saper a sua Maestà la opinione et volontà sua sopra quello che voleva far circa essi beni ecclesiastici, perchè questa era materia importantissima et concernente la quiete o perturbatione di tutto quel regno.

* Non gli pol dire quello che egli vogli far delli beni ecclesiastici, perchè di essi sono diversi conditioni et diverse alienationi sopra cadauna di le qual bisogna far una differente cognitione et iudicio.

† E in *piastre.* "*Piastra*" signifies a thin plate of any metal. Dr. Johnson does not give the etymology of *piaster*, nor do I know when the word was first used to signify "an Italian coin about five shillings sterling in value."

‡ The reigning Queen of Poland was Catherine of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, niece of Charles V., widow of Francesco Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and third wife of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, to whom she was married in the year 1553. (*See* L'Art de vérifier les Dates.) This regency of Naples by the Queen of Poland was not effected, and I believe it related not to the reigning queen but to the Queen Dowager Bonna Sforza, who by her last will appointed King Philip heir to her whole Duchy of Bari, estimated at 150,000 ducats per annum. (*See* Foreign Calendar, date Rome, 1st December 1557, entry No. 688, pp. 346–347.)

1554.
Aug. 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

932. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote that the Emperor had given the government of Naples and Sicily to the King of England, but for the present he gives him Naples alone, and not Sicily. The Fuggers have made a bargain (*un partito*) with the court for 150,000 crowns. The securities are not yet given, but it is thought these States will bind themselves, *as I also hear that Brabant, Flanders, and Holland are content to furnish a certain quota* (un certo che), *but the sum is not yet limited.*

At Antwerp they have postponed the payments for one month, allowing 1 per cent. interest per month to such as will accept it (*a chi vole*), because the moneys from Spain have not yet arrived.

Brussels, 13th August 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 18.
Senato Mar, v. xxxii. p. 159. Ser^mus. Princeps, Consiliarij Cap. de XL., Sap. T. F. Sap. Ordinum.

933. CONFIRMATION of GRANTS made by KING EDWARD and QUEEN MARY to the AMBASSADOR SORANZO.

By the report (*relatione*) of Giacomo Soranzo, knight, lately returned from his embassy to England, the Senate has heard of the gracious and loving demonstrations made towards him, both by the late most Serene King Edward, and by the most Serene Queen. The former, when he knighed Soranzo, gave him his royal badge ;* and the latter, on his departure from England, gave him a chain, as customary with regard to other ambassadors from the Signory. The aforesaid nobleman having been obliged to incur great expense for the honour and dignity of the State, both at the Queen's coronation and also in consequence of the changes and disturbances which occurred several times in England during his 41 months embassy there, the scarcity of everything having been constant and excessive, it becomes the Republic to exercise towards the said ambassador their usual liberality, both as a mark and testimony that his toil and service have been agreeable to them, as also that it may serve as an example for other ambassadors, to sustain their grade with dignity, and to the honour of the Signory :

Put to the ballot,—

That the aforesaid gifts be freely given, by authority of this

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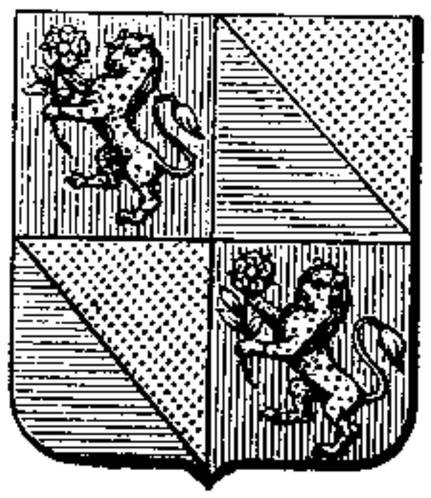
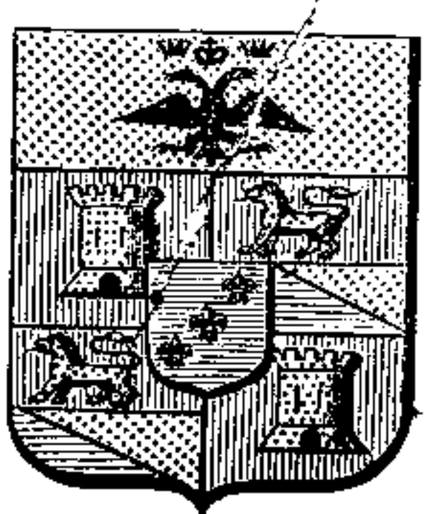
* Amongst the Soranzo shields engraved by Coronelli, two bear the lion of England, thus,





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Council, to their ambassador aforesaid, as conceded to others in similar cases.

Ser Philippus Foscari, Sap. Cons.
Ser Aloysius Mocenico, Eqs. Sap. T.F.
Ser Hierons. Venerio, Sap. Ordinum.
1554 die 18 Augti. in Collegio existente in Exmo. Senatu.

Ayes, 181. Noes, 29. Neutrals, 6.
24 — 1 — 0 $\frac{4}{6}$, expulsis affinibus.
[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Report of England, MS. no. 1,072, in the Correr Museum.

934. REPORT of ENGLAND made to the SENATE by GIACOMO SORANZO, late Ambassador to Edward VI. and Queen Mary.

The business of the Signory's ambassadors consists chiefly in three things: in the diligent execution of the commissions received by them, in sending detailed and speedy advices of what occurs in the courts where they reside, and in acquainting the Senate on their return with whatever may be worth knowing; so having been ambassador to King Edward VI., and after his death to Queen Mary, for the term in all of 41 months,* and having to the best of his ability done what was required touching the two first points, will allude to them no further, save inasmuch as shall be necessary, and coming to the third, will divide it into three principal parts. In the first, will tell of the Queen's qualities, and with what difficulty she obtained the crown, and will also speak of her nearest kindred. In the second, will tell of her realms, and military and naval forces, and of her revenues and expenditure. In the last, will speak of the mode of government, both with regard to church, realm, and state, and conclude with a few remarks about her Majesty's understanding with such neighbouring foreign powers as trade with England.

Personal description of Queen Mary.

The most Serene Madame Mary is entitled Queen of England and of France, and Defendress (*Difensora*) of the Faith. She was born on the 18th February 1515, so she yesterday completed her 38th year and six months. She is of low stature, with a red and white complexion, and very thin; her eyes are white† and large, and her hair reddish; her face is round, with a nose rather low and wide (*largo*); and were not her age on the decline she might be called handsome (*bella*) rather than the contrary. She is not of a strong constitution, and of late she suffers from headache and serious affection of the heart (*grave passione di cuore*) [query, physical palpitation of the heart, or mental anxiety], so that she is often obliged to take medicine, and also to be blooded. She is of very spare diet, and never eats until 1 or 2 p.m., although she rises at daybreak, when, after saying her prayers and hearing mass in private, she transacts business incessantly, until after midnight, when she retires

* In the Register "*Secretario alle voci*," there is no note of Soranzo's election, but by the Register "*Senato Terra*," vol. xxxvii., p. 100 tergo, it appears that the Senate appointed him to succeed Daniel Barbaro in February 1551.

† "*Bianchi*," not grey. The same expression is used by Horace Walpole, in a letter

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to rest; for she chooses to give audience not only to all the members of her Privy Council, and to hear from them every detail of public business, but also to all other persons who ask it of her. Her Majesty's countenance indicates great benignity and clemency, which are not belied by her conduct, for although she has had many enemies, and though so many of them were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely on her Majesty's will, not one of them perhaps would have been enforced; but deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others rather than with her own (*ma deferendo lei ogni cosa al suo Conseio anco in questo ha più soddisfatto ad altri, che a se medesima*). She is endowed with excellent ability, and more than moderately read in Latin literature, especially with regard to Holy Writ; and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French, and Spanish, and understands Italian perfectly, but does not speak it. She is also very generous, but not to the extent of letting it appear that she rests her chief claim to commendation on this quality.

She is so confirmed (*firmata*) in the Catholic religion that although the King her brother and his Council prohibited her from having the mass celebrated according to the Roman Catholic ritual, she nevertheless had it performed in secret, nor did she ever choose by any act to assent to any other form of religion, her belief in that in which she was born being so strong that had the opportunity offered she would have displayed it at the stake, her hopes being placed in God alone, so that she constantly exclaims: "*In te Domine confido, non confundar in æternum: si Deus est pro nobis, quis contra nos?*" Her Majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet, and is a very good performer on both instruments; and indeed before her accession she taught many of her maids of honour (*molte sue damigelle*). But she seems to delight above all in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently, and her garments are of two sorts; the one, a gown such as men wear, but fitting very close, with an under-petticoat which has a very long train; and this is her ordinary costume, being also that of the gentlewomen of England. The other garment is a gown and boddice, with wide hanging sleeves (*con le maniche larghe rovesciate*) in the French fashion, which she wears on state occasions; and she also wears much embroidery, and gowns and mantles (*sopravvesti*) of cloth of gold and cloth of silver, of great value, and changes every day. She also makes great use of jewels, wearing them both on her chaperon and round her neck, and as trimming for her gowns; in which jewels she delights greatly, and although she has a great plenty of them left her by her predecessors, yet were she better supplied with money than she is, she would doubtless buy many more.

Account of the repudiation by Henry VIII. of Katharine of Arragon.

Her Majesty's father was the most serene King Henry VIII., and her mother the most serene Katharine, daughter of King Ferdinand, the Catholic, of Spain, and sister of the Emperor's mother; and therefore on her Majesty's birth, the King her father proclaimed her heiress of the realm, although shortly after, she was bastardized,

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the cause being, that after the King her father had cohabited during 20 consecutive years with the Queen her mother in the most complete love and concord, he became enamoured of a damsel in the Queen's service, an English girl, by name Anne Boleyn, and wishing to enjoy her, not merely as his mistress, but if possible as his wife, his flatterers, and principally the Cardinal of York, at that time the King's chief favourite, and who was unfriendly towards the Queen, had it represented to him by his Confessor that his marriage with Queen Katharine was invalid, she having previously been the wife of his brother Prince Arthur. The King, therefore, although he had had a dispensation from Pope Julius, empowering him to contract this marriage, did nevertheless not scruple to send ambassadors to Pope Clement, to hear his opinion, whether this marriage was valid or not; hoping that as the Pope was then at enmity with the Emperor, he would favour his wishes; and his Holiness gave such ear to this matter, that, according to the English, he encouraged almost certain hope that the divorce would take place; but a little later, the Pope having come to a better understanding with the Emperor, by reason of the assistance rendered for the enterprise against Florence by his Imperial Majesty, who made great suit in favour of Queen Katharine, the Pope sent Cardinal Campeggio to London, in order that, together with the Cardinal of York, he might settle the difficulty; but the King and Queen not agreeing to [abide by] the sentence (*ma non s' accordando il Re et la Regina del giudizio*) Cardinal Campeggio went back without any decision, although, had they agreed to accept the award, the Queen would have consented to the divorce, provided the King took oath, that the first time he consummated marriage with her, he had not found her a virgin;* offering moreover to prove that long before the death of Prince Arthur, he was known to be consumptive, and of so bad a constitution, that although they lived five months together, he had been unable to consummate marriage with her.

On the return to Rome, therefore, of Cardinal Campeggio, the Pope had the King summoned to restore the Queen—from whom he was already separated—to her matrimonial rights (*alla coniuntione maritale*), but the King not only refused obedience, but repudiated the Queen entirely; and celebrated his marriage with Anne, and had her crowned, causing his daughter, the Lady Mary, to be declared a bastard, and therefore deprived of the succession to the Crown; on which account, the Pope having excommunicated him, he withdrew his obedience from his Holiness and the Church; and Parliament declared him Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, which title he subsequently held until his death, as did his son Edward likewise. Her present Majesty resigned the title, but when she wished Parliament to pass an Act rescinding it from the Crown, the bill was rejected, it being merely

The title of "Supreme Head."

* "*Se bene quando fussero stati concordi del giudizio, la Regina si sarebbe contentata, che, giurando il Re, che la prima fiata, che seco consumò il matrimonio et non l' aveva ritrovata vergine, si facesse il divorzio.*"

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carried that she was at liberty to assume the title or not, in order not utterly to deprive her successors of it, as written by me to your Serenity after the first coronation.*

Not long after the marriage of Anne Boleyn, the Lady Elizabeth was born, and immediately declared heir to the Crown, in which grade she remained a very short time, because her mother being beheaded on suspicion of adultery, she in like manner was deposed from the succession, and proclaimed a bastard.

Henry VIII.'s will.

Subsequently in 1547, the late King Edward being 10 years old, his father, by reason of his great corpulence, having little hope of life, and wishing to make his last testament, assembled Parliament, and made it pass an Act, whereby he was given liberty, notwithstanding a law to the contrary, to institute his daughters heirs to the Crown in case his son should be childless; and this he had done, as by the statutes of the realm bastards cannot succeed to the Crown; so he made his will, leaving the kingdom to Edward, on condition that, should he die without children, the Lady Mary was to succeed him, provided she had not married, save with the consent of his Council; and in case she also should leave no legitimate heirs, she was to be succeeded by the Lady Elizabeth, who, if she also died childless, was to be succeeded by the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, late Queen widow of France, King Henry's sister; and after the Lady Jane, she not having children, her two other sisters, one after the other, were to succeed, and in the event of their leaving no children, the Crown was to pass to the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Eleanor Countess of Cumberland, second daughter of the Lady Mary, late Queen widow of France aforesaid.

Accession of Edward VI.

On the death of King Henry he was succeeded by King Edward, a youth of very handsome presence, with which his mental endowments corresponded. Whilst under the guardianship of his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, he attended to his studies with marvellous success, learning not only Latin but Greek likewise, though when the government was changed and Somerset replaced by the Duke of Northumberland,† who was a soldier at heart and by profession, he changed the King's studies accordingly, and had him taught to ride and handle his weapons, and to go through other similar exercises, so that his Majesty soon commenced arming and tilting, managing horses, and delighting in every sort of exercise, drawing the bow, playing rackets, hunting, and so forth, indefatigably, though he never neglected his studies.

By these means the Duke obtained great favour with him, and to gain him more completely not only caused entertainments to be made for his diversion, but supplied him freely with money, appointing a Lord Privy Purse (*un tesoriero suo proprio*), recommending him to make presents, and show that he was King; but what

* The letter no longer exists. When Soranzo made his "Report," a second coronation was expected in honour of King Philip.

† John Dudley Viscount Lisle, and created Earl of Warwick on the accession of Edward VI., did not become Duke of Northumberland, until the sixth of the same reign. Soranzo had known John Dudley personally as Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northum-

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mattered more, he made him acquainted with all public business, and chose to have his opinion, in such wise that his commands might then be executed without delay.* But although his Majesty seemed much satisfied with this proceeding on the part of the Duke, yet such was the excellence of his natural disposition that he would never do any act, either of grace or justice, without the approval of his Council, by which means he became so popular with his councillors and the whole country that there is perhaps no instance on record of any other King of that age being more beloved, or who gave greater promise, his Majesty's obstinate adherence to the heresy, alone detracting from so many merits, though for this also he may be excused as he was educated according to its precepts.

His illness.

Last year, however, precisely at the moment when it was hoped he would commence ruling in person, he was seized with a malady, which the physicians soon knew to be consumption (*fu conosciuta essere da etico*), and in a few days his life was despaired of.

Thereupon, the Duke of Northumberland, whose mode of proceeding had rendered him all powerful with the King, devised a plan, whereby, in the event of the well nigh certain death of his Majesty, the kingdom was to pass into Northumberland's own hands; and his first act was to obtain from the King that the Duke of Suffolk should give his eldest daughter, Lady Jane Grey, in marriage to Northumberland's fourth son, Guildford Dudley, the only one of his five sons then unmarried. Thus was it done, and after performance of the marriage ceremony, with a display truly regal, his Majesty

His will.

becoming daily worse, they persuaded him to make a will, representing to him that the King, his father, had acted illegally by making the will he did, as bastards may not succeed to the Crown; and if the King obtained this from Parliament it was an unlawful act, as, without legitimate cause, Parliament could not deprive the legitimate line of the succession, so that the Act, to the prejudice of the Lady Jane, was null, she being the next legitimate heir after King Edward; in addition to which, the Lady Mary having chosen to persist in her old opinion about the religion, and having thus disobeyed the decrees of Parliament and of his Majesty himself, she deserved on this account likewise to forfeit the succession; and, moreover, as neither Mary nor Elizabeth (*ne l' una ne l' altra*) had a husband, it might easily come to pass that they would marry an alien, and place the country under foreign jurisdiction, she [Mary] having clearly demonstrated how little love she bore the English nation. The King being moved by these arguments, but yet more by his wish to oblige Northumberland in everything, made his testament, instituting Lady Jane Grey his heir, and having summoned all his councillors, announced his will (*volontà*) to them, making them read his testament, which he then signed with his own hand, and had it sealed with the great seal of the realm, ordering all the councillors to sign it in like manner, as they did, immediately; and a few days afterwards, namely on the 6th July 1553, he died at the age of 14 years, eight months, and 28 days, having reigned about six years.

* "Ma quello che importava più, voleva che gli riferissero tutti gli negocj et si avesse il parere, in tanto che quello che lui comandava, voleva che fusse eseguito senza più dilatione."

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The Duke of Northumberland's relations with Princess Mary.

In the mean while, Northumberland did not fail doing his utmost to ensure the success of this great scheme, endeavouring, above all, that his negotiations should be kept very secret, and especially from the Lady Mary (notwithstanding which they were known to him, Soranzo, who gave a detailed account of them to the Signory);* and having by divers means contrived to enjoy no less credit with the Lady Mary than with the King, he imagined that by continuing to perform similar offices he should convince her of his good will, and retain his influence. Amongst other things he gave her to understand that, without any doubt, she would be Queen, although but few of the members of the Council wished it, but he, on the contrary, would risk his life and whatever else he had for her service. He thus convinced her so completely, and so secured her favour, that, although those who really wished her to be Queen knew of the Duke's deceit, having discovered his intrigues, yet did they not dare divulge anything to the Lady Mary from fear, lest, instead of providing for her own safety, she might reveal everything to him, and thus ruin them completely; but, by secret means, having let her know how the plot was proceeding, they suggested that she could do nothing more advantageous for herself than to simulate with the Duke, and evince greater trust in him than ever, as he would thus feel sure, whereas any fear of detection might make him seek to guard himself against her by some worse means.

Mary's proceedings on Edward's death.

Her Majesty—as it pleased God—gave ear to the warning of her friends, and followed their advice to the letter; so Northumberland, thinking he could get possession of her whenever he pleased, did not change his conduct towards the Lady Mary, whose friends however, considering all that might occur, contrived when the King was at the point of death to let her know it; whereupon, although it was night, she took flight with six attendants, including two of her maids of honour, and went to Norwich, where having been refused admittance, she stopped a short way off; and although without money or other aid, she nevertheless in a few days mustered an army of 30,000 men, and formed a council from amongst the most faithful of those adherents who joined her.

Lady Jane at the Tower.

On the other hand, shortly after the King's death, Northumberland sent to arrest her, but she was gone, and at the very moment when he took Lady Jane to the Tower, as is usually done to those who are to be crowned, news reached him that the Lady Mary had commenced mustering an army, and in many places had been proclaimed Queen, and hearing that her forces increased he determined to march against them in person, but could not raise more than 2,000 horse and foot; so the Lords (*Signori*) in the Tower with Lady Jane became alarmed, especially on perceiving how dissatisfied the city of London was; and when they heard that eight of the largest ships had gone over from the Duke to the Lady Mary, giving her all their guns and ammunition, they quitted the Tower, leaving the Lady Jane a prisoner there, issuing also an order for the Duke's arrest; and having assembled in the house of the Earl of Pembroke,

* In a despatch which has not been found.

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they immediately proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen. This took place on the 19th July 1553, when her Majesty's proclamation took place to the great joy of the people, which was evinced to the utmost by bell-ringing, bonfires and shouts of applause; so that in those few days she settled the business, and on the 3rd of August following, made her entry into London with 1,000 horse, being met by all the ambassadors including him (Soranzo), who went towards her a distance of 10 miles from London, with 150 mounted attendants. On the 22nd of August she had Northumberland beheaded on the scaffold as usual at Tower Hill, and on the 1st of October she was crowned by the Bishop of Winchester.

Proclamation of Queen Mary.

Immediately after this ceremony she assembled Parliament, and forthwith repealed the Acts passed at the instigation of her father, concerning the divorce from Queen Katharine, so that the marriage being declared valid, Her Majesty remained legitimate daughter, the Lady Elizabeth being consequently bastardized, because born in the life-time of the Catholic Queen (*della Regina Cattolica*). From that time forth a great change took place in Queen Mary's treatment of her, for whereas until then she had shown her every mark of honour, especially by always placing her beside her when she appeared in public, so did she now by all her actions show that she held her in small account. This disquieting her Excellency, she asked leave to go to her country house [Ashridge], and although some persons were of opinion that the Queen should have refused it, Her Majesty, not loving her (as she had demonstrated by very clear signs, even in the lifetime of King Edward) (*come con molti assai chiari segni ne havea dimostrato anco in vita del Re Eduardo*), granted the permission. After Wyatt's insurrection (*la sollevazione di Wiel—sic*), she was accused of being his accomplice; so both on this account, and also by reason of some suspicion of a matrimonial alliance between her and Courtenay, Earl of Devon, she was sent for to London, although indisposed, and after remaining under custody for a few days in the Queen's palace [at Whitehall], she was at length taken to the Tower. But what perhaps gave more cause for suspicion than anything else, was, that at the time of these insurrections the French ambassador being strongly suspected of having an understanding with the rebels, the Council seized a packet of letters which he was sending to France, and in it they found the copy of a letter sent a few days previously to the Queen by the Lady Elizabeth, in reply to a certain communication made to her by her Majesty about the marriage with the Prince of Spain; and as it contained certain words to which a suspicious meaning was attributed, they inferred that she herself had given the copy to the ambassador for the King, by reason of her secret understanding with him. But although her Excellency confuted all these charges, yet was she not set quite at liberty, for on being released from the Tower, they took her to a palace [Woodstock], where she is in the custody of certain gentlewomen sent by the Queen to keep her company.*

Mary's relations with Elizabeth.

Charges against Elizabeth.

* The Lady Elizabeth was released from the Tower on the 19th May 1554, and her

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Personal description of Elizabeth.

She was the daughter of Henry VIII. and Queen Anne Boleyn, and was born on the 7th September 1533, so she is now about twenty-one years old; her figure and face are very handsome, and such an air of dignified majesty pervades all her actions that no one can fail to suppose she is a queen (*è di corpo et di faccia molto bella et disposta con una si grave maestà in tutte le sue operazioni, che non è alcuna che non la giudichi Regina*). She is a good Greek and Latin scholar, and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian most perfectly (*benissimo*); and her manners are very modest and affable (*et è di costumi molto modesti et umani*). During the life-time of King Edward she held (*tenne*) his opinion about the religion, but since the Queen's accession she has adapted herself to the will of her Majesty.

Lady Jane's sisters.

According to the will of King Henry, the next in succession after the Lady Elizabeth were the daughters of the Duchess of Suffolk, the eldest of whom, Lady Jane Grey, having been beheaded, two remain, the eldest of them having been promised to the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, a most powerful and popular nobleman; but as he knows that this alliance could but cause him great embarrassment, by reason of the marriage of Philip and Mary, he was on the point of breaking it off when he (Soranzo) left England. According to this same will, the next in succession to the crown after the ladies Grey, would be the Countess of Cumberland,* who is not yet married, but holds place in the Queen's privy chamber (*ma è della camera segreta della Regina*).

Description of Courtenay.

The next in blood to the crown is Courtenay, Earl of Devon, descended from a younger daughter of Edward IV.; he is twenty-nine years old, and when his father, the Marquis of Exeter, was beheaded on the charge of having had an understanding with Cardinal Pole, this son of his was also put in the Tower, where he remained fifteen years, but the present Queen released him and restored the earldom, with 15,000 ducats revenue, supposing that he was to marry her; but after the stipulation of the marriage with the Prince of Spain, being suspected of complicity with the Kentish insurgents, Courtenay was again sent to the Tower, but as there were no proofs against him they took him out and placed him in a palace under custody of some gentlemen sent by the Queen.† He is of well proportioned frame (*di corpo ben disposto*), has had a very good literary education, and speaks several languages, but having been so long in prison he has neither that spirit nor experience which his position would require.

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remained until April 1555. Soranzo seems to have left London in June 1554, but I am unable to ascertain the day of his departure; though as his successor Michiel arrived in London on the 22d May 1554, it is improbable that Soranzo should have remained with him beyond June.

* Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, by his first wife Eleanor Brandon, youngest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk by Mary Tudor, Queen Dowager of France. Margaret Clifford was born in the year 1540, and on the 7th February 1555, was married to Lord Strange, eldest son of the Earl of Derby. (*See* Collins' Peerage, vol. vi. p. 523.)

† On the 25th May 1554, Courtenay was brought from the Tower, and conveyed to Fodringham Castle in Northamptonshire under the care of Sir Thomas Tresham. (*See* Collins, vol. vi. p. 258.)

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Mary Queen of Scots.

The kingdom of Scotland is held by Queen Mary, of the Stuart family, sole heir of her father King James, son of Queen Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry VIII.; so that had Lady Jane Grey remained Queen, the Queen of Scotland being descended from the elder sister, and Lady Jane from the younger, she would have had a strong claim, although not mentioned in King Henry's will.

Queen Mary of Scotland, being now twelve years old, is out of her minority, during which she was under the guardianship of the Earl of Arran, who is also styled Duke of Chatelherault, in right of a duchy given him by the King of France. On the death of the King of Scotland, Arran assumed the government as next of kin to the crown, according to the national law, the post being tenable during the Queen's minority, with power to dispose of all the revenues of the country, and of everything else, without rendering any account; and although it was supposed that he would make a difficulty about resigning his trust, he nevertheless retired a few months ago, as Soranzo wrote to the Senate;* and the young Queen appointed as Regent her mother, the Queen Dowager Mary, sister of the Duke de Guise, and she is now in Scotland and rules it, the Queen Regnant being in France, the affianced wife of the Dauphin, she having been taken thither chiefly by the will and exertion (*industria*) of her mother, who well knew that many of the Scots were inclined to marry her to King Edward of England, as had been already promised him. The fortresses are all in the hands of the French or of the Queen Dowager, who being a Frenchwoman, it may be said that everything is in the power of his most Christian Majesty, who keeps some thousand infantry there as garrison, that force being sufficient, as in two days they can send over as many troops as they please.

Description of Scotland.

The kingdom is almost all mountainous and marshy, and the climate very cold, so the soil produces but little grain or fruit, and no grapes, but abounds in fish and animals for the use of man, especially in sheep, which yield very fine wool, though but little of it is manufactured at home, it being exported for the most part to France and Denmark, from which countries they import such commodities as they stand most in need of. The kingdom is divided into twelve bishoprics, the chief of which is St. Andrews, and twelve counties, which are well peopled, as the Kings of Scotland have often brought armies of 30,000 men into the field, for the most part against their natural enemies, the English, because Scotland being very poor, and England plentifully supplied, the Scots have always invaded the country, carrying off great booty, this discord being fomented by France; and by donatives and privileges they have induced the French always to prefer the Scottish alliance to that of England. Part of these Scots are savages (*di questa gente ne sono parte de salvatici*), and those who are the most civilized either reside at the court or are on the borders of England. The Scots are rigid Catholics (*sono molto osservanti della Religione Cattolica*), nor is there public heresy of any sort amongst them. Such is the

* The letter has not been found.

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poverty of the county that the royal revenues do not amount to 100,000 ducats.

The other three parts of the island are held by the most serene Queen of England, as they were by her predecessors, commencing with William the Conqueror; that is to say, from 1067 down to the present time, the Crown having always been in that descent,

Wars of the Roses.

although there have been many wars, and especially those which originated with the sons of Edward III., the one, Duke of York, from whom the House of York sprang; and the other, Duke of Lancaster, who founded the Lancastrian family; the first bearing on their shield the white rose, the second the red. Finally, after much bloodshed, the Crown passing from one side to the other, and the male line of the then reigning King Edward IV. of the white rose, becoming extinct, there remaining only daughters, the eldest of them was given in marriage to Henry Earl of Richmond, the sole remaining heir of the red rose, who afterwards became Henry VII., grandfather of the present Queen; so these two families were again united, and her Majesty is thus the legitimate heir of both.*

Description of England.

The air of England is thick (*l'aere di questo regno è grosso*), so it often generates clouds, wind, and rain, but in calm weather the climate is so temperate that the extremes of heat and cold are rarely felt, and never last long, so that persons clad in fur may be seen all the year round. They have some little plague in England well nigh every year, for which they are not accustomed to make sanitary provisions, as it does not usually make great progress; the cases for the most part occur amongst the lower classes, as if their dissolute mode of life (*il disordinato lor vivere*) impaired their constitutions; but in 1551, the first year of Soranzo's residence in England, there was an atmospheric putrescence (*una corruzione di aere*) which produced the disease

The "Sweating Sickness," 1551.

called "the Sweat," which, according to general report, was never known in other countries, and only twice before in England, at intervals of upwards of 20 years; it commenced in Wales, and then traversed the whole kingdom, the mortality being immense amongst persons of every condition, save that children under 10 years of age did not seem subject to this epidemic (*questo influsso*). The malady was a most profuse sweat, which without any other indisposition seized patients by the way (*per via*), and the remedies at first administered taking no effect they died in a few hours, so that during the three first days of its appearance there died in London alone upwards of 5,000 persons,† but some remedy having been devised subsequently, it ceased in 20 days. The alarm, how-

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* Finalmente dopo molta effusione di sangue, et mutazione della corona ora in una, ora nell' altra parte, *non essendo restata prole mascolina del Re Edoardo IV.* (sic), che era della rosa bianca, la quale allora regnava, ma solamente femmine, la primogenita fu data per moglie al Conte Enrico de Richmond, restato solo erede della rosa rossa, il quale fu poi Enrico VII. avo di questa Regina, onde di nuovo si conguinsero queste due famiglie, e S.M. viene ad essere legittima erede dell' una et de l' altra."

† By a note to Machyn's Diary (Camden Society Publication), p. 319, it appears that in 1551, from the 7th to the 20th July, the deaths caused by "the sweat" were in number 938; but I do not know when the disease first showed itself in London.

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ever was great and universal, especially at the courts [of the King and the Princesses and Anne of Cleves?], some of the King's chamber attendants having died, so that his Majesty and all who could made their escape, all business being suspended, the shops closed, and nothing attended to, but the preservation of life.

Grain.

The soil, especially in England proper, produces wheat, oats, and barley, in such plenty that they have usually enough for their own consumption, but were they to work more diligently, and with greater skill, and bring the soil into higher cultivation, England might supply grain for exportation,* but they do not attend much to this, so that they sometimes need assistance both from Flanders and Denmark, and occasionally from France likewise. They grow no other sort of grain, and their only lentils† are beans and peas. Although they have vines they do not make wine of any sort, the plant serving as an ornament for their gardens rather than anything else, as the grapes do not ripen save in very small quantity, partly because the sun has not much power, and partly because precisely at the ripening season cold winds generally prevail, so that the grapes wither, but in lieu of wine they make beer, with wheat, barley, and hops, which [last?] they import from Flanders, boiling all the ingredients together in water, and making it stronger or weaker by adding more wheat and less barley, and producing a contrary result by reversing the process. This potion (*potione*) is most palatable to them, and all persons drink it, even their sovereigns, although they also consume a great quantity of wine, which is brought from Candia, Spain, the Rhine, and from France, this last being prized more than the rest, but it is sold at a very high price, so that it is usually worth from 36 to 40 ducats per butt, and in his (Soranzo's) time it cost as much as 50. As there are no olive trees in England they import oil from Spain and the Venetian possessions, but the consumption is small, as for food they mostly use butter, and for the cloth manufactures rape oil, which is imported from Flanders and Spain. They have great plenty of white salt at home, and the black is brought from Normandy, nor is there any salt duty. They have abundance of fish, both from the ocean and the Thames, of the same sort as is common in Venice, but they have also salmon, a fish not found in Italy. They have an immense quantity of oysters, so that occasionally as many as 20 smacks (*scute*) are seen filled with them, but during four months in the summer it is forbidden either to take or sell them.

Process of brewing.

Pasturage.

The country is almost all level, with few rivers and springs, and such hills as they have are not very high, and one advantage of the climate is that the grass remains green at all seasons, affording excellent pasturage for animals, especially for sheep, of which there is an incredible number, supplying that wool which is in such

* In the "Annali Veneti" of Malipiero (pp. 710, 711) it is stated that in the year 1498 a Venetian vessel, bound from London to Venice, bought wheat at Calais (which was doubtless of English growth) at the rate of four shillings and six pence for 660 Venetian pounds weight avoirdupois, "*a cinque stera al ducato.*" By the Statutes of the realm, A.D. 1492, it is shewn that four golden ducats amounted to 18 shillings, so the English bushel may be valued at four shillings and sixpence; each "ster" weighing 132 lbs.

† *Legumi*, pulse?

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Wool and hides.

universal repute under the name of "Frankish" (*Francesca*), the French having been the first to bring it into Italy. Great part of this wool is manufactured in England, where cloths and kerseys of various sorts are wrought, which amount annually to 150,000 pieces of cloths of all sorts, and 150,000 pieces of kersey, the rest of the wool being exported, and taken usually to Calais on account of the staplers, who then sell it on the spot, and have the monoply of the wool exports from England, though occasionally export-permits are conceded by favour to other persons, though the staplers do their utmost to prevent it. The quantity of unwrought wool exported is said to amount to about 2,000 tons (4 *mille migliara*) [annually]; they also export hides* to the value of 500,000 ducats.

Lead and tin.

In Cornwall they have lead and tin mines, from which they extract metal in great quantity, and of such good quality that the like is not to be found elsewhere. For some time they have not exported much lead because permits are refused, but they export annually from five to six thousand weight (*per* 5m *in* 6m *de grezi*) of unwrought tin, and to the value of 100,000 ducats in the wrought metal, the greater part to Spain.

Iron and coal.

In Derbyshire there are some iron mines, but in small quantity, but none of gold nor of silver.

In the north towards Scotland they find a certain sort of earth well nigh mineral, and which burns like charcoal, and is extensively used, especially by blacksmiths, and but for a certain bad odour which it leaves it would be yet more employed, as it gives great heat (*facendo gran satione*) and costs little.

Description of London.

The principal cities of the kingdom are London and York, but London is the most noble, both on account of its being the royal residence, and because the river Thames runs through it, very much to the convenience and profit of the inhabitants, as it ebbs and flows every six hours like the sea, scarcely ever causing inundation or any extraordinary floods; and up to London Bridge it is navigable for ships of 400 butts burden, of which a great plenty arrive with every sort of merchandise. This bridge connects the city with the borough, and is built of stone with twenty arches, and shops on both sides. On the banks of the river there are many large palaces, making a very fine show, but the city is much disfigured by the ruins of a multitude of churches and monasteries belonging heretofore to friars and nuns. It has a dense population, said to number 180,000 souls; and is beyond measure commercial, the merchants of the entire kingdom flocking thither, as, by a privilege conceded to the citizens of London, from them alone can they purchase merchandise ("*altri che loro non possono comprare che essi cittadini*"), so they soon become very wealthy; and the same privileges placed in their hands the government of the city of London, which is divided into 24 trades (*arti*) or crafts (*mestieri*), each of which elects a certain individual, styled alderman, the election being made solely in the persons of those who are considered

* "Cuori." The literal translation of "*cuori*," or *cuojo*, is leather, but I suspect that in the 15th and 16th centuries the Venetians used the word *cuori* to signify hides, tanned or untanned.

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the most wealthy, and the office is for life; the which aldermen, after assembling these trades, create annually a person as their head for the current year entitled Mayor, and they call him Lord, which signifies *signor;* and he assumes the magistracy on the day of Saints Simon and Jude, on which day he goes to the court and swears allegiance to the King, and then gives a banquet to the ambassadors and lords, and to the judges of the city and others, in such number, that in one and the same hall upwards of a thousand persons sit down to table, all being served at the same time with the most perfect order. The Lord Mayor is always preceded by the sword in virtue of the privilege conceded to the city for its deserts in 1190 by King Richard the First. This mayor usually keeps a most excellent (*onoratissima*) table with open doors, and in one year spends at least 4000 ducats out of his own purse; and on the expiration of his office he is for the most part knighted. His chief charge is to superintend the victualling department, to legislate for the populace in minor suits, and to have care for the custody of the city by day and night, the keys of its gates being in his possession.

Description of English men and women.

The English for the most part are of handsome stature and sound constitution, with red or white complexions, their eyes also being white. According to their station they are all as well clad as any other nation whatever. The dress of the men resembles the Italian fashion, and that of the women the French.

The nobility.

The nobility are by nature very courteous, especially to foreigners, who however are treated with very great arrogance and enmity by the people, it seeming to them that the profit derived by the merchants from their country is so much taken from them, and they imagine that they could live without foreign intercourse. They are also by nature of little faith both towards their sovereigns and with each other, and are therefore very suspicious. The nobility, save such as are employed at Court, do not habitually reside in the cities, but in their own country mansions, where they keep up very grand establishments, both with regard to the great abundance of eatables consumed by them, as also by reason of their numerous attendants, in which they exceed all other nations, so that the Earl of Pembroke has upwards of 1,000 clad in his own livery. In these their country residences they occupy themselves with hunting of every description, and with whatever else can amuse or divert them; so that they seem wholly intent on leading a joyous existence, the women also being no less sociable than the men, it being customary for them and allowable to go without any regard (*rispetto*) either alone or accompanied by their husbands to the taverns, and to dine and sup where they please.

War and literature.

The English do not delight much either in military pursuits (*armi*) or literature, which last, most especially by the nobility, is not held in much account, and they have scarcely any opportunity for occupying themselves with the former, save in time of war, and when that is ended they think no more about them, but in battle they show great courage and great presence of mind (*prontezza*) in danger, but they require to be largely supplied with victuals; so it is evident that they cannot endure much fatigue.

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The claim of English Kings to the Crown of France.

Her Majesty's second title is Queen of France, and as the Crown has held it for a long while, I will not omit telling your Lordships how her predecessors became possessed of it. In 1303 King Edward II. (*sic*) married Isabel, daughter of Charles (*sic*)* the handsome King of France, who leaving no other heir than his daughter, King Edward sent an ambassador to France to demand possession of the kingdom which fell to him by inheritance; and this being denied in virtue solely of a law called "*Salic*," whereby to this day in France, females are excluded from the succession to the Crown, King Edward [III.] assembled Parliament, which declared him legitimate King of France, and for its recovery determined on war, which having lasted more than a century, Henry V., after obtaining many victories over the French, at length in 1419 espoused Catherine, daughter of Charles VI., King of France, on condition that after the death of her father, he and his descendants were to inherit the kingdom, the Dauphin Charles, the King's son, being deprived of it; but Henry V. dying before his father-in-law, his son Henry VI. went to Paris at the age of nine years, and was crowned King of France, as at home he had been already crowned King of England; but not long afterwards Charles the Dauphin aforesaid recovered the kingdom, in which nothing remains to the Kings of England but the title and the claim, and they now merely

Calais and Guisnes.

possess Calais and Guisnes, on the borders of Picardy, in the county of Artois, which two places are very strong, and most especially Calais, which besides having double walls and being very strong and close to the sea side, can at the flood tide inundate the whole of the surrounding country; and to dam the water there, they have made certain locks (*chiavi*), whereby to let it flow when necessary, with a fortress for their defence. These places are admirably garrisoned by a good number of horse and foot, and also well supplied with everything necessary, as becoming, the English having no other places than these beyond sea, so that were they to lose them they would no longer be able to cross the Channel as they do at present, for from Dover to Calais, which are the usual passage ports, the distance is but thirty miles.

Account of Ireland.

Her Majesty's third title is Queen of Ireland, of which the English Crown has possessed a part from 1171 down to the present time, as Henry II. having prepared a very powerful fleet for the invasion of the island, the greater part of those who held it surrendered themselves to him, they being then all savages, and made the surrender on the condition that it was to be deemed valid when confirmed by the Pope, whom they said they acknowledged as their sole superior. His Holiness ratified the surrender, because the island not being well instructed in matters relating to the Christian religion, he thought it might in this way be better disciplined. This island is not more than 30 (*sic*) miles distant from England. Its length from north to south is 300 miles, and its breadth 90.

* Edward II. came to the throne in 1307, having married Isabel of France, daughter of *Philip* the handsome, in 1303, when Prince of Wales. *Charles* the handsome, son of Philip, died childless on the 31st January 1328, and subsequently Edward III. (his father Edward II. having died in 1327) claimed the French Crown in right of his mother. (*See* Hume, History of England, vol. ii. p. 170, edition London 1762.)

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The climate of Ireland is very temperate, and its soil would be productive if better cultivated. In many respects it very much resembles England, save that it is rather more hilly, and abounds more in springs (*fonti*). It is said to produce no venomous animals, and that any taken thither would not live. There are large flocks of sheep there, and other animals for the use of man, so that it yields a good quantity of wool and many hides (*cuori*). The wool is not so fine as that of England. The men for the most part are still in great part wild (*selvaggi*) [savages]; but those subject to the English are generally more civilised, and by degrees adapt themselves more and more to the mode of life in England. The

The Irish.

wild Irish (*li selvaggi*) generally go barefoot both summer and winter, and clothe themselves in a long linen shirt, dyed in saffron; this garment (which they rarely change, wearing it for the most part until in tatters) reaches the ground, and over it they wear a coarse cloth mantle; the women also clothe themselves in like manner; and although they acknowledge the distinction between noble and plebeian, yet do all classes dress alike. They inhabit their country houses, and eat under-done meat (*carne sanguinosa*), roasted on a long spit, or boiled in an ox-hide, seasoned according to their own fashion. They are naturally very religious and Catholic, so that in the time of King Edward there were several rebellions, which although suppressed at the time have again broken out; and the majority of the population refuse obedience to the Queen, and govern themselves under a chieftain called

O'Neil.

the Great O'Neil, whom they talk of making their king. The principal towns, the chief of which is Dublin, remain in the hands of the Queen, but the country has almost entirely rebelled, and last winter, when some troops were sent for its recovery, they failed completely. Since then nothing more has been done, save that the government is endeavouring to bring them back to their allegiance by negotiation, and by so much the more as without a preponderating force coercion would be vain, as the Irish are a very warlike race, who set but little value on their lives; and when they take the field the cavalry wear shirts of mail, and the infantry raise their linen garment up to the waist (*sino alla centura*), fastening their shirt sleeves at the shoulder, and carry two or three javelins (*dardi*), which they hurl wonderfully, and they are also girt some with a sword and others with a hatchet. The Queen has a Viceroy there, who has his court at Dublin, with a good number of horse and foot, besides a few armed ships as circumstances may require.

Title of Defender of the Faith.

Her Majesty is also Defendress (*Difensora*) of the Faith, which title her father had from Pope Leo X., because in 1521, his Majesty having composed a very Catholic book in explanation (*in dichiaratione*) of the sacraments,* and in defence of the Catholic religion, against Martin Luther, he sent it to his Holiness, who having had it read in Consistory, and approving of it greatly, it was determined

* The Latin title is "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Luterum."

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to give his Majesty and his successors the aforesaid title, as was done.

Order of the Garter.

Nor here will I omit telling also of the Order of the Garter, of which the Kings of England are entitled Grand Masters (*Sovrani*). This is an order of knighthood such as the Emperor's "Golden Fleece" for the House of Burgundy, and the French King's "St. Michael." The Order of the Garter was instituted in 1350 by King Edward III., owing to the following circumstance:—Whilst dancing with a lady his mistress, one of her leg-bands called in English "*Garter*" fell to the ground, and the King himself picked it up to give it her, which causing a general laugh, and confusion to the lady, the King girt it round his own leg, saying that he would make that band, or one like it, the most honourable thing in his kingdom; and thus did he institute this order of knighthood, under the patronage of St. George, the knights to be in number 25, besides the King, their Grand Master; the regulation being, that round the neck they were to wear a St. George on horseback in armour, and on the left leg below the knee a riband with a golden buckle, inscribed with a French motto, thus, "Oni soit qui mal pense," signifying in Italian "Shame to evil thinkers" (*vituperato sia chi mal pensa*), which all the knights observe inviolably. The ceremony of the Order is performed annually on St. George's day, and for the most part at Windsor Castle, 20 miles from London, where there is a most beautiful church (*chiesa*) built for this purpose, in which the arms of all the knights are placed, they on that occasion appearing in the robes of the Order, namely, a blue mantle lined with white satin, with a crimson velvet hood on the right shoulder, and on the left they wear a garter embroidered circularly, with a red cross in its centre; and under the mantle they wear a vest (*una suttana*) of crimson velvet; and a rapier at their side; and round the neck the grand emblem (*l' ordine grande*) in gold, with the St. George pendent. The names of these knights are as follows:—The Grand Master, who is the most Serene Prince of Spain, now King of England and Consort of the Queen; the Emperor, the King of France, the King of the Romans, the Duke of Montmorency, Grand Constable of France, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Sussex, Lord Wilton, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Earl of Hertford, Lord Clinton, Lord Darcy, Lord Cobham, the Lord Warden ?, (*Lord Guardori*), Lord La Warr, Lord Paget, the Lord High Chamberlain (Earl of Oxford), Sir Anthony St. Leger; and there are two vacancies. Besides these Knights, there is also a Bishop, styled "the Prelate of the Garter," who is always the incumbent of the See of Winchester, and wears on his finger a ring bearing the same motto, and a buckle such as the knights wear on the leg.

Military resources.

From her whole realm of England, as seen heretofore, the Queen might easily raise 100,000 men, taking at the muster those deemed fit for military service, and who would perform it spontaneously; but in case of war, it is not the custom to enroll every sort of person present at the muster, and from every district, but [merely] those nearest the scene of action. Besides this mode of enrolment, it is

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usual to order noblemen (*signori*) to collect such an amount of troops as required, which is done when the Crown does not trust everybody; and the third mode of mustering forces—in case of foreign invasion, or some sudden insurrection of the natives—is to place a light on the top of certain huge lanterns (*lanternoni*) fixed on heights in all the villages (*in tutte le ville*), on appearance of which signal anywhere, all the neighbouring places do the like, and the forces muster at the first sight, so in a short time the general muster is made, the remedy and assistance proving alike efficient.

From the musters aforesaid some 15,000 horse might be raised, but the native English horse is not good for war, and they have not many foreign horses.

Weapons.

The weapons used by the English are a spear, and not having much opportunity for providing themselves with body-armour, they wear, for the most part, breast-plates, with shirts of mail, and a skull cap (*mezza lesta*), and sword. The rest would be footmen, of which they have four sorts: the first, which in

Archers.

number and valour far excels the others, consists of archers, in whom the sinew of their armies consists, all the English being as it were by nature most expert bowmen, inasmuch as not only do they practise archery for their pleasure, but also to enable them to serve their King, so that they have often secured victory for the armies of England. The second sort consists of infantry (*è dei fanti*), who carry a sort of bill; and there are some of these likewise who would make good soldiers. The other two sorts are harquebusiers and pikemen, of which weapons they have very little experience.

Employment of German troops.

The Crown has occasionally subsidized German troops, taking them for the most part from the sea towns, from which they have sometimes had as many as 10,000, and to continue these engagements they gave 2,000 ducats pension to a German colonel, by name Curtprenich (*sic*), who has many adherents, and resides at Hamburg. About four years ago it was determined to raise a cavalry force of 1,000 men-at-arms in the French fashion, but after keeping them for a year, at a cost to the King of 80,000 crowns, they were disbanded, it having been found impossible to make the plan answer. They have no commanders of note in their pay, either English or foreign, but merely give a few pensions to some who served them on former occasions; and as to the affairs of the militia, they being regulated as in other countries, it is unnecessary to allude to them.

Naval forces.

Her Majesty's naval forces also are very considerable, as she has great plenty of English sailors, who are considered excellent for the navigation of the Atlantic (*del mare oceano*), and an abundance of timber for ship-building, as they do not use galleys, owing to the strong tide in the ocean.* Were her Majesty to take the vessels of ship-owners in all parts of the kingdom, the number would be immense; but she has only 80 of her own, including some galleons; and whenever she pleased, she could very easily obtain

* Potendosi con molta difficultà navigare, per la gran forza del mare oceano.

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upwards of 150* from private individuals, but small, as in those parts but few large ships are seen, and they say that those of 400 butts and under, sail better than the larger ones. The head of the naval affairs is the Admiral, he being one of the Lords of the Council, who, when a numerous fleet is fitted out, puts to sea in person, as he did this year, when he went out with 30 sail to secure the sea, and convey the most serene Prince of Spain on his coming; but when there is no such need, a Vice-admiral takes the command.

Want of commanders-in-chief.

The most important deficiency in the great naval and military forces of England, is, that in the whole realm they have no persons, neither sailor nor soldier, capable of commanding either fleet or army. The only man they had was the Duke of Northumberland, who by his bravery distinguished himself in both capacities, and from the grade of a private gentleman (his father indeed was beheaded for treason by Henry VIII.) rose step by step through his abilities to the eminent position at length attained by him; but in like manner as the punishment of his rashness was well merited, so must the friends of England lament the loss of all his qualities with that single exception (*così quelli che amavano quel regno desiderano ch' el fusse stato quello ch' el era in tutte l' altre parti, fuorchè in quella*).

Artillery.

Her Majesty has a great quantity of very fine artillery, both in the fortresses beyond sea, as well as in many places within the realm, and especially at the Tower of London, where the ammunition of every sort is preserved.

Revenues of the Crown.

Her Majesty's revenues from property belonging to the Crown itself, including that of the church which has been annexed to it, amounts to about a million of ducats, thus:—

The Crown of England, comprising the Duchy of Lancaster, and other sorts of property which have come to it, namely, lands, houses, and the like, derives annually - - - Ducats 300,000

The duties, which they call "*customs*," yield - „ 160,000

which shows very clearly how much her Majesty is defrauded by not farming them, instead of having them collected for her own account, as those who have the management of them take the opportunity of enriching themselves and assisting their friends.

From the Exchequer, whither contraband goods are taken, and where they receive the rents of confiscated estates, and other extraordinary revenues (*et altri straordinarij*) - Ducats 100,000

From the kingdom of Ireland—when pacific - „ 30,000

Wardships.

From the wardship of minors [Court of Wards] for estates held by them in fee from the Crown - - - Ducats 60,000

which tax, intolerable for the subject, and now of no great advantage to the Crown, originated thus:—

Their origin.

In the year 1270, Henry III., wishing to go for the recovery of the Holy Land, and being very poor, it was conceded him in aid that all persons holding estates in fee from the Crown, and leaving heirs male under 21 years of age, or females under 24, their estates, until they arrived at that age, were to belong to the Crown,

* In the Correr MS. the number is 150; but 250 in the Lazzari-Wcovich copy.

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and to be restored to the heirs when they attained their majority, his Majesty in the meanwhile being bound to have them in ward (*nella sua guardia*), taking care to have them reared and educated, according to the condition of their parents; nor could they even marry without the King's licence. At the commencement, this ordinance was very lucrative for the kings, and no less advantageous for the subjects, who, being well brought up, and on receiving their estates, finding them improved and augmented, had everything they desired. Subsequently, however, having commenced giving these wardships (*queste guardie*) to private individuals for good services rendered by them to the Crown, with the same conditions as observed by the kings, it being also customary to sell them, not only are the profits of the Crown reduced to little, but the estates of the wards in like manner go to ruin, as they are not only neglected by the private individuals who have them in charge, and care for nothing but their own advantage, omitting also such care as due for the education of the wards, who thus degenerate; but they, moreover, sell them licences to marry, patricians and plebeians thus intermarrying, which is most evidently injurious, especially because it debases the nobility. This dependency (*obligazione*) of minors is not only enforced with regard to those who hold Crown property, but has also been adopted of late by private individuals respecting their own estates, when they have to dispose of them (*quando ne hanno a far dispensazione*).

Abuses of the system of wardships.

First fruits and tenths.

There are also revenues of two sorts derived by the Crown from church property, one called the "first fruits" (*le primizie*), which is an annat levied by the Crown, time out of mind, on all vacant benefices; in addition to which, there is a tenth on church lands, which, whether held by prelates, or sold, or exchanged, all pay this tenth; from all which the Queen is supposed to derive

Ducats 300,000.

Monastic revenues.

The remaining ecclesiastical revenue was obtained by Henry VIII., who, at the persuasion of Cromwell, then supreme ruler in England, having resolved no longer to have friars or nuns in his kingdom, not only expelled them, but ordered the destruction of all their monasteries and abbeys, which throughout the realm were in number 2,052, together with the greater part of the hospitals, colleges, and other pious institutions, scarcely anything but the parish churches remaining above ground, all which revenues he annexed to the Crown; and in order that every record or claim possessed by these institutions thus destroyed might perish eternally, all the deeds (*scritture*) relating to these monasteries were burned. From this property the King obtained a revenue amounting to 566,000 ducats; but his expenses increasing with his means, he and his son, King Edward, sold so much of this property as yielded 260,000 ducats annual rental, and the two together gave away as much more as amounted to 300,000 ducats per annum; so that from this source there remains to the Crown but from 50 to 60 thousand ducats annual revenue.

Church goods.

King Henry also determined to despoil all the churches of their moveables, thus obtaining five millions of gold; and if any of this property remained after his death, it was taken during the protectorate of the Duke of Northumberland.

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As the revenues in ordinary do not suffice for the exigencies of war and other necessary expenditure, it is therefore requisite to make extraordinary provision, and impose taxes. I will merely mention the mode employed of late, leaving aside what was done of yore; and it is a tax called "*subsidy*," laid on the people at her Majesty's request, by Act of Parliament, and which is levied thus:—

Mode of levying subsidies.

Commissioners (*deputati*), both in the cities and towns (*ville*), summon all the inhabitants, parish by parish, and in the King's name, charge them under oath to declare truly the amount of their capital, for which he is made debtor, and taxed at the rate of a penny (*soldo*) in the pound, if an Englishman; twopence if an alien; and four if a churchman, this sum forming one subsidy; and when voted, it becomes payable within the year. If, when the amount of the capitals is declared, the commissioners suspect any fraud, they can compel the suspected person to produce his [account] books; and should they detect any error, they are authorized to punish him; but, notwithstanding all this, means are found to conceal the truth; nor do they even administer the oath; so the Crown is grossly defrauded, a subsidy not yielding more than 200,000 ducats, of which the City of London alone pays 50,000.

Loans.

The Kings are also accustomed to raise loans (*di accomodarsi*) through the merchants in Flanders, at the rate of upwards of 14 per cent., and the Queen is understood to be debtor to them for more than a million of gold.

Debasement of the coinage by Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

I will not omit to mention a mode adopted by Henry VIII. to raise money, which in like manner as it well nigh ruined the country, so did it bring great infamy upon himself. This was, that he debased the coin of the realm by one fourth, and after his death the councillors who ruled King Edward, availing themselves of this bad example, debased it to such an extent that although on two occasions in 1551 they lowered the moneys 18 per cent.,* they nevertheless still remained of very low standard (*molto triste*). Had this loss for the realm, however, proved beneficial to the King it would have been more bearable; but the great personages (*li signori*) having agreed together had a coinage for their own personal benefit, and not satisfied with this, as their rents were paid them in this base coin, they commenced raising their "leases," which they call "farms" (*ferme*), with the intention of bringing them to a level with the depreciation of the coinage, but being without discretion even in this they exceeded that limit, which caused it subsequently to come to pass that the farmers knowing what a sorry plight they would be in unless they also sold their produce at equivalent prices, they commenced raising them, and being no less covetous than their landlords beef, and veal rose to 9*d.* and 10*d.* per lb., wheat to five ducats (*sic*) [22*s.* 6*d.*] per *stajo*,† and every

The consequent rise of prices.

* There was a proclamation dated in June 1551, but without a day of the month, for reducing immediately the value of the teston or shilling to 9*d.* and the groat to 3*d.* (*See* Domestic Calendar, Edward VI., p. 33.)

† As already stated, the *stajo* weighed but 132 lbs., so I suspect that in the present instance *stajo* must mean an English bushel, as in 1498 the *stajo* cost one-fifth of a ducat.

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thing else in proportion, and even this might have been borne, had the commodities been procurable (*e se ne avesse potuto avere, ancora si avrebbe potuto sopportare*); but although by the reduction of the money aforesaid and by other acts passed moreover by the Parliament, they endeavoured to apply a remedy, yet they were unable to make such provision as necessary; nor will they ever succeed, until the farms are reduced, and even then it is not supposed that the plentiful supply of good food can again prevail, owing to the destruction of the monasteries, which from many causes produced this abundance, above all by cultivating much more land than is now under the plough (*facendo lavorare molte più terre che non si fa al presente*); and besides the great amount of alms distributed by them, they gave ample employment to numbers of persons, whereas at present not only are no alms given, but the proprietors of the land, finding it more profitable to leave it for pasturage, instead of cultivating it, have deprived many, of the means of subsistence.

Results of the dissolution of the monasteries.

Her Majesty's ordinary expenditure amounts to 830,000 ducats; and first of all I will tell of her principal ministers.

Officers of state.

The first of them is the Lord Steward of the Kingdom (Henry Fitz-Alan, 21st Earl of Arundel), President of the Council, in which, all matters are proposed by him; and as Lord Steward, it is his office, when the Queen dines in state, to place the viands on the table and to present the napkin when she washes her hands. Next comes the Marquis of Winchester (William Paulett), Lord Treasurer, who has to overlook all the ministers who handle the public money, and to decide any questions arising thence; and when the Lord Steward performs his office with Her Majesty, he in like manner holds the basin when she washes her hands. The third personage is the Lord Great Chamberlain, Earl of Oxford (John De Vere, 16th Earl), whose business it is to accompany the Queen wherever she goes; and to convoke the Peers to Parliament; and on state occasions to pour the water over the Queen's hands, and to make the assay of the viands. The fourth personage is the Chamberlain of the Household (William Lord Howard of Effingham), who is the principal person in Her Majesty's Chamber, and has care and guard of the upper floor of the house, as the Vice-Chamberlain has of the lower floor, and he is moreover the head of all the gentlemen in Her Majesty's service. Then comes the Treasurer of the Household; and next the Comptroller (Sir Robert Rochester), whose care it is to inspect the accounts, and the administration of the money expended for the household. Besides these, there is the Grand Equerry (*Gran Scudiere*), who is the head of Her Majesty's stable (Anthony Brown Viscount Montagu, Master of the Horse); and there is also one who keeps the Privy Seal (William Lord Paget); all of whom, and many others their dependents, receive stipend.

The Queen's Guard.

Besides these, there is Her Majesty's Guard, consisting of 50 gentlemen, all English, who carry a weapon called an axe (*un'arma chiamata asta*), each of them receiving 200 crowns pension; besides 150 archers, who have 150 crowns each.

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For all these pensions and costs, and for other officials throughout the realm, Her Majesty spends annually - - Ducats 200,000

For the board of Her Majesty's entire Household, for which 22 upper tables are usually kept, besides the lower ones Ducats 180,000

The Queen's expenditure.

To the Lady Elizabeth, Her Majesty's sister are given Ducats 10,000

To the Lady Anne of Cleves, heretofore repudiated by King Henry VIII. - - - - - Ducats 10,000

And Her Majesty, before coming to the Crown, had the same allowance.

For the costs of Infantry and Fortresses in Ireland, in England, and in the places beyond sea - - - Ducats 130,000

For the Tower of London - - - Ducats 10,000

For pensions and provision extraordinary both to Englishmen and foreigners - - - - - Ducats 100,000

For provision for abbots, priors, and other ecclesiastics deprived of their revenues - - - - - Ducats 40,000

For provision given, to keep Her Majesty's palaces in good repair, they being in immense number - - - Ducats 10,000

For costs of the Arsenal, including powder, artillery, and other necessaries - - - - - Ducats 20,000

Ship-money.

For the cost of ten armed ships, which from year to year are kept at sea for the protection of merchandise against corsairs, the Queen being bound to incur it, as for this purpose she levies a duty called "the subsidy" (*il sussidio*) - - Ducats 100,000

Insufficiency of the revenue.

The revenues, therefore, amounting to about a million of gold, and the expenditure being 828,000 (*sic*) [810,000], Her Majesty would have a surplus of about 170,000 ducats, but from the research used by me, I understood that the revenues do not suffice for the expenditure, partly because, as usual everywhere, it is impossible to levy all the taxes, and in part owing to the mal-administration of the money; to such an extent, that since a long while stipendiaries receive barely half their pay; and the costs of the Coronation, and of the outfit of the 30 ships which put to sea this year for the coming of the Prince of Spain, were defrayed by a loan, for which the merchants in Flanders contracted at exorbitant interest.

Parliament.

It remains for me to tell of the mode in which the Realm is governed; and first of all, I will speak of its foundation and first element (*principio*), which is the Parliament-general of the Kingdom. It is convoked at the King's pleasure, and on one part, its members are all the Peers of the Realm and the Bishops. Heretofore, the Abbots also attended it, but as they no longer exist, since the destruction of the monasteries, it is held without them; and when this congregation is assembled, it is called "the Upper House" *la Casa di Sopra*). On the other part, in the so-called "Lower House" (*Casa Bassa*), the assembly of the people meets; every city and castle, and all the counties likewise, each sending two members thither, amounting in all to 300 persons, they remaining in place as long as a Parliament lasts; and when a new Parliament is needed after a dissolution, the cities, castles, and counties make a new

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election. The members of the Upper House, on the contrary, are always the same, and the chief personages (*li Signori*) now sitting there are in number 18; namely, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Derby, Devon, Westmoreland, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Sussex, Wilton (Grey), Bath, Southampton, Bedford, Pembroke, and the Viscount of Hertford; besides whom, there are about 50 individuals who have the title of "*Lord.*" It must be borne in mind that these Lords (*questi Signori*) have nothing but the title given them by the King as an act of grace, or for merit, for themselves and their descendants; nor have they any authority or jurisdiction in ordinary, save such as is conceded them by their Sovereign, which is for the most part temporary; though it is true that when the title of Duke is conferred on any one, they also provide him with revenues for the maintenance of his grade, which requires at least 10,000 crowns; doing the like by the Marquises, Earls, and all the others according to their station. All the Bishops of the Kingdom sit in the Upper House, in number 22 (*sic*), including the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops being London, Durham, Winchester, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Ely, Coventry and Lichfield, Norwich, Salisbury, St. David's, Llandaff, Carlisle, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Peterborough, Chichester, Lincoln, and Rochester.

Manner of holding Parliament.

On the day of the opening of Parliament, all the Lords of the Upper House robe in certain scarlet gowns, lined with ermine of various sorts (*foderato d'armellini differenti*) according to their grade; the Bishops also with their scarlet capes (*cappe*) in like manner; Her Majesty also being present in the Royal habits, without the Crown; and they go all together to the Church, where a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost is sung; after which, Her Majesty takes her seat in the place prepared for her in Parliament, and there, the members of both Houses being present, the Lord Chancellor, who at present is the Bishop of Winchester, makes a speech about what is to be treated in Parliament; though for the most part he says in general terms, that matters will be treated relating to the welfare of the Kingdom. Next day the Lower House assembles, and elects a Proctor and Advocate (*un Procuratore e Avvocato*), entitled "*The Speaker,*" and then the King returns to Parliament to hear him, he also making a speech in common and general terms. Then the two Houses commence assembling apart, each member being at liberty to present such suggestions (*ricordi*) as seem advantageous to him, in writing, and they are given to the clerks (*alli notari*), who register them, after which they are discussed three times, not on three consecutive days immediately, but after an interval of time. When about to pass any Act, the House is asked whether the proposal has its approval, each member answering aloud "Aye," or "No," and when the opinion of the majority is clearly known, it is adopted (*deliberata*); but when many are heard to say "*Aye, aye,*" or "*No, no,*" so that the opinion seems doubtful, the "Ayes" are told to move to one side, and the "Noes" to remain in their places; and both sides being counted, the greater number

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conquers; and immediately after the resolve is made in either house, it is forthwith communicated to the other, there to be debated in like manner; and if not annulled, but confirmed, it is kept until Parliament ends, being presented to the King on the last day when His Majesty returns to close the Parliament; and such of its resolves as he thinks it fit to approve he signs with his own hand, and of those disapproved by him he says in French "*Le Roy s'avisera;*" so that before a resolve can become a conclusive act it must pass the two houses, and be then signed by the King's hand. I will not particularize all the errors committed through this mode of deliberating by word of mouth, but shall merely remark that each member having to state his opinion openly it comes to pass that from fear they are often compelled to vote (*a deliberare*) what they know to be the will of those who rule them, rather than according to the dictates of their own conscience, so it is clearly manifest that there is no longer the liberty there used to be*; and since a certain period, in order yet more to restrict that liberty in the Lower House, whose members are elected, it is contrived that none be returned, save such as conform to the will of the Crown, as was clearly seen when treating the matters of religion, about which so many contradictory statutes were enacted, the persons elected, whether of one sort or the other, always voting with the government, that not only did the Parliament lose much of its authority with the people, but by so many variations and changes, they reduced the country to such a state as well nigh not to know what to believe, nor on what to base their faith; and if by means of this most serene Queen, and the Bishop of Winchester, the Almighty had not shed his light whereby they might return to the truth, no greater confusion could have been witnessed anywhere than would have been seen in England, by reason of the endless variety of heresies which swarm there (*pullulando la diversità delle eresie senza fine*).

Contradictory enactments touching religion.

The Reformation.

Concerning this matter I will not omit saying what the heresy was in the time of King Edward. It consisted in three chief articles, namely, in the total alienation from the Pope and the Roman Church; in the diversity of ceremonies; and in denying that in the sacrament of the altar there was the real body of the Son of God. With regard to the separation (*alienazione*) from the church, having mentioned above the mode in which it was effected, and the cause, I will merely add that they would not acknowledge either "pardons" or "indulgences," denying the [doctrine of] free will, and purgatory, and every other opinion maintained in these matters by the holy church. The ceremonies also were well nigh entirely changed, the mode of reciting the divine service (*gli uffici divini*) according to the Roman ritual being suppressed, as also the mass, or else it was performed in another manner, and in the English tongue. They likewise suppressed all the festivals of the Saints, save such as are mentioned in the New Testament. They moreover enacted that the priests were not to wear sacerdotal orna-

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ments (*paramenti*) of any sort, but merely the white surplice (*cotta*), and they also removed all the images of the Saints, and the altars, leaving the churches all bare and whitewashed, with the Royal Arms in the front of the church, surrounded by passages from Scripture. They allowed the priests to marry, and also to bequeath their property to their children, but not the benefices, the presentation of which belonged to the King alone, it not being customary to make renunciation of them in any way. In case of adultery they also granted divorce, which gave rise to endless irregularities and confusion. They suppressed every sort of light in the churches, as also the holy water and the holy oil, considering them superfluous; the commemorations of the saints, and the prayers for the dead being in like manner abolished, though they ordained the observance of the Eves, the four Ember weeks, and Lent; and moreover exhorted everybody to make auricular confession to the priest, but not by precept, and they called it counsel, and satisfaction of conscience (*conseglio et soddisfazione della coscienza*).

With regard to the Communion, they ordered all persons to take it at least three times in the year, but not in the manner observed by the [Roman] Church; nor did they believe in the real presence (*nè credevano che vi fusse il vero Corpo di Cristo*), but merely a sacramental efficacy (*virtù*), in commemoration of the supper and passion of our Lord; and they celebrated it thus: In the place where the choir used to be they had a table, covered with the cloth, on which they put common bread and wine, making the communicants kneel round it; and after recital by the priest of a number of prayers, he took a mouthful of the bread for himself, and drank some of the wine, making the communicants do the like; and this they called Communion, *sub utrâque specie;* and in the act of giving the bread, the priest said, "*Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and eat of this Christ in thy heart through faith, with thanksgiving;*" and then, when giving the wine, they said, "*Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.*"*

Restoration of the Roman Catholic religion.

On the accession of Queen Mary, immediately on arriving in London, she had the mass performed, and the first Parliament restored all the ancient ceremonies and the doctrine of the sacrament (*insieme con la opinione del sacramento*), and everything else, in accordance with the custom of the Roman Church, so that in this brief period such progress has been made that the mass and divine service are performed in all the churches, and attended by a good number of persons. Though the majority of the population is perhaps dissatisfied, yet may it be hoped that the Almighty will support her Majesty's good intentions. Nothing remains for adjustment with the Roman Church, save the obedience to the Church, which the Parliament has not hitherto confirmed, but will doubtless give its assent,

* "E dando il pane dicevano, *Piglia et mangia questo in commemorazione che Cristo è morto per te et mangia di esso Cristo nel tuo cuore per fede con azioni di grazie.* Dando poi il vino, dicevano: ***Bevi questo in commemorazione che il sangue di Cristo fu sparso per te et sii grato.***"

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provided the church property already distributed by the crown, remain in the hands of its present possessors, as having been given, sold, and exchanged, for so long a while, it can scarcely be supposed that the present possessors would restore it; and indeed it would be almost impossible by reason of the endless law-suits which would ensue; nor is it the Queen's intention to renounce the church property, of which she lately sold some, of considerable value, although she is quite bent on the union. This is proved by her negotiations with Dom. Francesco Commendone, the Pope's chamber attendant, who, being at the Emperor's court as datary to the Cardinal Legate Dandino, introduced himself through Marc' Antonio Da Mula, Venetian ambassador with his Imperial Majesty, to him (Soranzo), to whom he announced the Cardinal's wish that he should be presented to the Queen to offer her (*per offerirle*) the Pope's goodwill, and that he (Soranzo) should give him information about the state of the religion, Commendone telling him that at Rome they knew little or nothing about it. Therefore, considering the benefit of Christendom and how much the Signory would be gratified by the increase of the Catholic religion, did not fail to give Commendone full information about all he required, and by means of an intimate friend, deep in the Queen's confidence (*confidentissimo di sua Maestà*), contrived to have him introduced by night to speak to her Majesty, to whom he announced the Pope's goodwill. She evinced satisfaction at the performance of this office, and made answer that she had always been inclined to live according to the religion in which she was born, and that thus did she desire to continue, so that she did not believe she had incurred any ecclesiastical censure, having never consented to the things which took place against the religion, but that nevertheless to put her mind more at ease she moreover wished for absolution from the Pope, not only for herself but also for the whole kingdom; though as everything was still so unsettled that the publication of her demand might seriously injure the affairs of the kingdom, and perhaps endanger her life, she charged him to communicate this her wish solely to him (Soranzo), and then beyond the Channel to his Cardinal Dandino and to Cardinal Pole, proceeding subsequently straight to Rome, there to kiss the Pope's feet in her Majesty's name, and to make this request, as he did; but at Rome the secret was not kept as it ought to have been, and the Pope conceded the absolution to her Majesty and all those who were heartily disposed to resume their obedience to the Roman church.

Question as to Church property.

Secret interview between Queen Mary and a Papal agent.

Laws.

The laws whereby the kingdom is governed are not common, but peculiar to the realm, having been enacted from time to time by Parliament; and without saying how causes are treated in detail, it will suffice to mention the mode of judging, which is well nigh alike both in civil and criminal causes; for in civil actions, after both parties have given sufficient evidence before the ordinary judges, the causes are referred for final despatch to the judgment of 12 men not elected, but drawn by lot from persons of any condition whatever, they being taken first from one parish and then from another, so that the whole city participates in the appointment; 12 indi-

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viduals being appointed for each cause, in such wise that when the suit ends the authority of the 12 who judged it ends likewise ; and if the suit is between two Englishmen, all the judges are English, and if between an Englishman and a foreigner, they draw six Englishmen and six foreigners. After having heard the cause these judges are shut up in a place, from which they cannot come out, they remaining without food or liquor until they all 12 unanimously give the sentence, which is afterwards carried to the judges in ordinary, who then despatch it formally (*in forma*). The like is done in criminal causes, though the judges are not elected by chance, but they take accidentally (*a caso*) such persons as proved to have been nearest at hand when the fact occurred, they apparently being best able to know about it. The process being drawn up, the delinquent presents himself before the above-mentioned judges, he being at liberty to reject them, on assigning legitimate reasons, and they are replaced by others, to whom no objection is made; whereupon the delinquent either confesses the crime laid to his charge, or defends himself personally, without any barrister or counsel (*senza altro avvocato ò consultore*) ; and having closed his defence, the 12 individuals aforesaid shut themselves up together, and with the same forms as in civil causes, announce the sentence to the judges in ordinary, who despatch it in form, it not being the custom either to mutilate any member, or to send into exile, but to acquit or condemn to death. To say how defective and reprehensible this mode of trial is seems to me unnecessary, so I will merely observe that one of these 12 judges being better able than his fellows to withstand hunger and other inconveniences, has been the cause of the death of a person under trial, although the others wished to acquit him.

Appeals.

The appeals against sentences, both civil and criminal, are decided in the place where Her Majesty resides, certain courts of judges appointed for this purpose assembling four times a year (called terms), for each of the four seasons, with supreme authority for the decision of all causes.

The mode of government hitherto detailed is ordinary and according to the statutes; but I will now tell of the supreme authority of the Crown, which extends even beyond these laws, as necessary, they being in great part imperfect, and too rigorous.

The Lord Chancellor.

But as, because were Her Majesty to attend in person to the despatch of all the necessary business, the burden would be too great, she lays this part of it on the Lord Chancellor of the kingdom, who, as already mentioned, is the Bishop of Winchester, and by the Royal mandate he decides summarily such causes as seem to him worthy of being countenanced (*suffragate*) by his authority ; and as it has been necessary to speak of his right reverend Lordship, he being the person who at present not only governs this department, but has greater authority than anybody else about Her Majesty, it will not be irrelevant for your Serenity to hear his condition.

Account of Stephen Gardiner.

His name is Stephen Gardiner, LL.D., his father having been of very middling station, but he himself, by reason of his abilities, was very much esteemed by Henry VIII., who accredited him several times as ambassador, and amongst the rest to Pope Clement, to

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advised him to effect; but not having assented to the alienation from the Catholic Church, he got rather out of favour with the King, after whose death, as he never would consent to what was done about the Sacrament (*alle cose del Sacramento*), they put him in the Tower, where he remained for six years, but on the Queen's arrival in London he was released immediately, and made Lord Chancellor, and the favour which he has gained with Her Majesty is caused principally by his having been an excellent agent for restoring the religion to its present state.

The Privy Council.

The government of State affairs is entirely in the hands of her Majesty's Council, which at present consists of about 40 members, although under former sovereigns they were not more than 20, but as all the members of the Council of King Edward were the accomplices of the Duke of Northumberland in proclaiming Lady Jane Grey queen, and therefore guilty of rebellion, her Majesty created a Council of her own, to which, on arriving in London—having pardoned the rebels—she added the greater part of those who had been the councillors of King Edward.

The manner in which they transact business is as follows:—The leading members are lodged in the palace where her Majesty resides, some of them sleeping there, according to ancient custom, so that she may never be alone. They meet very early in the morning, and, provided the chiefs are present, although they may not be more than six or seven, the Council is understood to be assembled, and the president proposes the matters for discussion—though at present

Gardiner.

the Bishop of Winchester has the management of everything—and each member present is at liberty to give his opinion by word of mouth, the decision of the majority being presented for approval to the Queen, who, deferring in everything to the Council, approves accordingly. As according to the custom of the country one of the councillors is always superior to the rest, and what pleases him seems nearly always to please the others also, the present Prime Minister, as aforesaid, is the Bishop of Winchester, and next to him those most in the Queen's favour are the Earl of Arundel [Henry Fitz-Allan, twenty-first Earl of Arundel,] Lord Paget, and Secretary Petre; but Paget, both because he is a very experienced statesman (*molto pratico delle ationi del mondo*), as also from having been the person who negotiated the marriage with the Prince of Spain, took precedence of all of them until now, when, as an acknowledged anti-Catholic, he is out of favour with her Majesty. The Bishop of Winchester, on the contrary, who at the commencement opposed the marriage and ran great risk of disgrace, until being convinced of the Queen's firm intention he diligently aided its accomplishment, is now paramount to everybody.

Although in my despatches, I gave very detailed account to the Signory of the mode in which the marriage was treated,* I will now, nevertheless, mention briefly a few particulars about it.

Queen Mary and Courtenay.

Immediately on her accession, the Queen became well aware of the great wish of the country that she should marry Lord Courtenay,

* The despatches here alluded to no longer exist.

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whose noble descent entitled him to a preference over any other native, everybody being above all desirous that she should marry an Englishman, and by no means a foreigner; but the Emperor, who purposed effecting, at any rate, what subsequently came to pass, had recourse to various means for sounding the will (*animo*) of her Majesty, who, although she had always shown very great affection for the Emperor, yet being quite intent on gratifying the general wish of the kingdom, did not give ear to him. But from a very feeble commencement (*d'assai debil principio*) he derived means for accomplishing his project, as Lord Paget, having discovered that Courtenay was not true to him, being told that Courtenay said if ever he became the Queen's husband, he would bear in mind that, in the reign of Henry VIII., Paget proposed to have him put to death, took this much to heart, and the Imperialists took occasion thence to persuade Paget to exhort the Queen to marry the Prince of Spain, laying before her the straits to which the kingdom was reduced by the scarcity of money, and that there were no better means for reforming the religion than through the support of so great a Prince, who, being very Catholic, would and could convert the English from their false doctrines. In addition to this, the

Proposals for the marriage with Philip.

Imperial Ambassador made an offer of the Low Countries and other patrimonial territory [to be incorporated with the English Crown]. The Queen, being born of a Spanish mother, was always inclined towards that nation, scorning to be English and boasting of her descent from Spain, was moved by these arguments; the like offices being performed both by the Earl of Arundel and Secretary Petre; and becoming more and more aware daily of the largeness of the Emperor's offers, her Majesty sent for the Bishop of Winchester and the three other personages aforesaid, and manifested to them her inclination in favour of this marriage; and although Winchester at first combated it, he at length acquiesced. But as Parliament was then sitting, the Lower House, on hearing of this negotiation, determined to go to her Majesty and lay before her in the name of the Commons, the detriment which might be caused the kingdom by her marriage to a foreigner; wherefore they were compelled to beseech her to marry an Englishman, without naming anyone in particular. Not only did she reply ungraciously, but without allowing them even to conclude their address, rebuked them for their audacity, in daring to speak to her their Queen about marriage, saying, however, that she would consult with God, and with no one else, which greatly disturbed everybody, and yet more when they heard that it had been stipulated; so last Christmas, many of the chief gentry, partly from dissatisfaction at seeing the kingdom in the hands of the Spaniards, and partly from disapproval of the change in the religion, plotted together, and arranged amongst themselves that on Palm Sunday, the 18th March, an insurrection was to break out all over the kingdom. But the conspiracy being discovered before the time in Cornwall, where Peter

Wyatt's rebellion.

Carew was the ringleader, and subsequently in Kent, where Wyatt headed the insurgents, having mustered there some 4,000, he, after suborning the Queen's forces at Rochester, under the Duke of

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Norfolk, marched to London, and encamped in the borough of Southwark, on the other side of the bridge, and having departed thence, in order to cross a bridge seven miles off and enter the city, he was met and routed on the first day of Lent by the Queen's troops under the Earl of Pembroke. I will not now tell of the great danger which then threatened the city of London, as, had Wyatt succeeded, the foreigners at least would have been sacked, it being quite certain that the Londoners had an understanding with him; nor could any better mode be devised for keeping them in check, as they had already commenced rioting, than for Her Majesty to go in person through the city to the Guildhall (*nella salla*), where, having assembled the people, after saying many things to quiet them, she promised to call a Parliament immediately, in which she would hear the reasons (*le ragioni*) alleged by the kingdom, and not do anything to dissatisfy it; so Parliament met, but as through the assiduity employed (*con la diligenza*) no members were returned, save such as were known to be of the Queen's mind, it was very easy to obtain from the two Houses the approval of the marriage contract, of which, although I sent your Serenity a private copy made from the original, I will not omit alluding at present to the chief articles.

Articles of the marriage contract.

After consummating the marriage, the Prince was to have the same titles as Her Majesty, and to assist her in the government of the kingdom, he retaining the titles so long as he shall be Her Majesty's husband; and should she die before him he is bound to renounce the title of King, and to quit the realm immediately. The Queen, in like manner, is to have the same titles as the Prince on the same terms. The eldest son born of this marriage is to have the states of Flanders and the other patrimonial territories of the Emperor; and should there be no male heirs, the eldest daughter is to inherit, provided she marry either a Fleming or an Englishman, with the consent of Don Carlos, Prince Philip's son. In the administration (*maneggio*) or government of the kingdom of England none but English are to be admitted (*non si admetterà alcuno che non sia Inglese*). The Prince is neither to take the Queen out of England against her will, nor yet the children who may be born of her (*che nasceranno*), without the consent of the Peers of the realm (*delli Principi del Regno*). The kingdom is not to be bound to give assistance to the Emperor, or to the Prince, in the war against France.

From this contract and alliance your Serenity may perfectly comprehend the understanding and union between the kingdom of England and the Emperor, so on this subject it is unnecessary to say anything further; but convinced as I am that your Lordships would fain know how Prince Philip can rule that realm pacifically, although all opinions of future events are very uncertain, and above all such as relate to affairs in England, where men's minds (*gli umori*) are very mutable, I will nevertheless not omit to say something about them.

Prospects of King Philip in England.

It is quite clear that, should Don Philip choose to maintain himself in England by sheer force, he would require a very great

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number of troops, which I do not think he could muster at present during the Emperor's war with France, so it may be supposed that he intends to rule in peace and quiet, which would, I think, render him more secure; for the greater the amount of foreign troops introduced into the country, the greater cause would the English have for riots and discontent, as very well known to his Highness; for the Spanish soldiers who came with him from Spain did not even disembark, the Lords of the Council having required this, and it was also specified in one of the articles of the marriage contract, which, at least, at this commencement, he may be expected to observe above all things; and as it is throughout very greatly in favour of the English, and to their advantage by adhering to it, there will, doubtless, be no cause for riots. It may also be supposed that, through a variety of opportunities, he will endeavour to benefit the nobility (*li grandi*), without whom, with difficulty, can the people ever do anything of consequence; and by associating with the aristocracy, he, in time, will have no great difficulty about ascertaining their disposition, and will give them colleagues, who, acknowledging their dignity and profit as the gifts of his Highness, will seek his advantage, nor will he lack means for disposing adroitly of those who dissent from him (*che non v'assentirano*). It may also be supposed that his chief care will be to garrison the fortresses with Englishmen who he can persuade himself depend on his own immediate will.* These and very many other precautions he could take, which might benefit him; but nothing would be more efficacious than the Queen's pregnancy, the mere hope of which is sufficient to curb the people. On the other hand, as it is a very easy matter to raise a rebellion in England, not only when headed by some great personage of authority (*qualche principe d'autorità*), but even without such support, there is no doubt whatever of his Highness being in constant danger, experience having shown that often in these rebellions even the native kings were well nigh worsted (*quasi oppressi*); so it is always to be feared that his Highness may have to endure some trouble, most especially as the English (*quelle genti*) are so fickle (*di così poca fede*), that neither benefits nor anything else can ever give security for their resolves (*volontà*).

Relations between England and France.

At present Her Majesty is quite at peace with the most Christian King, though there are many visible causes which might disturb it, as for instance, the many English ships captured by the French during the last few months, and for which the English have never received entire compensation, although his most Christian Majesty promised it in full (*largamente*). It is also very evident how much the English writhe under the French domination of Scotland, both because it seems to them that that kingdom passed out of their hands fraudulently, the young Queen—already affianced to King Edward—having been carried off to France; as also because they very well know that, through that quarter, many and most serious attacks may be made upon them; so this is, doubtless, their chief

* Si può anco credere che principalmente attenderà a mettere nelle fortezze degli

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grievance. In addition to this, in England, it is considered certain that the King of France had an understanding with the Kentish insurgents, which is the more believed the more they see him harbour the [English] exiles (*fuorusciti*); and although the Queen has repeatedly required the French Ambassadors to renew the [international?] treaty, no determination has ever been announced to her.

But what matters more than everything else, is the love she may be expected to bear her husband, and should he determine on persuading her to make war on France, it may be believed that she will not refuse him, most especially if he makes himself agreeable to her. Considering, on the other hand, the unpopularity of the marriage, which has estranged (*mutato*) the affection borne by the people to the Queen, and they knowing that the war would benefit—not the Realm, but one whom they consider well nigh their enemy—it is credible that they would strongly oppose it, besides which, the Exchequer is in the last state of exhaustion; and owing to the discontent of the people, with great difficulty can it be supposed that Parliament would vote any money grant, or that the country would pay it; so on these and other accounts, those who wish to bear in mind the welfare of the kingdom, must be of opinion that the best it can do is to keep quiet.

Soranzo's conduct and treatment in England.

During his residence in England as the Signory's Ambassador, was always treated with the greatest marks of goodwill, was admitted into King Edward's chamber without any previous demand for audience, and was always detained by him for a long while with every demonstration of honour towards the Republic. Has also been most graciously treated by Queen Mary, both since her accession and before, when he frequently visited her and did her service by procuring for her many articles of value from Venice, much to her satisfaction.* After she came to the crown, did not fail to do whatever he thought might be to the satisfaction of her Majesty and the Signory, having gone to meet her with 150 horse when she made her entry into London; and at the time of the coronation he appeared in a mantle and other habits as customary with Venetian Ambassadors on similar occasions, performing whatever other office could prove acceptable, as mentioned from time to time in his despatches.†

The like goodwill was always shown him by the Lords of the Council, both in the time of King Edward, especially by the Duke of Northumberland, who was the head of the government, and now by the Bishop of Winchester, who on every occasion showed favour to Soranzo and to all Venetian subjects. Can therefore assure the Doge and Senate that the Queen and the whole court hold the prudence and power of the Venetian Republic in very great account, and wish to gratify the Signory on every occasion whatever.

Praises his successor Giovanni Michiel (who arrived in London

* "In fargli condurre da questa inclita città molte robbe, et anco di valore con molta sua satisfazione."

† A few of Soranzo's letters to the Council of Ten, have been found amongst the miscellanies in the Venetian archives, but the rest of the correspondence seems to have perished by fire, in the 16th century.

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on the 22nd May 1554), and his own Secretary Giovanni Francesco de Franceschi.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

935. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Account of the war in the Low Countries. The Spanish infantry have not yet crossed from England, and they are receiving supplies of hose, jerkins, and arms, being naked and needy, as implied by their Spanish title "bisoños" (perchè son nudi et bisogni come dicono loro). *Brabant has consented to give* 200,000 *crowns, and they are now treating to prolong the time of payment (the Queen* [*Maria of Hungary*] *wishing it to be made in the course of October), and about the mode of exacting it from private individuals, which will, it is believed, be by increasing the duties on the necessaries of life* (le robe de vivere). *Flanders will give* 300,000, *and Holland, Zealand, and other provinces make up the sum total of* 1,000,000 *in all, Luxemburg, Hainault, Namur, and Artois not being reckoned, as it supposed they will be exempted on account of the ruin caused them by the wars. A bargain* (un partito), *now very near conclusion, is being treated with German merchants for* 500,000 *crowns, to be disbursed by them forthwith to the Emperor in Spain, his Majesty repaying it in these provinces at the end of* 15 *months without any interest, security to that amount being given on the* "giuri" *in Spain.*† *Of the money received from England* 100,000 *crowns have been distributed to the Imperial army on account of arrears without making any inspection.*

Don Francisco de Mendoza has arrived from England with news of the coming of the King and Queen to Westminster; of the Garter given to the Duke of Savoy and Lord Fitzwalter; and that the coronation will not be performed until after the meeting of Parliament, which will take place next October; but your Serenity will be better informed about these matters by the accompanying packet from London.

The Queen of England has sent handsome presents of jewels to the Emperor, and to the Queens of France and Hungary; and a beautiful emerald to the Duchess of Lorraine.

Brussels, 18th August 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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* In one printed copy of this report, Soranzo says that King Edward knighted and gave him a gold chain as a badge when he went into mourning for the death of his (Soranzo's) grandfather; and on his departure the Queen gave him another gold chain. The two together were worth 800 crowns, and he requested the Senate to allow him to retain them, in consideration of what he suffered at the time of the sweating sickness; from the famine prices; from the reduction of the money; from the length of his embassy; and from the expenses incurred by him on the Queen's entry into London, and for her coronation; when he was obliged to reapparel himself and his attendants several times.

† The "*giuri*" signified the acknowledged or funded debt of the crown,—"GIURI, così si domanda l' interesse del denaro del quale è stata servita la corona in diversi tempi." (*See* Surian's Report of Spain in the year 1559, published by Alberi, series 1, vol. 3, p. 340.) In Tiepolo's Report of Spain, A.D. 1563, vol. 5. p. 38, the explanation of the word is given thus: "Interesse di juri, che sono come i nostri MONTI;" "*monti*" signify-

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Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

936. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has written Cardinal Pole a beautiful letter (*una bella lettera*) full of love, of honour, and of offers; and charged Count Horn to perform [a complimentary] office orally, but the Count, having remained in the camp, forwarded the letter; and to certain English friars, who asked his leave and advice about returning to England, the King had them told that they can go thither at their pleasure, so England is now seen to change her mind and customs, and take the true path (*si che si vede mutarsi le voluntà, et li costumi di quel Regno et incaminarsi alla vera via*).

The English ambassador resident here [Sir John Masone] has told me that his colleague [Peter Vannes] resident with your Serenity has written a letter, or rather a schedule (*processo*) to his Queen, about certain words uttered in Venice by a servant of said ambassador [by name George Page] against her Majesty, purporting that he would have the heart to kill her (*che gli saria bastato l' animo di amazzarla*, &c.),* and that the ambassador came to your Serenity to demand the arrest of his servant for this cause, and that you told him it was of no importance (*che non importava*), nor should the words of similar persons be heeded (*nè era da metter a mente le parole di tali*), and that at Venice there was liberty for good men and for rogues (*era libertà alli buoni et alli tristi*), and that he himself was to make him hold his tongue. So as Vannes did not think fit to allow this outrage against the Queen to remain unpunished he went to Mantua, where the Cardinal [Ercole Gonzaga] and the Duchess [the Regents of Mantua] conceded him the apprehension of the servant, who, on being examined, confessed to having said the words, and thereupon many witnesses were examined.

Sir John Masone added that he should send his colleague's letter to the Queen by the next post, and that Peter Vannes was very timid, and wrote to him from fear lest, in case of the words reaching the Queen's ear, they might subject him to reproof as well as detriment (*egli ne ricevesse biasimo et danno anchora*).

I said to Sir John Masone that fear was by certain persons appropriately styled a tie and ligature (*vinculo et legame*), and that some had too much of it, as seemed to have been the case with Mr. Vannes, who was as it were bound (*legato*), and knew not what to do, and that occasionally, under other circumstances, I had seen him in greater fear about ridiculous matters; nor was it becoming to imprison men for light causes, such as the words of a base menial (*un vil servitor*), who was either mad or drunk, and that I believed when the Queen heard them they would move her to laughter; nor are trifles of this sort held in account at Venice.

At this point Sir John Masone interrupted me, confirming my remarks by saying that when in England he heard of and saw your Serenity's letters to the late King Edward about the timidity of Mr. Vannes, and that previously he [Masone] had seen him cry from fear, and that according to his belief the Queen would laugh at the matter.

* The letter here alluded to has been printed in the Foreign Calendar, date Venice, 16 June 1554 (entry 224, pp. 97, 98).

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I commended her Majesty, saying I imagined he [Masone], when writing to the Queen, would apologize for Vannes, on the plea of his being afraid of that which he should have disregarded, because otherwise sovereigns would have too much to do, as both at this Court and all over the world there are ignorant persons in great number who, wherever they chance to be, defame their own sovereigns.

Masone replied that he would do as I told him, and that since the last Parliament, this liberty of speech is greater in England than in any place in the world, whereas previously, one word of the sort constituted *crimen laesae Majestatis*, which, seeming too harsh and unjust, they therefore repealed the statute.

I have now received letters from the camp, where it was heard through French prisoners that in the engagement of the 13th the Admiral of France was killed, a man much beloved by the King, on account of his valour, and nephew of the Constable, besides many other cavaliers; that the Count d'Egmont and the Marquis de Berghes had arrived from England, with news that in two days the greater part of the Spanish cavalry, which came with the Prince, would join the camp, it having been asserted that Mons. de Ri (*sic*) [Rieux ?] the Emperor's Chief Chamberlain, and his brother, have also passed through Brussels for Burgundy for this same purpose; but nothing was said in the camp about the time appointed for their march, nor when the Emperor was to depart thence.

I understand that the entry of the King and Queen into London has been delayed for four days, and the announcement made by Don Francesco de Mendoza of their arrival at Westminster, was untrue.

Further particulars of the war in Flanders, and of the retreat of the French from Renti.

It is now reported that the Emperor will leave the army and reside at St. Omer, his frontier town, on the borders of Picardy, towards the sea.

Since having written thus far, I have received letters from Heidelberg, dated the 15th, purporting that in the Diet of Worms they are now discussing the demand made by the Bishops, with regard to the war waged on the Marquis [Albert of Brandenburg?], as rebel to the Empire, &c., &c.*

Brussels, 19th August 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 20.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

937. CARDINAL POLE to the PRINCE OF SPAIN.

Having for so many causes, human and divine, congratulated himself on his Majesty's marriage with Pole's most Serene Queen (*Serenissima Regina nostra*), has chosen by the gentleman the bearer of the present letter, to do the like with his Majesty, whom he requests to give entire credence to whatever will be said to him in Pole's name on this subject by the envoy. Prays God, that in

* This Diet is alluded to in Foreign Calendar, September 26, 1554, p. 121.

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like manner as by means of this marriage, he has called the King for the real advantage and welfare of England, which since so many years has been so harassed, so will he favour it in such wise, as daily more and more to prove the Divine goodness and providence, to the universal joy of all men, by means of his Majesty.*

From Brussels, 20th August 1554?

[*Italian.*]

[Aug. 20?] MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

938. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Having been informed with how much contentment the King his son has been received in England,† congratulates the Emperor, in the hope that the marriage of two such Catholic and pious Princes may effect the establishment of the holy religion and the complete welfare of England.

From Brussels, 20th July [20th August?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20? MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

939. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

Request of the Cardinal of Burgos, writes a letter of recommendation to the Queen for Burgos' present messenger.‡

From Brussels, 20th August 1554?

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20? MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date in MS.

940. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF ARRAS.

Congratulates the Emperor on the arrival of the Prince of Spain in England and on his marriage with the Queen.

From Brussels, 20th August 1554?

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

941. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Narrative of the sequel of the war in Flanders (*in cipher.*)

A courier addressed to the Queen of England has arrived from Valladolid, and on passing through France was detained eight days at Paris, his bag and everything else being searched for letters addressed to the King of England, but when it was ascertained that he was merely conveying despatches to the Queen, they set him at liberty. He brings word that 300,000 crowns now due to her Majesty from Spain, could not be obtained so immediately, because the bills of exchange (*le lettere*) had not arrived in time for the fair [of Medina de Campo],§ so the money will be longer [on its way], (*et però li danari seranno più lungi*), *but it is*

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* King Philip arrived at Southampton on the 20th July 1554. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 25 July 1554, No. 106.) Pole probably wrote this letter at the same time as the following one to the Emperor.

† In the manuscript this letter is dated Brussels, the 20th July. As King Philip did not land at Southampton until the 20th July, I do not understand how Cardinal Pole could have had news of his reception on the very day it took place.

‡ By name Pedro Pacheco. (*See* Foreign Calendar, June 22, 1554, Naples, p. 99.)

§ Two of the principal exchange fairs in Spain were held at Seville and Medina de Campo, and by the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date Seville, 30 November 1554, entry No. 297, pp. 141, 142, it is shewn that the English merchant Thomas Gresham was then negotiating in person at both those marts.

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certain that in Spain there is a great scarcity [*of money*]*; and therefore the Queen is now taking on* [*bills of*] *exchange* (a cambio) *at Antwerp about* 150 *thousand crowns, with which her agents say she purposes paying off a debt of* 110,000 *contracted by her at Antwerp last October; but from what I hear through another channel, her Majesty intends to make use of this sum in England, where the King has been compelled to incur great expense, which still continues, and a great quantity of money was spent on his passage with so large a fleet, and troops of so many sorts, so that the greater part of the money brought by him has remained on the other side of the Channel, and the Emperor could only use a small part of it; so, as written in my last, he made the request of the States, and insists at any rate on having the money in October, the belief being that it will be paid, most especially should he make war in the quarter where he now is.*

The Marquis of Pescara will go to Naples in the new King's name to take possession of the investiture and administration made and conceded him by the Emperor, his father, and to make all the members of the Government and warders take the oath, for which same purpose Don Juan de Cordova will in like manner go to Milan, and every day of late the Emperor has been attending to the despatch of this business (a questi spazzi).

Although this [*affair*] *of the administration of the Milanese for the Prince, his son, is not yet completed,* it is as good as made, because, as your Serenity knows, the investiture was given him as long ago as the year* 1549,† *the oath of fealty having also been tendered to the Milanese magistrates in favour of such person as the Emperor might be pleased to nominate,‡ and this, I believe, was written to your Serenity and the other Italian potentates. It is not yet known who are to be the Governors of Naples and of Milan, but the Duke of Alva is talked of for the one, and the Count de Feria for the other; and it is said that Don Ferrante Gonzaga has had leave to go and kiss the hand of the King of England.*

The English Ambassador with your Serenity [Peter Vannes], has written hither that Peter Carew, who was the leader of the Cornish insurrection, is in Venice, and that he often wished to speak to Vannes, who always refused to listen to him, nor does he [Vannes] know how to comport himself (*et non sa come governarsi*), as Carew is a rebel to the Queen. To Sir John Masone, who spoke to me about this, I said that in no place could Peter Carew do less mischief than in that noble city (*quella inclyta città*), where he might learn obedience and quiet, and repent himself, which Masone admitted, and seemed glad of it, as I added, that the least harm Peter Carew might have done [in England?], would have been to turn corsair, like the others, and plunder English subjects.

Mons. de la Chaux [Jean Poupet] (*Mons. de Lasciao*) has been

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* Benchè questo della administratione dello stato di Milano nel Principe suo figliuolo non sia anchor spedito, etc.

† According to L'Art de Verifier les Dates, the Emperor gave the investiture of the Milanese to his son Philip on the 11th October 1540.

‡ Et fu dato etiam il iuramento di fideltà a quelli del stato di Milano, in quella persona che piacesse a Cesare nominare.

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sent by the Emperor to the King of England to give him account of the events of the war, and perhaps for some other cause likewise. The Duke of Savoy also is sending his Majesty an ambassador, who came to salute and compliment me in the name of his master, who has done the like by me through several other gentlemen in his service, whose narratives of events in the camp since his departure hence differed but little in many particulars from the true information already transmitted by me.

For the instruction of the Ambassador Michiel in England, I have communicated to him my conversation with Sir John Masone, as mentioned in my letter of the 19th.

I hear on good authority that amongst the Strozzi papers captured in the Siennese territory, were letters from the French Ambassador resident at Rome, purporting that the Pope had promised him victuals, to be conveyed by the French fleet in Porto Venere, for the succour of Sienna; so here they have suspended the export permit for grain from Sicily, which had been already despatched at the request of his Holiness; and consequently, six days ago, the Nuncio sent his Auditor to the Emperor, nor has he yet returned, for which cause there is a difficulty about expediting the business.

Gives further particulars of the war in Flanders.

Brussels, 26th August 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

942. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Many persons say that Mons. de Segni, who in the skirmish of the 13th was captured by the French, has been set at liberty, and is come to the Emperor with articles of peace and terms from the King, more ample (più larghe) *than any that have been offered hitherto.*

However this may be, there can be no doubt the Emperor and the King wish for peace, as according to report, both one and the other lack money; but my own opinion is, that the Emperor's hope and reliance rest on the money voted by these States, amounting to 800,000 *crowns, more or less. From Spain, they have only received the* 300,000 *crowns, about which I wrote, and the Queen of England has well nigh stipulated* (ha come concluso) *a loan for* 240,000 *crowns, the money to be disbursed in Antwerp, I know not at what rate of interest, but with the crowns they give her a quantity of fustian* (ma tra questi, le danno una quantità di fustagni), *the sum to be repaid within a year; and the Emperor, most especially should he attack Ardres, as is told me, would greatly benefit the English, and it is certain that his Majesty purposes making an expedition this year, as both from Arras and other places, they are bringing a very great quantity of heavy artillery to his camp, besides the* 40 *pieces which have already arrived from Mechlin. The number of pioneers has also been doubled, and waggons for the conveyance of ammunition and victuals have been ordered from all parts, and another infantry regiment was lately sent for from Germany, in like manner as*

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DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE. (Aug. 28.)

was done for the one from Swabia, about which I wrote heretofore. Everything, in short, indicates a speedy and vigorous attack, and heavy cannonading. Some persons counselled the Emperor to attack Abbeville, and employ these forces against a much more important fortress than Ardres; but if it were well garrisoned and provided (munito), *it might make great resistance, and withstand a long siege.*

The Spaniards have landed on this coast from England, and were yesterday about three miles from St. Omer.

The Governor of Arlon, an Imperial fortress of Luxemburg, having heard lately that some French horse, with about 200 foot, had quitted their fortresses and were going towards Thionville to plunder, attacked them on the sudden, and routed them, killing and capturing almost all the infantry.

This evening, the Auditor of the Papal Nuncio returned from St. Omer, where he complained to the Bishop of Arras, not so much because the export permit for grain from Sicily, as demanded by the Pope, had been stopped, but because this indicated some distrust on the part of the Emperor, with regard to the Pope's good-will towards his Majesty, although he knows what tricks the French play, and ought not to trust them, having seen with his own eyes the letters written by them occasionally to the Princes of Germany, accusing him of wishing to subjugate Germany, and make his son, the Prince, hereditary lord of it; and that the French Ambassador may have written to Strozzi to feed him with hope of assistance from the Pope, who is so far from giving victuals to the French, that they have occasionally bravadoed about making the Turkish fleet come in those waters, as also of withdrawing the obedience of France from the Roman See. In short, after much discourse, which it would be long to write, the Bishop of Arras despatched the Auditor with very fair words and promises of sending the export permit to the Imperial Ambassador for presentation to the Pope, but did not choose to send it to the Nuncio, perhaps that he might apologise, or else avail himself of this opportunity for confirming him in his friendship, and yet more probably take, perchance, occasion hence to ask for half of the ecclesiastical fruits of Spain, a demand which, upwards of a month ago, the Emperor caused his Ambassador to make of the Pope, without ever saying the least word about it to Cardinal Pole, or to the Nuncio; and as the measure encounters much difficulty, they hope thus to facilitate it.

Brussels, 28th August 1544.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

943. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Many persons here disapprove of the determination so speedily to disband the greater part of the army.

I have been told that the Papal Nuncio proposed to these Lords (a questi Signori) *that as they had taken Marienburg, built*

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by Queen Maria, who prized it greatly, it might be inferred that were it proposed to restore it, both she and the Emperor would consent to a cessation of hostilities, and that the most Christian King should consent to make this restitution in order to obtain a truce, which would prove very convenient to him, as he had given Cardinal Pole to understand; but many days having elapsed without a reply, the Nuncio departed. I now understand that a Burgundian nobleman, in great favour with the Emperor, who was captured lately in the engagement under Renti, offered to find a means of making a truce between them, provided he could go and negotiate it; whereupon these Lords released him on his parole (su la fede sua) *to return in a few days, and he returned last evening, but it is not yet known what answer he brings.*

Compiegne, 28th August 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

944. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince of Orange, the Count d'Aremberg, and the Count of Meghen, came hither lately, as personages of these States, to negotiate and urge the exaction of the monies promised to the Emperor, as written by me; nor does the difficulty consist in the payment, as they have already promised it, and his Majesty avails himself of the promise [*by raising the amount*] *through the merchants, but it has not yet been settled in what way this sum is to be obtained from private individuals, as the other means seem difficult, and to put new duties on the necessaries of life* (sopra le cose del vivere), *as they did lately, would to my knowledge hazard a fresh insurrection, the people having rebelled on this account at Antwerp, and other places also, nor as yet has the matter been decided.*

The Duke of Savoy has been canvassing the Imperial ministers, and perhaps his Majesty himself, to obtain the government of the Milanese, in the hope that it may not only benefit him for the government of his own subjects, who hitherto have been greatly maltreated by the hands of others, but be also advantageous for the Emperor, as the Duke would be better able to obtain accommodations (comodità) *for him from his subjects than a Spanish Governor, the name of that nation being execrated, not merely in the duchy of Savoy, but in the Milanese likewise. A certain Imperial minister answered him* (gli è stato risposto da alcun ministro di sua Maestà), *that what he now demands is much less than what the Emperor wishes to do for him, and that this he will see by fact, giving him good hope by word of mouth; so the Duke seeing that the Milanese is given to the King of England, by whom he believes himself much beloved, has sent to make this request to the Duke* [*Philip of Spain*] *aforesaid, and is now by no means satisfied with the Emperor.*

The English Ambassador here has written to his colleague [Peter Vannes] resident with your Serenity, that on his own account (*sopra di se*), he may speak to Peter Carew whenever he pleases

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DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE. (Sept. 2.)

and that he [Masone] has written to the Queen that said Carew could not be in a better place than Venice, and that he should be entertained, because he is not naturally bad.*

The Bishop of Arras, Mons. de Praet, and the Doctor Gerardo have been charged to investigate all the accusations, defences, and writings sent lately by the syndics of Milan, concerning Don Ferrante Gonzaga, and report to the Emperor everything relating to this matter; so Don Ferrante has deferred his journey to England, but has sent an agent thither, and is not at all pleased that the treatment of his affairs should pass through the hands of the personages aforesaid.

Some relations of the Cardinal of Burgos, who have arrived from England, say that the most Christian King had sent three ambassadors to perform an office of ceremony with the King and Queen, and that they were also commissioned to learn the King's mind as to whether he would observe the convention which exists between the realms of France and England, to which his Majesty replied that he would do whatsoever might be suitable for his kingdoms, such being the precise words which they say were uttered to them by the King of England ("et che havevano anche commissione d' intender l' animo del Re se voleva osservare la capitulatione che è tra li Regni di Franza et di Anglia, il che dimandato al Re, Sua Maestà rispose, che faria tanto quanto fusse conveniente alli suoi Regni, et sono le formali parole che dicono haver ditto il Re d' Inghilterra"); and that in October King Philip is to have an interview with the Emperor; *and I wrote from Brussels that such was the order given him, if he could execute it conveniently; and he* has sent, as a present to two noblemen of these provinces, a horse and a mule for their use on the way to meet him, as he is coming to confer with the Emperor. Many persons, able to obtain authentic intelligence, are of opinion that the interview will take place, though the period will be delayed according to circumstances.

Having written thus far, I received letters written from Bethune on the morning of the 30th ult., on the morning of which day the Emperor was to go to Arras, where he will perhaps remain some days to speed (per favorire) *the enterprise against Dourlens. They do not tell me that the Switzers have been dismissed, my correspondent, on the contrary, having received a hint that the French army will hang on the Emperor's rear, as heretofore, to keep him always in alarm* (in sospetto) *and short of victuals* (et stretto delle vittuaglie), *and to prevent the enterprise, as the Imperialists did by the French, until they retreated.*

The Lucchese merchants at Antwerp, by order of their Republic have elected two ambassadors [one] to the Emperor, and [the other to] the King of England, to perform an office of congratulation on this marriage. *But I understand from another quarter, that the chief cause is to complain to both Sovereigns that the Duke of Florence wants to build a fortress in a place where the Lucchese consider it will be a grievance for them* (in loco dove Luchesi

* Et che egli è huomo da esser trattenuto, perchè non è di sua natura cattivo.

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pretendono gravame), *nor will they consent to it, although the Duke promises to raze it* (disparlo) *at the end of the present war.*

I disbelieve the above-written intelligence from England about the coming of fresh ambassadors from France, as the Florentine ambassador, who arrived last evening from England, [and] to whom I spoke, after having written thus far, tells me there is no fresh ambassador there from France, but that the ambassador in ordinary [Antoine de Noailles] and his brother [François]* spoke to the King and Queen about the conventions aforesaid.

Brussels, 2nd September 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 7.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 42, tergo.

945. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO ERIZO, "Bailo" at Constantinople.

By letters, dated Brussels, 28th August, learn that the Emperor was at St. Omer at no great distance from his army, that he was preparing a battering train, and that 3,000 Spanish infantry, sent by his son the most Serene King of England, who brought them with him from Spain, had arrived in the camp.

The letters from England down to the 14th August, say that in a few days the most Serene King and Queen would be in London for the coronation.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed with some omissions in vol. iv. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc. pp. 162–166.

946. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

It is now a year since he commenced knocking at his palace gate, nor as yet has any one opened it to him. Were the King to ask "who knocks," he would merely reply, "I am he who, in order not to exclude your consort from the palace of England, endured expulsion from home and country, and twenty years of exile." Were he merely to say this much, would he not seem worthy to return to his country, and to have access to the King? But as he is not acting in his own name, nor as a private person, he knocks and demands, in the name and person of the vicegerent of the King of kings, and the Pastor of man, namely, the successor of Peter, or rather Peter himself, whose authority heretofore so flourishing and vigorous in England, is now most injuriously ejected thence.

Through Pole, Peter has long been knocking at the royal gate, which, although open to others, is still closed to him alone. The voice, perhaps, was not heard? It was heard perfectly, and with no less marvel at the Divine power and graciousness towards the church, than was felt of yore by Mary the mother of John, when the damsel Rhoda announced Peter (whom King Herod had put in chains on the eve of execution, and for whom the Church was praying devoutly), released from prison and knocking at the door. If this caused great surprise to Mary and her companions, how is it possible that

* *See* Foreign Calendar, 1554, October 5, No. 267, p. 124.

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CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP. (Sept. 21.)

those who know that the supporters of St. Peter's authority and power in England during the Herodian rule, were put in chains and most cruelly deprived of life,—the names moreover of the successors of St. Peter being expunged from all books containing the prayers of the Church for their safety and well-being,—can fail to marvel greatly at this pledge and testimony of the Divine graciousness and power; Peter at present, as if again freed from the prison of Herod, stands knocking at the very gate of the palace from which all these most iniquitous decrees against him proceeded; and astonishing as this is, yet is it no less so that the palace should belong to Mary. Why, then, did she so long delay the opening of the door? It is written of the damsel of Mary the mother of John, that on hearing the voice of Peter, being almost beside herself with joy, and not thinking about giving admittance, she hastened first of all to tell the tidings to Mary and the others who were with her, and who all at first doubted them; but then, as Peter continued to knock, they opened the door, nor did they hesitate to admit him, although there was great cause for fear, Herod himself being alive and on the throne.

But what can Pole say of Mary the Queen? Is it fear or joy, that forbids her to open the door? above all now that she has heard the voice of Peter, and knows for certain that he has been long knocking at her door; nor on this occasion can she but acknowledge the admirable power of God, who released her with his own hand, and not by means of an angel as was the case with Peter when freed from the prison of Herod, overthrowing the iron gates which barred her way to the palace. Pole knows that Queen Mary rejoices; but he also knows that she fears; had she not feared, she would not have so long delayed. If she rejoices in Peter's release, if she acknowledges the miracle of her accession, what prevents her from giving him admittance when he comes to the gate, and returning due thanks to God, especially now that Herod is dead, and that she has inherited his whole Empire?

Perhaps Divine providence permitted this timid delay, in order that he, King Philip, might aid his consort Mary in the noble undertaking? Such was the interpretation given to this fear by Pole, in a letter which he addressed to the Queen; and therefore he now writes to the King her husband—a most religious Prince—and requires him, in the name of the said Peter, to relieve her entirely from all fear, demonstrating to her that when she sought his hand (*dum te illa sponsum accerseret*), although there was apparent cause for apprehension, she nevertheless alone defied fear, as she ought now to do, when joined in the flesh to so great a Prince, and give admittance to her spiritual Spouse, who, with Pole and Peter, has been so long waiting at the door, above all after he has so often and in such wonderful ways declared himself her guardian and defender.

This will fully convince the King why Pole perseveres so long; as had he come alone, he would already have departed alone; expostulating against the opening of the door to other Ambassadors.

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panied him, Peter in like manner would have departed, taking Pole with him, and shaking the dust off his feet as enjoined him by the Saviour whenever not admitted by any one whom he approached in the Lord's name; but Christ is with them, and they, Pole and Peter, are his representatives.

It is for Philip to consider whether, being a Catholic Prince, who has inherited the title of "Defender of the Faith," it becomes him to receive all foreign ministers who come to congratulate him on this acquired dignity, whilst the Legate of St. Peter's Successor who conferred it—that Legate being sent to confirm him on his throne in the name of the King of kings,—is alone denied admission. May it not be feared lest Christ take offence at the immediate admission of Ambassadors of all other Princes, whilst his Legate remains waiting without? Should it be said that Pole commences complaining; he does so, that King Philip may not complain of his omitting to give him the warning which he gave the Queen, of the danger of delay. The reception of Christ's Legate should have taken precedence of everything; as in every building the foundation stone is entitled to the first place. Should Philip attempt to build on any other foundation, Pole foretells him, in the words of Christ, that on that house the rain will descend and the floods come, and the winds will blow and beat upon it, and great will be its fall. The kingdom cannot be secure, unless based on obedience to the Church, which abolished, discord arose and the prosperity of the realm vanished; and should the King wish to restore it, he must restore the obedience to the Church. It is, therefore, necessary for him to receive forthwith him who is sent by God and by his Vicar. Should King Philip believe that Pole is not acceptable, he prays God to send some one else in his stead, as he desires nothing but the King's welfare.

From the Monastery of Diligham (*sic*) near Brussels, 21st September 1554.

[*Latin*, 140 *lines*.]

Sept. 28.

947. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Heretofore when there was so little hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion in England, by reason of the Rulers (*Governatori*) who persecuted it, Pole frequently, either spontaneously or by commission from the Pope, had recourse to the Emperor on account of the place held by him amongst the Princes of Christendom, as also by reason of his piety, and from seeing him called to this office by so many other causes, both public and private.

As the Divine Providence has now given the government of England into the hands of the Emperor's son, chosen for this purpose as consort of the most Serene Queen, he being so pious and obedient to his Imperial Majesty, Pole ought so much the more, and with surer hope, to have recourse to the Emperor. Nor may this appeal seem by any means immature, as whilst other foreign embassies have been graciously received, the Papal Legate has waited more than a year; most especially as his Holiness, who was

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entitled to precedence, remained aloof until the celebration of this auspicious marriage, which he so readily furthered by means of his authority.

Pole therefore prays the Emperor, as God has given him great influence in England, to do what is expected of his piety, and to show himself grateful to the Almighty and the Apostolic See, by opening to him the road thither without further delay, that he may serve their Majesties for the honour of God, for the welfare and advantage of the nation, and for the eternal glory of his Imperial Majesty, who alone comprehends what has always been the object (*fine*) of the Pope, and of Pole his minister, in this cause. Should it be chosen to delay doing what is so due to God and to the Church, and to the whole realm of England, until the obstacles vanish of themselves, any good result will be rendered hopeless, to the great offence of God, to whom Pole will never cease to pray for the consummation of so pious and holy a work, and for the conservation and prolonged prosperity of the Emperor, for the service of God, and for the benefit of all Christendom.

From the monastery of Dilignan (*sic*) near Brussels, 28th September 1554.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time in MS.

948. CARDINAL POLE to DON BERNARDINO.

Has received his letter of the 13th July, in which, by commission from the fathers and brethren of the monastery, he requests Pole to sanction the return to Naples of his and their Don Thomaso. In reply Pole writes that his sole reason for taking Don Thomaso with him on his journey, was, that he might serve the Church in his own country [England?]; so by sending him back before Pole knows whether the road would be open or closed to Don Thomaso (which God forbid), it would seem as if this proceeded from Pole, and that he had merely called him as a travelling companion, of which he had no need; and according to the dictates of conscience, Pole merely detained him until there was some greater certainty about his own going to England. But the first letters were written in such a tone, that had they arrived in time for Don Thomaso to return to Naples without endangering his life on account of the heat, Pole would have sent him back immediately, in order not to distress those whom he wishes to comfort; but now that Don Bernardino writes that the matter is referred to Pole, and to the will of Don Thomaso, Pole says that, for his own part, not only has he no mind to send Thomaso back, but rather to call another of the monks, namely, Don Bernardino himself, to assist this holy cause, hoping that he will not come in vain, and that there will be room for him also, to serve God and the Church, under such holy Sovereigns, the Queen having followed Pole's suggestions before her consort's arrival, so that now there is more cause for hope than ever.

* This letter seems to have been received by the Emperor at Arras, and is the one alluded to in Pole's letter to the Pope dated 13th October.

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Had written thus far, before Don Thòmaso showed him the second letter from his brethren, whereby not only do they not leave Pole to decide about his remaining or returning, but desire Thomaso to come away *insalutato hospite*, should Pole oppose his departure.

It has greatly pleased Pole to see so much zeal and care for the salvation of their brother's soul, on which they appear to have been so intent, that like those who anticipate danger for one they love immoderately, they forget to bear in mind both the cause and the person with whom Don Thomaso finds himself, and who holds the post of Vicar of Christ, and has power to call assistance from every quarter for the cause committed to him. But Don Bernardino knows Pole's sentiments, and mode of proceeding; and although he might with a clear conscience detain Thomaso, who is willing to stay, yet will he not use violence in this matter by doing anything which is not quite satisfactory; and therefore answers Don Bernardino, desiring him to pray God for the revelation of what shall be most for his honour, and the welfare of Thomaso; and Bernardino's decision about his return, will always be to Pole's satisfaction.

Brussels, [September ?].

[*Italian.*]

Sept.?
MS. St. Mark's Library Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time in MS.

949. QUEEN MARY to CARDINAL POLE.

Right Reverend Father in Christ, most faithful and well beloved Cousin.

By her letters addressed to him before her last Parliament, recommended, amongst others, her faithful and beloved chaplain Master John Upton, Doctor in Theology, that the Pope might promote him to the Bishopric of Norwich, now vacant through [the appointment of] the reverend father Bishop of Ely. The Queen knows him to be a man learned and catholic, and one who fears God, and the sooner he is created Bishop of Norwich, [the sooner] will that Church be provided with a good pastor, very greatly to the Queen's pleasure; and so she prays God to have her good cousin in his blessed keeping.

Would have willingly written this letter in her own hand to her good cousin Pole, but has not the opportunity (*comodità*), so she does not doubt he will take this in good part.

[1554, September ?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.
Senato Mar, v. xxxii. p. 169.

950. MOTION made in the SENATE for a Present to the AMBASSADOR from KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

It being opportune to evince towards Don Luis de Cordova, Envoy to the Signory from the most Serene King of England, such gratitude and munificence as it has always been customary to display towards representatives of other Princes, most especially as his Lordship is a person of quality, and very dear to the aforesaid most Serene King, be it therefore

Put to the ballot that the College be authorized to spend to the

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amount of 300 golden crowns of the Signory's moneys for a gold chain to be presented to the aforesaid Don Luis.

Ser Marco Antonius Venerio, LL.D., and Procurator, Sap. Cons.
Ser Hieronymus Superantio, Sap. T.F.
Ser Joannes Cornelio, Sap. Ordinum.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3. 1554, 11 October, in the College.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. lxix. p. 51 tergo.

951. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

A few days ago, Don Luis de Cordova arrived in Venice to take possession of the Milanese for the most Serene King [of England]. On entering the Signory's presence, accompanied by Venetian noblemen and by the English ambassador resident with them, he presented credentials from his King, saying that he had charged Cordova to visit them in his name before presenting himself to any other Italian potentate, as his dearest and most esteemed friend, acquainting them with what is aforesaid.

Ayes, 156. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13.* MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

952. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Not having anything of great importance to communicate, it is a long while since he has written to the Pope, as to save him trouble, Pole gave all necessary information through his agent; and although at present he has not as much as he could wish to tell, it seems fitting to him to acquaint his Holiness first with a conversation held with the Bishop of Arras, and then with what he negotiated with the Emperor. On the 9th, when Arras went to visit him, (the Nuncio being present at the time) he said the Emperor had seen the letter which Pole sent him lately by his Auditor,* and that he was very well inclined towards this affair of the religion in England, as was becoming, and evident, by reason of his piety, and on account of the interests of the Low Countries, which are so connected with those of England, but that it was very necessary to come to details, and discuss the impediments and the means for removing them, concerning which the Emperor would very willingly listen to Pole. Replied that he did not doubt the Emperor's goodwill, of which he had always been most perfectly convinced, but that so far as his Legatine office was concerned, he had been sent to express the Pope's desire for the salvation (*salute*) of the realm, and his readiness to apply all such remedies as could proceed from papal authority; that Pole had nothing to do but to seek entrance, and that it appertained to those Princes who are on the spot (*i qualli sono sul fatto*) and have the government in their hands, to remove the obstacles. As the Bishop again said that Pole must descend

* In the manuscript this letter is misdated 24th September, but the Foreign Calendar shews that on the 26th September 1554 the Emperor was still at Arras, and did not come to Brussels till the 9th October. See also date of Pole's letter to the Pope in Burnet's Collectanea, quoted by Froude, vol. vi. p. 264.

† See before, letter dated 28th September.

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to particulars, he rejoined that they must by no means proceed in the present case as they did with regard to the peace, when all parties remained in suspense (*stava sopra di se*), not choosing to declare themselves, the one merely endeavouring to discover the intentions of the other, by reason of their individual interests; whereas the cause now under discussion is common, the Pope and the Emperor having the same views about it, as also Arras and Pole, their ministers. The Bishop admitted what Pole said about the negotiation for peace, saying that in fact when treating it he (Arras) is always in arms, etc.,* but again told him nevertheless to ponder these impediments and discuss them with the Emperor; whereupon the Nuncio, turning towards Pole, said it was in fact necessary to come to these details, and so at length it was settled that they were all to ruminate them.

Subsequently, on the 11th, when Pole went to the Emperor, the Bishop of Arras again repeated to him the same expressions at the audience of his Majesty, both Arras and the Nuncio being present there.

After congratulating the Emperor on having freed his territory here from the curse of war, and that after so much mental and bodily toil he had returned in stronger and better health than on his departure, which showed that the Lord God had preserved him for greater feats, to the honour of his Majesty, and for the common weal, Pole commenced speaking about the letter written by him to the Emperor, and the reply given by the Bishop of Arras postponing the matter until the shortly expected return of his Majesty to Brussels. He then said that had he to treat this business with any other Prince of whose piety he might be less well convinced than he is of his Majesty's, which is evinced by so many passages both in his private and public life, he would seek to exhort him by all ways possible to embrace and favour this so holy a cause; but there being no need of this with the Emperor, especially as in this cause the honour of God is coupled with his Majesty's own advantage, and that of the most Serene King his son, Pole merely expected every assistance from him for the removal of the impediments which seem to be of two sorts, the one relating to the Catholic doctrine, in which the Pope could by no means show himself indulgent, as the matter relates to the faith, nor could he heal this disease, save by re-introducing the sound doctrine.

The other hindrance, Pole said, was the church property, whose usurpers knowing the severity of the ecclesiastical laws, were for this reason afraid to return to the obedience of the Church; in which matter, he added, the Pope could and was disposed to exercise his graciousness and indulgence. And first of all, as to the censures and penalties incurred, and the restitution of the fruits, which was of great importance, the Pope intended in both these cases to use great indulgence, freely remitting the whole, nor did he think of applying (*aplicar*) any part of that property either to himself, or to the Apostolic See, as apprehended by many, and as might reasonably be done on account of the injuries and losses incurred; but he would

* Con dir in effetto in trattar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto.

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convert the whole to the service of God and the benefit of the realm, without the slightest regard for his private interest, and, relying on the piety of the sovereigns in question, would do them the honour to grant through his Legate* such favours as may seem fitting, according to the proposal and intercession of their Majesties, to those persons whom they shall consider worthy of them and fit to aid the cause of the religion.

The Emperor, in reply, thanked the Pope greatly, first of all acknowledging his goodwill, and saying that in truth his Holiness had done much, but that he himself, owing to the hindrance and occupation of the war, had been unable to attend to this matter as he could have wished, but would do so now, and had already written and sent to England to know better the state of affairs in this respect, and expected a reply shortly; and that they must consider well how far they can go in removing these impediments about the church property, which is the chief of them, as the Emperor knows by his experience in Germany; and he said that as for doctrine, men of this sort cared little, as they had no belief either one way or the other.†

His Majesty also said that this church property having been dedicated to God, they ought not thus to concede everything to those who held it; and that although Pole told him how far his authority extends, yet should he by no means acquaint others with the whole, and that it would be necessary to see the "brief of faculties" (*il breve delle facultà*) [dispensing powers] and to enlarge it where necessary.

To this Pole replied that he had already shown it to the Bishop of Arras, who made no remark; and suspecting this to be a road for delay, Pole told the Emperor that as according to report at Brussels, and as would be better known to his Majesty, Parliament was to meet shortly, great care should be taken lest it be held without deciding the matter of the obedience of the Church, as otherwise it would be a very great scandal for the whole world and injurious to the said cause; and that as the Queen, for the performance of so grand an act, had judged the union (*congiuntione*) with the King her husband to be necessary, because *non esset bonam mulierem esse solam*, so God having prospered this holy union (*congiuntione*), if the execution of this result (*effetto*), which is to be the commençement and foundation of all their actions, were to be deferred any longer, no way would remain for satisfying either God or man. The Emperor said that great regard (*respetto*) should be had to the evil disposition of those interested in the business, and to the intense abhorrence of this term of "the obedience of the Church,"‡ and of this red hat, as also of the habit of the religious; and then turned to the Nuncio, speaking on this subject, about the friars brought from Spain by the King his son, who was advised to make them change their habits, although that was not done, nor was it fitting to do it. He also said how important popular tumult

* "Volesse far loro questo honore di fare per mezo del suo Legato queste gratie," &c.

† "Disse che poco curavano questi tali non credendo nè all' una nè all' altra via."

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was, alluding moreover to the incessant evil offices of foreign enemies. Pole rejoined that to wait till all spontaneously became well disposed (*si disponessero*), and till every impediment was removed, would be to protract the conclusion for ever, as the parties concerned most especially desire nothing more than to continue in the present state having and holding what they possess. At length it was determined to await the return from England of the secretary Erasso, which will take place in a few days; and in the meanwhile Pole is to ponder these things, and announce the result to the Bishop of Arras.

[Brussels, 13th October?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

953. QUEEN MARY to CARDINAL POLE.

Good Cousin Pole.

Knows what great toil and how long a journey he has undergone, all which he still most patiently endures, though the performance of his holy legation has been hitherto impeded. The Queen not only regrets this, but being desirous of removing all cause for further delay, so that by God's grace matters being well prepared, Pole, with the hope of a good result, may soon come to the King her very dear lord and consort, and to her, she sends the present letter by the Lieutenant of Amont,* ambassador accredited to her by her very dear father the Emperor, to acquaint Pole with certain things on her behalf. Prays Pole to give him credence, as to the King and Queen themselves, arranging for whatever additional provision may be necessary. "And thus, good cousin, with my most cordial remembrances I commend you to the guardianship (*alla tutella*) of God omnipotent."

From our Palace of Westminster, 15th October 1554.

[*Italian, translated from the English.*]

Oct. 19. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

954. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last letter of the 14th [13th?] informed the Pope of all that he negotiated at his audience of the Emperor.

Now, at this second hour of the night, the Bishop of Arras, accompanied by the Nuncio and the Secretary Vargas, has come to tell him that by a courier who arrived from England a few hours ago, King Philip wrote that he had greatly exerted himself to induce the chief personages interested in the Church property, to consent to Pole's going to England, and that the whole difficulty consists in this, that Pole's powers (*facultà*) concerning the disposal (*dispositione*) of this property, are not as ample as desired, and that to give universal satisfaction in this matter, it would be requisite for the Pope to send a new brief, in more ample form. Besides the words, "*componendi et transigendi,*" there should be added, "*cedendi et remittendi,*" according to the opinion and at the intercession, however (*pure*), of their Majesties, for the benefit and quiet of the realm and of the religion; and in addition to this, the clause about having recourse "*in arduis et gravibus*" to the

* Simon Renard. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index, and p. 131, October 23, 1554.)

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See Apostolic should be cancelled as they seem to take umbrage at those words. They would also wish the brief to be dated after the consummation of the marriage; and as the King and Queen and the Emperor wish not to lose the opportunity of the present Parliament, which is to meet on the 12th of next month, they therefore send this courier in haste, that the brief may arrive in time; and the Bishop of Arras requested Pole to write this to the Pope, whom he prays to send the courier back as soon as possible, with such decision as he shall think fit, so that they may determine in time what can be done in this matter.

Brussels, 19th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

955. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The Bishop of Arras, when visiting him on the 19th, said that from the Lieutenant of Amont [Simon Renard], Imperial ambassador in ordinary in England, who was expected at Brussels, Pole would hear more in detail the state of English affairs. On the morrow, the Lieutenant arrived,* and next day conferred a long while with the Emperor. Yesterday, he came to Pole, the Nuncio being present; and after presenting the letter from King Philip and Queen Mary in reply to his last insisting on admittance, the Lieutenant said he had been sent by their Majesties solely to give him account of past events, and of what was necessary at present; and, in a long and apposite discourse, beginning with the Queen's accession, narrated the impediments which had hitherto prevented her from executing her holy purpose of returning to the obedience and union of the Church; all which, in short, proceeded from the evil disposition of many interested persons, who, understanding that in the powers (*facultà*) given to Pole by the Pope with regard to church property, there were these words, "*componendi, transigendi,*" &c., greatly suspected that they should be despoiled of all they possess. So their Majesties were induced to demand the extension of Pole's powers (*facultà*), knowing that when these opponents shall hear that he has ample authority to dispose of the church property, they will become less averse to return to the obedience of the See Apostolic and of his Holiness; and this was the first thing he had to propose in the name of their Majesties. He then said that three things remained for him to hear from Pole: one was, in what capacity he purposed making his entry; the second, the course he meant to pursue in using his powers, that is to say, whether he would exercise them of his own accord (*da me*) or communicate everything in the first place to their Majesties. The third inquiry was, whether Pole felt certain that the Pope would enlarge the powers as demanded, in which case their Majesties would leave it to Pole to go before the meeting of Parliament; but should he be doubtful of this, he must await at Brussels his Holiness' reply. These three points being decided, no further difficulty would remain.

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* [illegible] preceding the 23rd October. (*See* Foreign

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Pole said, in reply, that although for his own part he had acted with all patience, and with due regard for the will and opinion of the Emperor, beginning so long ago as when he left Italy and stopped at Dillengen, alluding also to his protracted sojourn at Brussels, yet did he confess that now the time seemed to him so mature for carrying into effect the becoming and pious will of Queen Mary and King Philip, that further delay seemed to him a very great fault, and fraught with manifest peril for the real welfare of England and of their Majesties, and that therefore he was moved to write so warmly to the King as he did in his last letters; and that on this last occasion it had been most agreeable to him to see still more clearly the piety of their Majesties.

With regard to the point proposed about the mode of his entry, Pole said that he represented three persons, one private as an Englishman by birth, the second as the ambassador of a great Prince, the third as Legate to restore the religion; and that although it would be fitting, most especially after such long delay, for him to enter as Legate, nevertheless, should it seem expedient, he might on his first entry dispense with this third person, and enter as the Pope's ambassador without the legatine emblems and ceremonies, which, as proposed by the Lieutenant [Renard], might subsequently be used in due season; and this he could do to the satisfaction of the Pope, who had provided and ordained everything to facilitate his entry.

To the second point, about using his powers, Pole said he did not intend to do anything about using them without the consent and will of their Majesties, having the same object in view as they have. Renard seemed satisfied; and touching the third point Pole said he had no doubt the Pope would use all graciousness to remove any impediment to his going, and therefore the sooner he was in England the more did Pole think it would be opportune, that he might speak and perform such offices as should seem expedient for the desired effect. So Renard came to the conclusion that having settled these three points no further difficulty remained, and that with this resolve he would return to England whenever Pole pleased, not having anything else to do, nor having come hither for any other purpose.

Renard then alluded to the arrangement made that at . . . . . .* where he was to land, two of the chief personages of the Court were to meet him; and besides this, for his greater personal safety, their Majesties chose him to be escorted by some of their cavalry (*da certi de i suoi cavalli*); and stated that it had been already said that Pole's residence was to be in the palace, or in some neighbouring place. In conclusion, he said that after acquainting their Majesties with the whole, he would return to him.

In the meanwhile, through a person who departs to-day from Brussels for Trent, Pole sends this, being certain that the Pope will derive consolation from the hope, that with God's assistance a good result may be obtained in this holy business; and having nothing more to communicate at present, he kisses the Pope's most holy

* Blank in manuscript.

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feet, praying God long to preserve him for the service of his holy Church.

Brussels, 23rd October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time in MS.

956. CARDINAL POLE to MESSER BERNARDINO and his Brethren.

Announces the death of their brother Messer Bortolomeo (*sic*) [Thomaso ?], whom he loved as a father. Has thought fit to give them this advice, although unpleasing, yet considering that by the will of God he had arrived at such an age that prolonged years could not but have been burdensome to him, and that this his end was such as to give sure hope, that by Divine mercy he has passed to life blessed and eternal, they have all reason to comfort themselves for their loss, which is for him a gain.

Although Pole has reason on his own private account to lament this loss, he would not have failed to incur it on theirs,* after enjoying the fruit of his companionship for so many years, with as much satisfaction to Pole as could have been derived by him from the dearest kinsman he had in the world. He however consoles himself with the aforesaid consolation, which will increase when he hears that Bernardino is consoled by the same cause, and on any occasion when Pole can oblige Bernardino, he may imagine that their brother Thomaso is alive in Pole, and for such he offers himself heartily, praying God to comfort Bernardino.

Brussels, October ?

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

957. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last of the 23rd announced the arrival at Brussels of Renard, and what he said to Pole in the name of King Philip and Queen Mary, giving him sure hope of his speedy departure. Yesterday Renard returned to him, the Nuncio being present; and when Pole thanked Renard, alluding to his obligations for the sure hope he had brought him that after such long delay Pole would be enabled to perform his legation, Renard replied that he not only brought him hope, but a certainty (*ma cosa fatta*), and that having acquainted the Emperor with what had passed between them, his Majesty remained well satisfied with everything, and Renard was of opinion that Pole could continue making his arrangements for the journey, most especially as he was content to go in the form arranged at their last conference; and that at any rate he (Renard) would depart to-morrow, with the hope that on his arrival in England their Majesties would immediately determine to call him, sending a personage as far as Brussels to accompany him, and giving orders for him to be met on his landing in England, as written in Pole's last letter; and even should it be thought advisable to wait until they could call him with the consent of

* "Benchè se per nostro privato rispetto si havessimo a doler, io non ne haverei mancato, causa di voi." In the former letter to Don Bernardino it is seen that the monks to whom this present letter was addressed had urged Friar Thomaso, who seems to have been an Englishman, to desert Pole.

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Parliament, the Queen would so contrive (*faria tale opera*) that if not all, at least the majority of the chief members, would vote for his being called,. so that even should a part oppose the measure, the majority would suffice for calling him. Renard then said much about what the Queen had done, and still continues doing in several ways, to this effect ; and assured Pole that all would succeed well, and to the honour of God and to the satisfaction of the Pope.

Pole having then congratulated himself as becoming, said that he thanked the Divine goodness for having opened the way for King Philip and Queen Mary, and the Emperor, to do so worthy and glorious an act, and one so advantageous for Christendom, and that he considered this a greater and more praiseworthy exploit than if he had rescued Jerusalem from the infidels; nor could Pole but greatly congratulate himself on being employed in this matter as the Pope's minister and instrument. But as at the first conference, and at this second one likewise, the only doubt suggested by Renard was that of the extension of the powers, Pole said that he was merely anxious about this, that so noble and holy a work should be nobly and holily negotiated and accomplished ; and how could it be so were they to reduce the business to an offer of the church property, and thus make, as it were, a purchase of the obedience? for which he said plainly that neither should he be a good agent, nor did he think the Pope would ever be induced to make it ; on which Pole dilated much, saying that such a course (*modo*) would be neither agreeable to God nor advantageous for England, and very scandalous in the sight of the world.

Renard admitted the truth of this, and said that the extension of the power was demanded merely for the purpose of removing all umbrage from the parties concerned, who were apprehensive of Pole's molesting them at this commencement, having been already rendered suspicious by those words in the brief *transigendi* [*et?*] *componendi rem,* lest he establish an ecclesiastical court (*un tribunal*) in England, and summon them immediately to give account and compound, and rigorously deprive them of the property they held ; some little umbrage being also taken at the clause which "*in gravioribus causis*" transferred judgment from Pole to the See Apostolic, declaring that if the Pope had freely referred everything to Pole, promising without further restriction to consider his acts valid, there would have been no difficulty about admitting him.

Pole rejoined that the Pope had already done this by another bull, promising in general terms "*bona fide in verba Pontificis*" to approve and ratify whatever Pole did. Renard expressed a wish to see it, and after perusing the document expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it, saying that if this had been known previously, it would have been unnecessary to send the courier lately despatched to his Holiness, and that it would be well for Pole to show it to the Emperor ; and thus ended the conversation between Pole and Renard.

Yesterday, when Pole had audience of the Emperor and took the Nuncio with him for the affairs of Sienna, he spoke to his Majesty in Pole's name about this bull, and the Emperor seemed glad to hear of it, asking Pole for a copy of it for transmission to the Queen, to whom, however, Pole sent it as long ago as when he was

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at Dillingen, but perhaps then they did not hold it in the same account as they seem to do now. According to report the course which they intend to pursue in this matter is by means of the bull, or of such power as the Pope shall send Pole, to endeavour to convince the parties concerned that he by no means intends to compel them to relinquish the property they possess; but as the King and Queen find themselves in the same case as the other holders of this property, and to a greater extent, and as without them Pole could do nothing, it is requisite that both for themselves and the others their Majesties should propose some means whereby to satisfy everybody, and by their proclaiming this intention and promise the opposition will consent without repugnance to the return to the obedience;* and may it please God to grant this, and to favour all the rest of this his cause, for the entire consolation of the Pope and the whole Church. When on the spot, should it please God that he go thither, Pole will be better able to know everything, as Renard himself also says, and Pole will then give account accordingly to the Pope, whose most holy feet he kisses with all due respect, praying the Lord God long to preserve him.

Brussels, 26th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. **958.** CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Has received the gracious letters of the Queen and King Philip delivered to him by Renard, the Imperial ambassador at their court, in reply to Pole's former letter about the performance of his legation. This reply, and the verbal communication made to him in their name by Renard, have given him no little comfort, at a moment when in truth he had most need of it, being much harassed, not indeed on his own account, as it becomes him to take patience, as by God's grace he does, and always has done hitherto, but by reason of the great inconvenience which seemed likely to ensue had he been recalled after his frequent appeals to the Queen (which he ought to have made to the Pope) without obtaining access to her presence after so long a period, and without receiving any messenger from her, nor any demonstration which could give satisfaction to whom it was most due. This recall of himself individually would not have been so great a matter, but for the consequent delay in laying the foundation of the quiet of the realm and of the Queen's throne, which can never be well established unless the body of the realm is well established and united in that spiritual obedience which is professed by both their Majesties who are its head.

Nor does the delay of this so necessary a result harass Pole so much on account of the dissatisfaction which the Pope might reasonably feel, though Pole has performed every good office, alleging the same arguments used by Renard with Pole, as because he saw clearly that, although the Pope continued to take everything in good part, their Majesties' authority (*stato*) could not but receive very great detriment; and, therefore, the Queen having sent such a personage for the settlement of this affair, and for the Emperor's

* Et che con questa intentione et promissione siano per contentarsi senza ripugnanza.

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better acquaintance with it, as also by means of Renard's statement to enable Pole to comfort the Pope with the hope that the object of his legation will at length be effected, he is convinced that their Majesties have been moved thus to do by the Holy Spirit, both in the choice of the messenger, than whom no one could be more suitable for the purpose, and by reason of the opportune moment of his mission.

In reply to the announcement in the name of their Majesties, in like manner as he has limited himself to a mere letter to the King to avoid troubling him, so has he thought fit to give the Queen a more detailed account by means of his agents (*de miei*), whom he requests her to receive graciously as usual, and to give them full credence for whatever they may tell her in his name; and thus does he end, praying God that in like manner as to Pole's very great joy he heard that his Divine Majesty has granted the Queen the grace of conceiving fruit, in her corporeal womb, rendering her the mother of an heir to the temporal kingdom, so may he also give her the grace to be mother of those who are heirs to a kingdom eternal, of whom it is written in the name of God "*Ego dixi dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes;*" so the Queen may with truth be styled *mater deorum*, leading the children of God to his unity and obedience; and this is that heavenly fruit with which the Queen having been already long pregnant in her mind and spirit, now that the fruit (*parto*) is mature, it is expected of her that she should produce it in the light and to the glory of God, and for the consolation of all Christendom, and the welfare (*salute*) of England, which may the Divine goodness and mercy speedily grant.

Brussels, 27th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in vol. 4, pp. 168, 169. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc.

959. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

The King has given great proof of his pious wish to restore Catholicism, not merely by answering Pole's letter on the subject, but by moreover sending the Imperial ambassador in England (Simon Renard) to acquaint him with what has been done, and with what has been omitted in the matter, and to discuss the means for effecting the desired result. Renard informed him of the state of affairs, and of King Philip's piety. Pole therefore thanks God for having given the Queen, who of herself would have been unable to accomplish what she desired, so powerful an auxiliary to anticipate her wishes. Of the commissions given to Renard some must be referred to the Pope, others the Pope has been pleased to refer to Pole. The reply to these last will be conveyed by Renard, and Pole hopes that the King's policy in England (*ut istud Regnum sic administret*) may prove advantageous for his other realms likewise, and profitable for the whole Church, as will certainly come to pass if his Majesty succeeds in completing what he has commenced.

Brussels, 27th October 1554.

[*Latin*, 35 *lines.*]

1554.
Oct. 28.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

960. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Is in the habit of communicating with Morone, and through him with others also, respecting matters he has most at heart, as with that lord and friend given him by God, with whom he can speak freely of everything, as he will do at present, telling him in the first place the present state of the affairs of his legation to England, which seem to commence prospering, as Morone will hear in part from the letters which are being sent to Messer Gio. Francesco, and in part from those of Pole himself, expressing his hopes and fears.

His hope is that England will return to the obedience of the See Apostolic, and that this will be settled in the present Parliament; which hope he rests not merely on the piety of Queen Mary and King Philip, but also on the words uttered by the Imperial ambassador in England, who was sent to Brussels by the Emperor with the reply to the letters written by Pole to his Majesty. When Pole said freely to Renard that in case the article of the obedience were not settled in this Parliament, he should have no more oil of patience in his flask, and would no longer remain waiting, neither did he believe the Pope would compel him to do so; Renard thereupon rejoined that he must not have any doubt of this, as should England not reunite herself to the Church, King Philip and Queen Mary could not long hold the crown; so if the return (*la reduttion*) were not to take place on other accounts it must at least be effected for their advantage. In addition to this, Pole seeing that their Majesties have commenced urging him to go, doing the like also by the Pope, he thinks he may believe that they intend soon to come to some settlement. This is what he hopes.

On the other hand, his fear proceeds from the means deemed necessary by their Majesties for arriving at this effect, it appearing that they choose the church property to be conceded to those who hold it, to which mode Pole is averse, and Morone will see what answer he made to Renard on the subject in his letters to Messer Gian Francesco; but it is true that when discussing this topic with him, Pole modified his reply, saying that he would be content not to speak about this property at present, and assure its possessors that he would not molest them, as they professed to apprehend by reason of those words in the papal brief, "*transigendi, componendi,*" etc. Renard added that in addition to this they might rely on not being molested, in virtue of the ancient statute *Præmunire*; so should Pole in his legatine capacity serve summonses on any of the parties concerned (*onde quando io come legato volessi far citare alcuno di essi interessati*), they could not be compelled [to appear] without the royal consent, so that they were guaranteed by the promises both of Pole and of their Majesties. Renard, therefore, inferred that if at this commencement Pole went as Papal ambassador to congratulate their Majesties, and with the pretext of the other commission about the peace, he might be enabled to perform many good offices, and so conciliate the parties concerned (*gli interessati*), who, according to Renard, are quite determined to obtain (*sic*) [retain?] what they hold (*ostinatissimi in voler ottener* (*sic*)

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CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE (Oct. 28.)

quel che tengono); but he said, nevertheless, that Pole's presence might be beneficial, most especially with the Queen (*con la Regina*), who is the person the most interested of any, both because she has a good conscience and also because she trusts much in Pole, but that in whatever way accomplished, the most important matter is the return to the obedience, on which the salvation of so many souls depends.

At this conversation the Nuncio was present, and although silent throughout he also spoke at the close, saying in substance that he rejoiced at the arrangements for Pole's going (*andata*) being so far advanced, as he anticipated the best result from it; and with regard to this he expatiated at great length on the graciousness of the Pope, who would be ready to give the Church property rather than "the obedience" should be in the least delayed on this account, and said that one single soul was worth more than all the property in the world; coming to the conclusion that provided the door was opened to Pole to go and establish "the obedience," no difficulty whatever would be made by the Pope on account of the Church property, and that he would give him the most ample power in this matter, without limitation of any sort; which words caused Renard to be yet more satisfied, though, to say the truth, Pole would not have wished at this first conference to promise so largely, but on considering the matter afterwards it seemed to him that the Nuncio spoke prudently, to mitigate somewhat what might have seemed to them Pole's scrupulousness in this particular.

Morone now sees to what pass the affair has been brought, and what there is to hope and to fear. The hope that in this Parliament they may enact the return to the obedience, consists in what Morone has heard, namely, that the parties concerned will not oppose the measure, being certain that he has the fullest possible power (*facultà*), and moreover that he is unable to do anything against them, without the will and consent of the King and Queen, who are more interested than the rest of the parties concerned in the business, and might promise them what they please.

Pole's fear consists chiefly in this, that although the "return" may be stipulated without any compact on his part, yet subsequently when, in accordance with his office, he acquaints their Majesties and the others also with their duty in this matter of Church property, whilst on the one hand it may be hoped from the piety of King Philip and Queen Mary, that they will determine to do (most especially with what is in their own hands) what becomes their obligation to God; yet in case from other human considerations this end be not attained, Pole for his own part would greatly fear lest they and the kingdom, although it return to the obedience, may incur the displeasure of God, which he dreads more than the detention of Church property by private individuals.*

* Facendo io da poi come è debito mio intendere alle Maestà loro et agli altri ancora, il debito loro in questa parte de' beni. Da un canto si può sperar nella pietà delle loro Mtà che habbino a risolversi di fare, massime di quel che è in man loro, cosa che convenghi con la pietà et obligo che hanno con Dio, ma quando per altri humani rispetti non si venisse a questo fine, io per me dubitarei forte della disgratia di Dio, sopra esse et quel regno, ancora che sì fusse tornato alla obedientia, non temendo tanto per rispetto di quello che non si potesse condure gli altri privati a fare.

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CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE (Oct. 28.)

Morone, therefore, sees that matters being in their present state, Pole is compelled at this commencement to acquiesce and be silent, in order not to render the negotiation difficult, announcing in general terms the best possible intention to everybody.

Touching the Church property held by the Crown, Renard said to Pole spontaneously that the Queen was conscientious, so it might be hoped she will do what is becoming; and Pole hopes that thus may it please God, but declares that should his exhortations with regard to this matter not take effect with her, neither will he on his part accept place in England, even should they give him a moiety of the kingdom, still less the see of Canterbury,* which Renard urged him to accept before going thither, as it would greatly promote the Queen's cause, and his friends in England write to him [to do so], that he may sit in Parliament and have a vote there; but until they return to the obedience it would not seem to him by any means becoming to allow himself to be bound by any charge to remain there, although otherwise he would not refuse any toil or trouble the Pope might be pleased to assign him.

Requests Morone to urge the Pope to have prayers offered up in all the monasteries and religious establishments at Rome for the success of his legation, and to have alms distributed.

Brussels, 28th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 57, tergo.

961. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor has given his son, the most Serene King of England, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and of the Duchy of Milan, of which his Majesty has sent to take possession.

Ayes, 164. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

962. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last, of the 7th, wrote to Cardinal del Monte, what the most Serene Queen had written to him, and sent word by a messenger whom he despatched in haste for this purpose.

On the 8th, the English ambassador at Brussels [Sir John Masone],† delivered to him letters from the Queen, confirming what is aforesaid, and charging him to inform the Emperor that now the time appearing to them mature for calling him to treat and conclude in the present Parliament, the return of England to the union and obedience of the Church, they proposed both these matters to the whole body of their Council, whose unanimous consent was given so readily, that the members seemed really to have been

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* Ma dico bene che se le mie esshortationi in questa parte non trovassero luogo appresso di Lei, non sono ne anco io, per accettar luogo in Inghilterra seben mi fusse dato la metà del regno, non che l'Arcivescovato di Cantuaria, il quale questo ambasciatore mi sollecitava che io volessi accettar' inanzi che io andassi là.

† *See* Foreign Calendar 1554, November 9, No. 290, p. 136.

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CARDINAL POLE to the POPE. (Nov. 11.)

moved by the Holy Spirit; and that as compensation for such long delay, they thought fit to honour his coming (*andata*) by sending to him, as far as Brussels, two Lords of the Council, one of whom was to be Lord Paget, and the other the Master of Horse [Sir Edward Hastings], brother of the Earl of Huntingdon,* with some other noblemen and gentlemen, who, as they were to depart post wise on the 26th instant, expected to arrive at Brussels on the 30th; but that should the Emperor dismiss Pole previously, their Majesties wished him not to await their arrival at Brussels, but to be accompanied by the English ambassador [Sir John Masone] until he met them, in order that he might be present, if not at the commencement of the Parliament, which was to meet on the 11th instant, at least shortly afterwards, to assist this cause of the reconciliation (*reduttione*).

On the very day of the letters' arrival the ambassador having reported accordingly to the Emperor, presenting also letters from King Philip, to the same effect, his Majesty evinced approval of everything; but with regard to Pole's departure, as the arrival of these noblemen was to take place so shortly, he determined that it would be better to wait for them, and that on the 10th or 11th instant, he would give him audience.

On the 9th the Bishop of Arras came to Pole, telling him he was sent by the Emperor; he exulted and rejoiced (*essultava e giubilava*), and holding in his hand two letters addressed by King Philip to his Imperial Majesty, he narrated their contents to him, thus: that the King having heard of the Emperor's indisposition sent him such news as would, he hoped, alleviate all indisposition; and then made two demands of Pole—the one, that he would be pleased at this commencement to go without the emblems (*le insegne*) of the legation, although both the King Philip and the Queen would acknowledge him as Legate subsequently in public and in due season; the other, that with these Lords and gentlemen, he should not descend to any particulars about the disposal of the Church property, but merely announce good intentions to all in general terms.

Pole replied that King Philip had in truth great reason to congratulate himself on the carrying into effect of this legation, on which depended the confirmation and seal of all the felicitations hitherto offered him, and that he (Pole) was aware of owing this great obligation to God for this opportunity for serving his Divine Majesty, his Holiness, the See Apostolic, his own country, and King Philip and Queen Mary, as also his Imperial Majesty, at one and the same time; adding that in the affair of this his legation, the like had occurred as is wont to happen in all the affairs of God, which, causing at the commencement some dissatisfaction and bitterness, produce in the end the sweetest fruit. And touching the two demands —with regard to the first, about going without the emblems of his legation, Pole said that their Majesties deeming it expedient so to

* *See* Foreign Calendar, date November 5, 1554, Nos. 285, 286, 287. Instructions to Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings.

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CARDINAL POLE to the POPE. (Nov. 11.)

do, he would obey them, not unwillingly (*io non mal volentieri obedirei*); and as to the second, about not descending to particulars, he would most willingly do so, seeing that the arrival of these noblemen was expected, and in fact took place this morning.

In the afternoon they went to the Emperor, sending in the first place to apologise to Pole for not having come to him immediately, as they were tired, but that this evening they would come to sup with him, as they did, presenting him with credentials from King Philip and Queen Mary, in whose name they apologised for this long delay in admitting him, and then told of the great unanimity of the whole Council, both in calling him at this time, and in approving that in the present Parliament it should be treated to conclude the return to the unity and obedience of the Church; and said that for the satisfaction of the parties concerned, it was merely desired that the Pope should give him all ample power about the disposal of the Church property (which power they believed had been received by him subsequently), and that without it, even should the return to the obedience be concluded, as they expected it would be by Parliament owing to the good choice made of its members, there nevertheless would be great difficulty and trouble in carrying it into effect.

They then spoke about his going as Cardinal and ambassador from the Pope, saying that this was done to avoid prejudicing the authority of the Parliament, as would be the case were he to appear as Legate, before the enactment of the obedience.

To this Pole replied that they may be very certain that the Pope bears, and ever will bear her Majesty (*quella Maestà*) and all of them as much affection as can be desired from a most loving father towards his children; and that as to the mode of his going, being convinced by their Majesties' goodness, and perceiving this their consent, he did not doubt that they acted thus solely because it was deemed expedient for the success of the cause.

In conclusion, they strongly urged Pole, in their Majesties' name, to go as soon as he could conveniently, saying that King Philip by no means chooses the Parliament to commence debating about the religion until after Pole's arrival there, and they declare the Emperor will not delay despatching him; so he thinks of obtaining audience to-morrow, and departing the day after, should it please God, who he hopes will soon comfort the Pope by gratifying his holy wish for the welfare of England; and thus may his Divine Majesty deign to do, granting continued prosperity to the Pope, whose most holy feet Pole kisses.

Brussels, 11th November 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Letter-Book of Agustino Barbarigo in the Venetian Archives.

963. GIOVANNI CAPELLO and AGUSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Barbarigo wrote from Lyons on the 28th ult., and, continuing his journey, arrived on the 9th instant in Paris, where yesterday he and Capello had audience of the King, and then went to the Constable, who told them that next year the King would be beforehand with

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the Emperor, and send him the Constable in advance, and that Capello, returning to Italy, will find horse and foot on their march towards Piedmont; nor have they anything to fear from England, as on her finger the Queen has two rings, with which she was espoused twice, first on her accession when she was crowned and confirmed the treaty with France, and secondly when she became the wife of the present King of Spain, which marriage, it may be supposed, she will not consider binding, as she is, moreover, supposed not to have money;* and that his most Christian Majesty had remained a month here in Paris, not for his amusement, but to make such preparations as were necessary. Capello has taken leave of the King and Queen and the whole Court.

Paris, 12th November 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22.
Original Letter-Book of Agustino Barbarigo in the Venetian Archives.

964. AGUSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

His predecessor (Capello) departed on the 15th. On his way to the French Court, Barbarigo met several men-at-arms and light-horse, going towards Piedmont, [*and was told at Turin that they purposed soon making some notable attempt, and hoped to succeed.*] †

Has seen a letter from England, dated the 7th instant, announcing the departure of Lord Paget and another personage to meet Cardinal Pole, to whom, however, Queen Mary had written, desiring him to set out for England without awaiting their arrival; and the writer considered it certain that, when he wrote, the Cardinal had departed, for the purpose, as he (the writer) supposed, of attending this new Parliament.‡

Paris, 22nd November 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta) v. lxix., p. 62, tergo.

965. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By the last advices from Brussels, understand that the Emperor's army, having well fortified New Hesdin, were to raise the camp on the 5th instant, and march towards a certain border castle near Montreuil, which had been well fortified and provisioned by the French, who were in great force there; so it was said the Imperial army would do nothing more this year. The French advices tell them that besides a good number of German and Gascon infantry which the French are marching into Piedmont, with men-at-arms and light-horse, his most Christian Majesty is also sending a number of Switzers with orders to his General, Monsieur de Brissac, to go against the Duke of Florence, both to attack his territory and to raise the siege of Sienna.

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* Et che è da creder che non haverà per fermo il predetto sponsalitio, non havendo anche si come si giudicava danari.

† Paragraph bracketed in letter-book and ciphered in the despatch.

‡ The writs went out on the 6th October and Parliament met on the 12th November (*See* Froude, vol. vi. pp. 260, 268, ed. 1860).

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It is heard from England that the King and Queen are in London, and his Majesty's coronation was delayed; and, according to report, the King will go to his father, the Emperor, not having seen him since he came from Spain.

The siege of Sienna by the forces of the Duke of Florence continues, and they have taken the towns of Casola and Monte Rotondo in the Maremma of Sienna.

Ayes, 190. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in vol. 5, pp. 1–4, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc.

966. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Gives account of the ceremony performed on St. Andrew's Day for the return of England into the bosom of the Church. It took place in full Parliament in the presence of the sovereigns with such universal consent and applause, that when at the close Pole gave absolution by blessing the congregation, there was a spontaneous and repeated shout of "Amen." Bestows exuberant praise on Philip and Mary. Philip is the spouse of Mary, but treats her so deferentially as to appear her son, thus giving promise of the best result. Mary has spiritually generated England, before giving birth to that heir, of whom there is very great hope (*cujus in spe maxima sumus*). Gratitude is due to God, to the Pope, and to the Emperor, for concerting so holy a marriage; it remains for the Pope (according to the intention notified by his Nuncio at the Imperial Court) to reform what time has vitiated in the Roman Church, and then may it be said, "Put off [O Jerusalem] the garment of mourn-"ing and vexation and cast about thee [a double garment of] "righteousness," &c. This alone remains to complete the joy of his Holiness and of the Universal Church.

London, 30th November 1554.

[*Latin*, 61 *lines.*]

Dec. 6.
Original Letter Book of Agostino Barbarigo, in the Venetian Archives.

967. AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On leaving Blois, the King went for four days to d'Anet, the seat of Madame de Valentinois (Diane de Poitiers), and was to be at St. Germain yesterday, so the writer intending to go to Poissy to-morrow to be nearer the Court, writes the last news before his departure from Paris.

The Prothonotary de Noailles, brother of the French ambassador in England, arrived thence at the Court lately, on his own private business, as supposed, and perhaps with orders from Queen Mary to persevere in the performance of such offices, as proceed invariably from her wish for a good understanding between the Emperor and King Henry. He remained two days in Paris, and then went to the Court. Will endeavour to learn something more about the matter, although the Cardinal of Lorraine said that by no means was the agreement to be any longer discussed, or thought of.

Paris, 6th December 1554.

[*Italian.*]

1554.
Dec. 11.
Original Letter Book of Agostino Barbarigo in the Venetian Archives.

968. AGUSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Audience of the most Christian King having been appointed me for the day before yesterday, I went first by invitation to dine with the Constable, and after communicating the advices to him, and when he had asked me if I knew where the Turkish fleet was, he said he would also tell me his news. He commenced by saying that the Emperor was at Brussels in his usual house in the garden, (*nella solita sua casa et giardino*), with the gout in his hand, according to report, [*though nothing could ever be said for certain about his Majesty's bad or good health, as he represented himself sick or sound according to his pleasure and convenience*] ;* and that the Duke of Savoy was going to England to perform a loving and complimentary office with King Philip, on his own private account, which may explain the report current at the court lately, although the writer did not allude to it, doubting its authenticity, that the Imperial troops were mustering to ravage France again under the command of the Duke. He then added that England had resumed her obedience to the Church of Rome, and that it might be hoped affairs would proceed from good to better, with God's assistance, and through the address of Cardinal Pole. [*Inquired whether, as he (Barbarigo) understood, the fortress constructed at Hesdin had been in part destroyed. The Constable replied that a wall had fallen down, that they could retake the place whenever they chose, and that Barbarigo would soon see it in their power ; and putting his hand to his heart, he said, You may believe it on my authority.*]* Talking thus, he introduced me to the most Christain King, to whom I in like manner communicated the advices, and he made me repeat where Sultan Solyman was, and at what distance, [*saying that every now and then he attacked the Sophy, but with no profit, as he was strong and powerful*],† asking me also how long he had been on the present expedition ; and his Majesty having told me moreover what I had already heard from the Constable about the affairs of the religion in England, I took leave of him, and went to visit Madame de Valentinois.

There has arrived in Paris an ambassador from Portugal, who is going straight to England to congratulate King Philip, as told me yesterday by the Portuguese ambassador resident in France, who came to visit me, and has in like manner returned here to the court.

Poissy, 11th December 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

969. CARDINAL POLE to KING HENRY II. of FRANCE.

It having pleased the Divine mercy and goodness to bring to the desired end the return (*la reduttione*) of England to the unity of the Church, and obedience of the See Apostolic, Pole begins to have greater hope of operating more successfully according to the commis-

* Paragraph bracketed in letter-book and ciphered in despatch.
† Bracketed in letter-book and ciphered in despatch.

1554.

sion received from his Holiness to seek peace between King Henry and the Emperor, most especially seeing the first negotiation brought to its due end by those noble means which he always thought and hoped were most adapted to that end.

Is therefore now induced to write to his most Christian Majesty, to congratulate him on this great work of God, accomplished so much to the benefit and consolation of the Christain race, knowing that by reason of his piety, it cannot but cause him great pleasure, as evinced by his Majesty in his conversation with Pole, who has the like desire to serve both France and the Emperor, and also the common weal, in this other legation, as, should the opportunity be afforded him, he hopes will be known by facts; and with all due respect he kisses his most Christian Majesty's hands.

From London, the 14th December 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 68, tergo.

970. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By letters from their ambassador with the most Serene King and Queen of England, having heard of the final decision formed by the Magnifico the Parliament of that kingdom to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and to reunite the English Church to the Roman and universal Church, the pleasure and consolation caused them by this news was very great; so in the most loving form of words he can devise, he is to congratulate the Emperor in their name on this so fortunate and important an event; and knowing that it proceeds from the sage foresight (*savio avedimento*) and prudent counsel of his Majesty, to his eternal glory, they therefore choose to hope that the entire realm will persevere in this obedience and reconciliation, through the good and just government of the most Serene King and Queen, and that the affairs of the kingdom will proceed with such quiet and tranquillity as becoming so grand a conversion (*riduttione*) and renewal (*renovatione*), and that with this example, those of bad opinion (*di mala opinion*) may be brought back to the true and holy religion, to the glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and increase and exaltation of his holy faith. Is not to omit performing the same office with the Bishop of Arras, and such other personages of the Court as he shall think fit, in declaration of the Signory's goodwill, and of the satisfaction derived by them from the Emperor's prosperity.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 5. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), v. lxix. p. 69, tergo.

971. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

By letters from their ambassador with the most Serene King and Queen of England have heard, to their great content and satisfaction of the decision formed in the Magnificio the Parliament of that realm, to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and of his Holiness, and to re-unite that Church to the Roman and Universal Church, so earnestly and by such general consent

1554.

(*grande consento*), as to cause them infinite pleasure and consolation, as for an event intensely desired by them. They therefore desire him to congratulate the Pope in their name on so auspicious and fortunate a result, which is by so much the more to their satisfaction and agreeable from its taking place in his pontificate, to his immortal glory; it being their hope that not only will all England persevere in this obedience and reconciliation, but that, with her example, the Catholic faith and religion will so much the more prevail and increase to the honour and glory of their Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ.

Ayes, 158. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 70, tergo.

972. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Right Reverend Cardinal Pole had arrived in London, being sent by the Pope as Legate to the King and Queen, and in the Parliament-general, he being present there, it was decided for the kingdom to return to the Catholic faith, and everything passed off quietly, to the universal satisfaction; which advices he is to communicate as usual.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 68.

973. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have read with agreeable satisfaction his letters of the 28th ult. and 1st instant, concerning the decision of the High Court of Parliament (*in quel Magnifico Parlamento*) to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and re-unite the English Church to the Roman and Universal Church. To congratulate their Majesties on so grand and auspicious an event.

Desire him also to perform the like office with the Right Reverend Legate, the Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Chancellor, and the other Lords of the Council, as shall seem fitting to him.

Resolved, to send for the English ambassador into the College, and to address him in conformity with what is aforesaid.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix., p. 71, tergo.

974. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

To congratulate the Pope on the return of the realm of England to the true Christian religion, and the pious reconciliation effected by that Church with the Roman and Universal Church, and also with the Holy See.

Ayes, 167. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1554.
Dec. 24.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl x. p. 119, tergo.

975. FRAGMENT, without name of Writer, or of the person to whom addressed.

Postscript,—Yesterday, the same lords and judges returned, and with much difficulty it was at length settled that all the laws made at the time of the schism against the Papal authority should be abrogated thus: that in the Act of Parliament, all those [laws] which they have been able to collect, are to be specified, and to remove all difficulty, they have placed at the end a general repeal (*derogazione*) of all the others that may be found to this effect; thus deciding (*concludendo*) that his Holiness and the See Apostolic be restored to that same authority compatible with the supremacy of this kingdom, and all its dominions, which it exercised and was allowed to exercise in the first twenty years of the reign of Henry VIII., that is to say before the schism; and that the Church property is to remain in the hands of its present English possessors (*et che nel stabilmento dei beni che pertenivano, tenuti hora da questi del regno, che si ha da stare*): the Parliament inserting the petitions in this matter presented to Cardinal Pole (*per il Parlamento siano inserite* [embodied] *le supplicationi date a Monsr. Revmo. sopra ciò*), making mention of his Right Reverend Lordship's concession, and basing this Act thereupon; so that, by the grace of God, matters have passed better than they expected.

From London, Christmas Eve, 1554.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), v. lxix. p. 72.

976. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

After desiring him by their letters of the 15th instant to congratulate the King and Queen in their name on the fortunate and grand acquisition made in England, through the country's reconciliation and union with the rest of Christendom, and its obedience to the Apostolic See, they received his letter of the 4th instant, acquainting them with the solemnity and ceremony performed on the preceding day in St. Paul's Cathedral (*nella chiesa grande di quella citta*),† with the multitude of people present there, and with the universal satisfaction caused by the office performed in public by the Lord Chancellor, and what the King with so great a demonstration of love and affection towards the Signory, desired him to tell them in his name; all which things gave them the greatest pleasure; and therefore, besides the thanks and congratulations already offered by him to the King and confirmed by their letter of the 15th, they now desire him again to repeat them. Is also to congratulate the King on the prosperous course of religious affairs in England; which office he is also to perform with the Queen, the Legate, and the Chancellor, as shall seem fit to him.

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* This postscript was evidently written by one of the attendants of Cardinal Pole, to some personage at Rome. The Legate's "*reply to the petitions by the Parliament*" are alluded to in Foreign Calendar, 1554, *circa* Dec. 24, p. 148, No. 308. The date is now confirmed as above.

† In Machyn's Diary it is stated that the ceremony at St. Paul's took place on the 2nd December.

1554.

That the ambassador may know the Signory's intention with regard to his following the King (in reply to the inquiry made in his former letters), their will is, that should his Majesty quit England for the purpose of visiting the Emperor, as stated in his letter of the 4th, he is to do what shall be most agreeable to the King and Queen; and should he follow his Majesty, he is to leave his secretary in England, with orders to give the Signory, and the ambassador himself, daily account of all events worthy of their knowledge, and to do what shall be necessary for the Signory's interests, and for the merchants, until Michiel's return to England; and in the meanwhile is to make use of the secretary in the service of the Venetian ambassador with the Emperor.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 14.

[*Italian.*]

APPENDIX.

ACTS of the VENETIAN SENATE, respecting the Signory's negociations with SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD, for military assistance against the Archdukes of Austria.

1376.
May 23.
Liber iste continet partes secretas Consilij Rogatorum. On parchment; marked D. Venetian Archives. p. 8.

977. CAPTA. xxiii. Maii.

Cum sit multum utile pro statu nostro providere de contrata subditis et fidelibus nostris Trivisane et Cenete, ubi est mora istarum gentium ad damnum ipsorum et cum periculo status nostri, et omnis mora sit contraria nostre intentioni, ne videamur deserere ipsos subditos ac fideles nostros; Vadit pars quod scribatur de presenti Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod per illum modum, qui sibi videbitur convenire, vadat ad locum ubi sciverit esse dominum Johannem Aguto, cui ex parte nostra facta salutatione, cum literis nostris credulitatis, exponat qualiter in transactis temporibus, per nuntios proprios, se obtulit promptum ad honores et commoda nostra, et quod inter cetera libenter videret casum propter quem, cum honore nostro, possemus comprehendere bonam dispositionem quam habet ad conservationem status nostri. Unde considerantes predicta, deliberavimus sibi notificare, qualiter Dux Leopoldus Austrie, cum aliquibus gentibus, descendit ad partes nostras Trivisane et Cenete, nulla nobis facta conscientia de mala dispositione quam habebat et habet erga nos et subditos nostros, derobando, capiendo, et multa alia mala committendo, contra suum honorem, de quibus omnibus multum gravati sumus, sicut merito possumus et debemus. Et propterea libenter sciremus, si intentio ipsius Domini Johannis esset, velle venire velociter ad servitium nostrum, et cum quanta quantitate gentium, computatis gentibus quas habet ad presens, et hiis quas posset recuperare, de brevi, et cum quibus pretio, modis et conditionibus, et quam cito posset recedere, quia nostra agenda stant in celeri expeditione. Nam habita sua intentione, statim respondebimus sibi pro dando expeditionem huic facto; et quicquid Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno habuerit ab eo circa predicta, et specialiter pro quanto tempore posset nobis servire, et cum quanta gente, de presenti nobis scribat singulariter, et distincte, pro nostra informatione; dando intelligi dicto Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod intentio nostra esset quod tempus foret, quam plus breve esse posset; etiam reddatur previsus Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno, quod propterea non stet de adimplendo sibi commissa, de gentibus quas firmare debet ad servitium nostrum.

Non, 4. Non sincere, 3.

May 25.
p. 8, tergo.

978. CAPTA in COLLEGIO.

Quod Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno firmet alias L. lanceas, ad nostrum servitium, ita quod sint in totum lancee C C.

1376.
May 26. **979.** CAPTA. 26 Maii.
p. 8, tergo. Cons. Cap. Sap.

Cum per formam pacis quam habemus cum Domino Padue ipse tenetur et debet esse in liga nobiscum contra Duces Austrie, et pro honore nostro faciat communicare secum factum infrascriptum; Vadit pars quod per unum nostrum nuntium notificetur sibi, qualiter Dominus Johannes Aguto, amicus nostri dominii, pluries fecit nobis dici, quod libenter et cum bono animo faceret ea que forent nostri honoris et status, et quod misimus ad eum unum nostrum nobilem, et credimus quod pensata bona dispositione sua ad honorem et statum nostrum, veniet ad servitium nostrum cum brigata sua contra Duces Austrie et gentes suas, que sic hostiliter venerunt ad damnum nostrum. Et quia ipse Dominus Padue est in liga nobiscum contra ipsos Duces, propterea notificamus predicta magnificentie sue, non dubitantes quod placebunt sibi; et ea que sequentur super hoc, similiter sibi nota faciemus.

Non, 11. Non sincere, 3. Alii de parte.

Item roget notarius vel nuntius iturus Dominum Padue, quod si alique gentes domini Marchionis Ferarie, que debent venire ad servitium nostrum, vel alie gentes et soldati nostri, transirent per territoria et loca sue magnitudinis, quod placeat sibi ordinare quod habeant liberum et expeditum transitum, et victualia pro sua pecunia, sicut de sua magnificentia plene speramus.

May 26. **980.** CAPTA.
p. 8, tergo. Dnus. Cons. Cap. et Sap. omnes.

Quod scribatur Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod si poterit adimplere nostram intentionem, non dando alicui ultra quinque vel decem lanceas, bene quidem; quando vero videret non posse obtinere nostram intentionem per modum predictum, possit dare usque XX. lanceas pro quolibet, secundum condicionem et qualitatem personarum, pro non perdendo tempus in factis nostris, non dando aliquid plus ultra ducatos XX. pro lancea.

981. CAPTA.

Quod iste executor qui deficit, et alii qui deficerent inposterum, fiant per scruptinium inter Dominum, Consiliarios, Capita, et Sapientes.

Ser Jacobus Mauro.
Ser Micael Mauroceno.
Ser Andrea Zeno.
Ser Pantaleon Barbo.
} Sap. Trivisane, Istrie, et Padue.

May 27. **982.** CAPTA. 27 Maii.
p. 9. D. Consil. Cap. et Sap. omnes.

Quod scribatur Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, civi nostro, quod pro expeditione agendorum nostrorum intentio nostra est, et sic ei committimus et mandamus expresse, quod faciat posse suum de eundo celeriter ad Dominum Johannem Aguto, ubi est, procurando habere literas securi conductus, et scortam sufficientem, a Domino Johanne, vel aliis, ut sibi videbitur, ita quod possit adimplere sibi commissa per nos; quando vero, facta experientia possibili, hoc non esset factibile, nec posset fieri, nec adimpleri per eum, tunc, pro non perdendo tempus, debeat celeriter, et sine mora, mittere, cum nostris literis credulitatis, Tibertum de Bagnacavalo ad ipsum Dominum

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Johannem Aguto, cum commissione et verbis et mandato nostro, sicut ipse Ser Nicolaus facere et procurare debebat. Et quicquid Tibertus fecerit et habuerit nobis significet celeriter et sine mora, et particulariter et distincte, ut possimus esse previsi et providere factis nostris.

June 8. p. 11, tergo. Dnus. Consiliarii Capita et Sapientes.

983. CAPTA. Indict. xiiij. Die octavo mensis Junii.

Cum in pactis treuguarum nuper factarum inter comune et ancianos Bononie ex una parte et Dominum Johannem Aguto et socios suos ex altera, contineantur duo capitula infrascripti tenoris, videlicet, quod Thomas filius Domini Johannis Aguto, Philipus filius Domini Johannis Tornoberii, et Laurentius filius Domini Johannis Briz, pro obsidibus et observatione omnium et singulorum contentorum in instrumento ipsarum treuguarum debeant stare, morari, retineri, et custodiri, expensis eorum, secundum arbitrium domini Ducis Veneciarum vel alterius conservatoris assumendi, durante treugua presenti, in Veneciis, ad peticionem comunis Bononie. Item convenerunt adinvicem dicte partes, modis et nominibus quibus supra, si aliqua controversia vel discordia oriretur, vel posset oriri, inter partes predictas, de aliquibus, vel pro aliquibus, in quibus diceretur fuisse contrafactum per aliquam dictarum partium, quod talis controversia vel discordia, et cause ipsarum controversiarum et discordiarum, audiantur, examinentur, et decidantur, infra xv. dies, querela exposita, per illustrem Dominum Ducem Veneciarum in quantum acceptare vellet, et in quantum nollet, per Dominum Galeotum, et in quantum nollet, per Dominum Padue, vel alium eligendum per partes, concorditer, summarie, de plano et absque strepitu judicii, veritate inspecta et secundum bonam conscientiam, et quod declarationi, arbitramento, et laudo, ferendis per ipsum electum, assumptum et acceptatum stari debeat, et per dictas partes laudata debeant observari; et in casu quo comune Bononie amplius treuguam nollet, teneatur in continenti, conservator, facta notificatione, restituere Anglicis in Veneciis obsides, comuni Bononie pro dictâ treugua assignatis. Et sicut notum est, comune Bononie et Dominus Johannes Aguto per nuncios et literas suas amicabiliter et domestice fecerunt nos rogari et requiri, quod complaceamur sibi in facto predicto, et pro nobis faciat retinere et habere predictos pro amicis, et complacere eis in eo quod honeste fieri potest; Vadit pars quod Respondeatur istis nunciis, et primo ad factum quod illustris Dominus Dux noster, sit conservator et judex differentiarum que possent occurrere inter partes, etc., quod, sicut est plene notum, Dominus Dux non est solitus, ullo modo, se de talibus impedire, ymo est sibi soli ab antiquo expresse prohibitum, per suam promissionem; sed tamen, ut comune Bononie, et dominus Johannes Aguto plene videant et cognoscant bonam dispositionem nostram, et quod intendimus eis amicabiliter complacere, sumus contenti, quod ubi dicit, Dominus Dux dicatur, Dominus Dux et suum Consilium qui sunt, vel erunt per tempora secundum ordines Veneciarum, et quod de hoc appareat publicum instrumentum rogatum per partes, vel quod veniant litere partium, bullate sigillis partium, in quibus fiat mentio, quod partes sint contente quod dicatur Dominus Dux Veneciarum et suum Consilium, non obstante illo puncto contento in

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treugua ubi nominatur Dominus Dux solus. Super alio puncto, quod filii domini Johannis Aguto, et aliorum sociorum suorum predictorum, debeant conservari in Veneciis, pro obsidibus, et ad peticionem communis Bononie, etc. Respondeatur istis nunciis quod, sicut est manifeste notorium, terra nostra est patens et omnibus aperta, et in ea omnes possunt ire, stare, et redire qualibet hora sine aliqua contradictione, et dicere quod assumeremus istud onus, sicut petitur, non videmus quod ullo modo posset fieri nec servari per nos, et sic ubi crederemus velle servire, veniremus ad faciendum contrarium; sed tamen pro amore eorum, et ut clare videant quod nostra intentio est velle eis complacere, reperimus istos modos, videlicet, quod de voluntate ambarum partium procederet, quod isti pueri consignarentur ad custodiam et manus alicujus vel aliquarum bonarum personarum in Veneciis, que haberent curam et custodiam de eis, cum illis modis qui placerent partibus, nam in Veneciis sunt multe bone persone terrigene et forenses, que poterunt de hoc partibus complacere, et iste esset modus bonus et expeditus pro utraque parte.

p. 12. Quando vero istud non placeret partibus, posset teneri iste alius modus, videlicet, quod isti pueri mitterentur ad civitatem nostram Tarvisii, que est terra custodie, et placibilis et alectabilis locus, et ibi possent consignari alicui vel aliquibus personis, sicut placeret partibus, quia ibi essent valde bene securi, et nos daremus ordinem ad portas civitatis et aliter, ita quod nostro posse, non exirent dictam civitatem, intelligendo et declarando, in omni casu, quo pueri ponerentur in civitate nostra Veneciarum, vel in civitate nostra Tarvisii, per modum predictum, quod commune nostrum, ut justum est, propterea non possit incurrere aliquod damnum, vel teneri ad aliquam rem, occasione predicta, et quod istud appareat per cartam vel privilegium opportunum.

Non, 6. Non sinc., 10.

June 8. Cons. Cap. Sap.

984. CAPTA. viii. Junii.

Cum sint in Veneciis tres ambaxatores domini Johannis Aguto et sue compagne, causa veniendi ad servitium nostrum, et istud requirat fieri caute et secrete, pro utilitate et bono agendorum nostrorum; Vadit pars quod dominus, consiliarii, capita, et sapientes, per majorem partem habeant libertatem accipiendi et firmandi ipsam compagnam, partem vel totam, ad servitium nostrum, cum illis pactis, modis, tempore, et conditionibus, et soldo, vel provisionibus, que videbuntur Collegio predicto, vel majori parti; et si opus fuerit, dictum Collegium habeat libertatem mittendi nuncium, vel nuncios, ad illas partes, et sicut fuerit opportunum, pro adimplendo nostram intentionem predictam. 56, 63, 68.

De Non, 55, 50, 48. Non sinc., 15, 13, 10.

985. CAPTA in COLLEGIO, vigore libertatis tradite a CONSILIO ROGATORUM et addit.

Quod respondeatur istis ambaxatoribus vel nuntiis compagne, quod intellectis intentionibus suis nobis in scriptis exhibitis, tenore presentium respondemus, quod petitiones sue nobis videntur alte et

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magne, et ad ipsas non attenderemus ullo modo, quia intentio nostra non est firmare eos ad modum lancearum propter magnum tempus quod perderetur, cum notabili damno agendorum nostrorum; sed est nostra intentio firmare compagnam, ad modum compagne; et propterea ut non perdatur tempus, disposuimus de presenti, simul cum eis, mittere unum ambaxatorem nostrum ad dominum Johannem Aguto et ad compagnam predictam, plene informatum de nostra intentione. Omnes.

986. CAPTA in COLLEGIO.

Quod eligatur unus nobilis per scruptinium in hoc Collegio, qui possit accipi, de omni loco et officio, et judicatu peticionum, non perdendo officium nec utilitatem ejus, nec aliquid quod haberet, et respondeat de presenti, et recedat, cum istis ambaxatoribus compagne. Omnes.

Electus ambaxator ad compagnam, Ser Leonardus Dandulo, miles.

987. CAPTA in COLLEGIO, vigore dicte libertatis.

Quod committatur ambaxatori nostro ituro ad compagnam, quod facta salutatione domino Johanni Aguto et sociis suis, ut sibi videbitur, ex parte nostra, cum illis sapientibus et dextris verbis, que sibi videbuntur, procuret sine temporis amissione, de habendo personam domini Johannis Aguto ad nostrum servitium cum lanceis viii.^{c}. usque mille, et usque vi.^{c}. in vii.^{c}. arceriis ad modum compagne, per tempus quatuor mensium, possendo dare et promittere predicto tempore, a centum mille usque C. XX. M. duc. ut melius poterit pro nostro communi. Et usque duc. X. M. possit donare capitaneo et suis magnis, sicut erunt plus contenti, pro toto dicto tempore pro sua provisione. Facta vero experientia possibili si non posset obtinere, per modum antedictum, tunc quia non facit pro nobis perdere tempus in factis nostris, procuret ambaxator noster quod dominus Johannes Aguto ad modum compagne nobis complaceat, vel per viam amoris vel mutui, de lanceis iiij.^{c}. et pluribus, si poterit, et arceriis iij.^{c}. et pluribus, si poterit, per quatuor menses; procurante ambaxatore nostro quod in hoc casu etiam veniat persona domini Johannis Aguto, que esset nobis carissima ultra omnem modum; et quando persona domini Johannis Aguto in hoc casu venire non posset, facta experientia possibili procuret quod veniat alia famosa et notabilis persona loco ejus, ita quod agenda nostra bene procedant.

Et habeat libertatem ambaxator noster in casu quo nobis complaceatur de lanceis iiij.^{c}. et arceriis CCC. L. per modum predictum, promittendi usque summam duc. L. M. ve linde infra, ut melius poterit, per quatuor menses, et duc. V. M. pro donando domino Johanni Aguto et sociis ejus magnis, ut ei videbitur, et sicut erunt plus contenti; et si dominus Johannes Aguto venire non posset, alteri magno caporali et sociis suis magnis, ut de domino Johanne dictum est.

Et si ambaxator noster obtineret de majori quantitate lancearum iiij.^{c}. et arceriorum iij.^{c}. L., habeat libertatem promittendi plus pro rata, secundum quantitatem superius limitatam, usque ad numerum de lanceis viij.^{c}. usque mille, et a vi.^{c}. usque vij.^{c}. arceriis.

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Et si non posset obtinere de tanta quantitate lanceárum et arceriorum, habeat libertatem defalcandi de summa predicta pro rata, ita quod non perdatur tempus in factis nostris, et quod ad minus habeamus, quando plures obtineri non poterunt, lanceas iij.^{c}. et arcerios centum.

Et si non posset obtinere per quatuor menses, procuret per tres, promittendo per ratam temporis, ad rationem quantitatis predicte, faciendo quam melius poterit pro nostro communi.

Et si Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno reperiet se ibi, sit simul cum nostro ambaxatore ad omnia predicta exequenda, quia est de factis istis plene informatus.

Et in omni casu quo ambaxator noster obtineat nostram intentionem, procuret quod habeamus quam plures Anglicos poterit, et quam pauciores Teutonicos et Ytalianos poterit, pro meliori agendorum nostrorum.

988. CAPTA in COLLEGIO.

Quod possit ambaxator noster iturus expendere pro istis modicis diebus id quod erit necessarium.

Et procuret ambaxator noster pro bono et expeditione agendorum nostrorum, quod dicte gentes recedant et veniant quam citius esse potest, ita quod ad longius recedant per totum mensem presentem et ante si fieri poterit.

Item, quod incipiant livrare soldum die qua incipient equitare.

De facto passuum, dicat ambaxator noster quod de passu bene providebimus, ita quod bene habebunt passum cum gratia Dei.

Et detur copia pactorum nostrorum soldatorum equitum nostro ambaxatori, in aliis capitulis exceptis pretio, et aliis que non faciant ad factum.

Item, quod recipiant solutionem suam in hunc modum, videlicet statim tertium, et aliud tertium usque duos menses proximos, et aliud tertium ad complementum aliorum duorum mensium ; et non possendo facere per modum predictum, faciat ut melius poterit pro bono nostri communis et expeditione facti, non transeundo medietatem statim, et aliam medietatem ad quam longiores terminos poterit obtinere.

Et si aliqua differentia occurreret, ita quod per eam non posset adimpleri nostra intentio, scribat subito et expectet mandatum. Non, 1 ; alii de parte.

June 20. p. 15, tergo. Jacobus Mauro, Micael Mauroceno, Andreas Zeno, Federicus Cornario, Sap.

989. CAPTA. 20 Junii.

Quod respondeatur Ser Leonardo Dandulo, militi, ambaxatori nostro ad dominum Johannem Aguto, et Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod recepimus literas suas, datas Faentie 17 Junii, continentes ordinate gesta per eos, suam solicitudinem et portamentum merito commendantes ; ad quas respondemus, quod si poterunt concludere, et obtinere nostram intentionem, cum Domino Johanne Aguto, secundum formam sue commissionis, multum placebit nobis, dummodo istud fiat subito et expedite, ita quod non perdamus tempus in factis nostris ; quando vero differentia esset in facto termini, videlicet quod ille gentes non possent recedere ad terminum contentum in sua commissione, sumus contenti ut propterea

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non remaneat factum, quod habeant libertatem elongandi terminum usque medium mensem Julii, abbreviando tamen ipsum si poterunt suo posse. Facta vero experientia possibili, si viderent se duci per verba, et quod non possent, ullo modo, obtinere nostram intentionem secundum formam sue commissionis, tunc, quia non facit pro nobis stare in verbis et perdere tempus, accepto commeatu a domino Johanne Aguto et suis, recedant inde, et reducant se in partibus illis in illo loco, ubi sibi videbitur, et cum dextro et bono modo, non perdendo tempus, procurent recuperare ad nostrum servitium majorem numerum lancearum quem proterunt, usque lanceas v.c. et arcerios usque ccc., vel quam plures poterunt usque dictum numerum de illis de compagna, impediendo se minus quam poterunt cum Italicis, cum soldo ducatorum xx. pro lancea, sicut damus aliis, et cum ducatis octo pro quolibet arcerio, sicut damus Hungaris. Et ultra predictum pretium, vel ad modum compagne vel provisionis, vel doni, vel alio utiliori modo, qui sibi videbitur, ita quod alii non possent a nobis petere aliquid, habeant libertatem dandi eis, ita quod veniant, a xxvii. in xxviii. ducatos pro lancea, et arceriis, ita quod veniant, a duc. x. usque xii. pro quolibet, ut melius poterunt. Et licet demus sibi libertatem magnam predictam, pro non perdendo tempus, et ut non deficiat intentio nostra, tamen non dubitamus quod suo posse avantazabunt nos, et facient cum quam minori pretio poterunt. Et super omnia reducatur ad memoriam ambaxatorum nostrorum, de celeri expeditione dictarum gentium, ita quod recedant suo posse, usque dies octo mensis Julii proximi, vel ad longius quando aliter fieri non posset usque medium mensem Julii predictum; scribendo nobis de hora in horam et de die in diem sine fallo quicquid fecerint et habuerint, pro nostra informatione; et super omnia quod habeant bene menti, de expeditione predictorum, quia omnis mora est valde nociva factis nostris.

June 23.
p. 16. Cons. Ser Pantaleon Barbo, Ser Benedictus Bragadin, Ser Joannes Storlado, Ser Joannes Miani, Sap. Ser Michael Mauroceno, Ser Federicus Cornario.

990. Quod scribatur Ser Leonardo Dandulo et Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, ambaxatoribus nostris, quod possendo firmare ad nostrum servitium lanceas cc. et arcerios centum, sibi oblatos per illos de compagna, firmet eos in bona gratia, et ultra hoc de presenti procurent habere ad nostrum servitium alias ccc. lanceas, de bona gente, ut melius poterunt; et in casu quo viderent non posse habere illas cc. lanceas et centum arcerios, de illis de compagna, accipiant, loco earum, de aliis bonis gentibus, ut sibi videbitur, non transeundo numerum predictum; et de alia compagna vel gente accipienda non impediant se ullo modo vel ingenio. 43, 50, 51, 52, 51, 43, 50, 51, 52, 51.

De non, 4. Non sinceri, 4, 12, 13, 14, 14, 13, 13, 14, 14, 13.

June 23.
p. 16, tergo. Micael Mauroceno, Federicus Cornario. Sapientes.

991. Capta. xxiii. Junii.

Quod scribatur Ser Leonardo Dandulo et Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, ambaxatoribus nostris, quod recepto presenti mandato debeant de presenti et sine mora ire ad dominum Johannem Aguto, et si usque ad tres dies tunc proximos, a die quo applicuerint ad presentiam ejus, non poterunt obtinere et firmare compagnam ad nostrum servitium, sicut eis commissum est, tunc pro non perdendo

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tempus debeant, quam citius et celerius esse poterit, firmare ad nostrum servitium, et sine amissione temporis, usque lanceas v.c· de melioribus et sufficientioribus gentibus quas poterunt habere et reperire, et ducentos. arcerios, per illum modum et sicut melius et celerius facere poterunt, ad pretia eis scripta, et sicut sunt ordinate informati per nos, habendo super omnia bene menti, de veloci et subito recessu dictarum gentium, sicut plene speramus de eis. 41, 46, 50, 56.

Jacobus Mauro, proc. Sap. Quod scribatur ambaxatoribus nostris quod si non poterunt firmare et obtinere compagnam ad nostrum servitium, ut eis commissum est, tunc, pro non perdendo tempus, debeant firmare ad nostrum servitium usque lanceas v.c· et arcerios ii.c· de melioribus quos habere poterunt, ad pretia eis scripta, et secundum informationem quam habent a nobis. 50, 51, 44, 39.

De non, 18. Non sinceri, 6, 17, 18, 16.

June 30.

992. CAPTA.

p. 17, tergo. Quod scribatur ambaxatoribus nostris missis ad compagnam in hac forma, videlicet: Recepimus literas vestras datas 27 mensis Junii, continentes ordinate gesta per vos, et id quod habuistis a domino Johanne Aguto, vestram solicitudinem commendantes. Et quia super omnia est nobis cordi, expeditio agendorum nostrorum vobis commissorum, scribimus iterum et replicamus quod in casu quo non potuissetis obtinere compagnam ad nostrum servitium per modum vobis commissum, tunc sine mora sitis soliciti et studiosi ad firmandum ad nostrum servitium expedire usque lanceas v.c· et arcerios ii.c· de illis melioribus gentibus quas poteritis obtinere, et tam de illis de compagna quam de extra compagnam, ut vobis utilius et melius videbutur; declarando vobis quod potestis accipere personam domini Johannis Aguto, cum dictis gentibus, vel aliam famosam et notabilem personam de suis de suo consilio, vel extra consilium suum, quando dominus Johannes Aguto venire non posset; et potestis accipere de gentibus de compagna et extra compagnam, ut dictum est, usque dictum numerum lancearum v.c·, et arceriorum ii.c·, sicut vobis utilius et melius apparebit, dum modo detis expeditionem celerem factis nostris. Et detur intelligi ambaxatoribus nostris, quod teneant modum quod dicte gentes recedant de partibus illis, ad longius, pro veniendo ad nostrum servitium, usque medium mensis Julii proximi. Non, 15; alii de parte.

July 8.

993. CAPTA.

p. 18. Sap. Quia est honor nostri dominii, quod nobilis vir Ser Leonardus Dandulo, miles, ambaxator ad compagnam, redeat domum post quam dedit principium factis nostris, et quod Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno est plene informatus de factis. Vadit pars, quod scribatur dicto Ser Leonardo, quod ad omne beneplacitum suum redeat Venecias, et Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno remaneat, cum libertate, in totum, sicut erant ambo. Et studeat et solicitet, de adimplendo celeriter et expedite facta sibi commissa, et sine aliqua temporis amissione, ita quod possit apud nos merito commendari, scribendo continue

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July 5.
p. 18, tergo.

994. CAPTA.

Quod respondeatur nobilibus viris Leonardo Dandulo, militi, et Nicolao Mauroceno, nostris ambaxatoribus ad compagnam, quod recepimus literas suas ultimas, datas Faventie, primo et secundo Julii, continentes gesta per eos, suam solicitudinem commendantes. Et quia nostri ambaxatores predicti scribunt quod nullo modo credunt posse firmare, nec mittere gentes sibi commissas, ad terminum eis commissum, scilicet ad medium mensis presentis, et ipsi dicunt verum, omnibus consideratis; Vadit pars quod fiat secundum consilium eorum, videlicet, quod relinquatur in discretione eorum, dandi et statuendi eis illum breviorem et minorem terminum, quem poterunt; quia non dubitamus quod dabunt ipsum terminum quam minorem poterunt, pro bono agendorum nostrorum.

Cons. Cap. Sap.

Cum alias captum fuerit in isto Consilio, de accipiendo ad nostrum servitium usque lanceas v.c. et arcerios ii.c., vadit pars pro bono agendorum nostrorum, quod Dominus, Consiliarii, Capita, et Sapientes habeant libertatem accipiendi, et accipi fiendi, usque dictas quantitates, illam quantitatem vel numerum, qui eis videbitur vel majori parti. 31.

Sap.
Ser Jacobus Mauro proc.
Ser Phedericus Cornaro.

995. CAPTA.

Quia est tempus plus modo quam umquam de essendo fulcitos, ad sustinendum nostrum honorem, Vadit pars pro bono agendorum nostrorum, quod stemus fortes, ad id quod fuit captum, de lanceis v.c. et arceriis ii.c. 52. De non, 0. Non sincere, 4.

July 16.
p. 21, tergo.

996. CAPTA.

Cum nobilis vir Leonardus Dandulo, miles, dum fuit ad partes Romandiole, simul cum Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, firmaverit ad nostrum servitium lanceas iiii.c. xlv. et centum arcerios, ita quod restarent ad numerum lancearum nostrarum lancee xv., quia alie lancee xl., usque ad numerum de v.c. sunt date in Venetiis; Vadit pars, quia Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno stat extra cum magno sinistro suo, quod scribatur sibi quod si firmavit illas xv. lanceas que restant, redeat Venetias, et si firmasset aliquid plus usque ad numerum de lanceis v.c., quia non habuisset illud mandatum nostrum, det expeditionem facto et redeat Venetias.

Oct. 21.
p. 38.

997. CAPTA.

Quia Dominus Padue est noster (*sic*), colligatus noster, et conveniens est ut participemus cum eo negotia ista, Vadit pars quod scribatur sibi qualiter videmus quod dux Leopoldus attendit ad damnum nostrum, et qualiter deliberavimus, cum Dei gratia, velle habere ad nostrum servitium dominum Johannem Aguto, cum compagna sua, et non habere respectum ad tempus hyemis, quia firmando nunc eos, habebimus ipsos in tempore estatis, et qualiter jam delegimus unum nostrum nobilem, occasione predicta, et non dubitamus quod ipsum habebimus ad nostrum servitium, quia bis vel ter, istis diebus preteritis, ipse dominus Johannes Aguto nos fecit requiri et rogari de essendo ad servitium nostrum.

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998. CAPTA.

Et quia de gentibus Domini Padue, quas debet contribuere in liga, et que pridie fuerunt ad campum, multi sunt infirmi et impotentes, et mali in ordine cum equis suis, sicut ipse nobis scripsit, placendo sue magnitudini, nobis utile videretur quod ille gentes sue, quas debet contribuere, in liga, firmari deberent in numero istius compagne, quia plus valerent lancee mille de istis quam mille v.c. de aliis. Et quando istud sue magnificentie non appareret, placet nobis, quod in hoc disponat ut sibi melius placet, quia illud quod dicimus est in omnem bonam partem et pro solvendo debitum nostrum, quia noster colligatus est; dando intelligi Domino Padue, quod in casu quo iste gentes essent necessarie sue magnitudini, pro bono et conservatione status sui, secundum formam lige, essent parate alacriter et libenter.

Oct. 27.
p. 38, Cons. Ser Petrus Maurocenus, Ser Lucas Gradonico, Tria Cap. de xl^ta. Ser Johannes Bembo, Ser Federicus Cornario, Sap.

999. CAPTA. 27 Octobris. Treugua cum ducibus Austrie.

Cum habeamus satis intentionem istius ambaxatoris Domini Regis Hungarie et Domini Padue, colligati nostri, Vadit pars quod Dominus, Consiliarii, Capita, et Sapientes habeant libertatem concludendi, in ista treugua cum Ducibus Austrie, per illum meliorem modum qui eis, vel majori parti videbitur; non possendo concludere, cum minori tempore, eo quod dixit ambaxator domini Regis, sed cum majori, toto suo posse; tempus vero dictum per ambaxatorem domini Regis est quod treugua duret, a modo, usque Sanctum Georgium, de mense Aprilis proximi, et inde usque ad unum annum; procurante Collegio nostro omnia avantagia que poterit, pro bono nostro. 87.

De non, 24. Non sinceri, 8.

Nov. 10.
p. 40, tergo.

1000. CAPTA.

Quod scribatur Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, ambaxatori nostro ad dominum Johannem Aguto, quod quia conclusimus in treugua cum Ducibus Austrie, accepto comeatu, redeat Venetias, notificando domino Johanni Aguto de treugua facta per nos.

1531.
Jan. 19.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416, Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1001. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Madame the Regent [Louise of Savoy], who was in a bad way (*che stava in mali termini*), has rallied so much that the fever and flux have subsided, and the entertainments and pageants (*triumphi*) in course of preparation for the coronation and entry of the most Serene Queen [Eleanor of Austria], will be put off, so long as Madame's convalescence shall be delayed.

The relations between England and France are said to become more and more intimate daily, and the boundaries in dispute between the two kingdoms are being fixed; and Dom. Giovanni

1531.

Gioachino, who was ambassador in England, has come hither, to return immediately. The cause of his coming will be heard.*

Paris, 19th January 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques,
Jo. Ants. Venerio, et
Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched through the ambassador from Ferrara.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416, Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1002. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since their last of the 19th, applied for audience of the King, who is so occupied in exercising himself for the approaching jousts, at which he is to tilt (*nelle quale la corre le sue lanze*), and in arranging other matters for the coronation and entry of the Queen, that they have been unable to obtain it. Giustinian had already announced that Giovanni Gioachino [Passano, Seigneur de Vaux] was coming from England, it being said that he was on his way, to be present at the fixing of the boundaries between the jurisdiction of France and that of England. They now, however, understand that the chief cause of his mission was because some time ago the Cardinal de Grammont returned from Rome with news that the Pope told him he had seen and heard the opinions of many jurists (*consultori*) about the divorce case of England, affirming that the dispensation for the marriage contract between the most Serene Queen of England and the most Serene King was not valid, so that his Holiness seemed inclined to consent to the divorce or dissolution of that marriage; which intelligence King Francis despatched to England by one of his gentlemen.

It subsequently came to pass that the Pope wrote certain briefs to King Henry, in direct contradiction to the announcement made to him by King Francis, prohibiting this dissolution and divorce; on which account King Henry complained of King Francis, and sent the aforesaid Messer Giovanni Gioachino (who it is also said wished to be sent for his own private interests) to announce in company with Sir Francis Bryan, his ambassador resident in France, the displeasure he felt from the news given him, as being illusive (*datali come illusoria*), suspecting that the Pope, the Emperor, and King Francis had an understanding together in opposition to his will, using very offensive language (*con parole assai concitate*); which King Francis regretting, he sent off to Rome about this business, and also to England, apologizing and declaring his innocence (*et dechiarir la sua innocentia*); and

* By a letter from Sir Francis Bryan, dated Paris, 20th January 1531, it appears that Giovanni Gioachino was then known in England by the name of De Vaux, and by this same letter we learn that he arrived in Paris on Saturday, the 14th January 1531. (State Papers, vol. viii., part 5, continued, p. 275.)

1531.

Messer Giovanni Gioachino is still at the Court, and will soon depart for England.

The ambassadors believe that his Majesty's excuse is legitimate, and that King Henry will receive the defence of his innocence (*la defension della sua innocentia*) as becoming.

Paris, 31st January 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques.
Jo. Ants. Venerio, et
Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched by way of Lyons.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1003. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These Lords of the Council have been some days in close consultation about the current reports concerning the affairs of the divorce, to dispel the English King's suspicion that King Francis had an understanding with the Pope to prevent it; and having determined to favour King Henry's desire, they wrote very warm letters to Rome, persuading the Pope to favour this divorce, giving full account of this their resolve to his English Majesty, who is said to be more closely allied than ever with King Francis, and to have given him time to pay his debt at his convenience.

Some persons say that the Emperor has invested the Duke Alexander de' Medici with the whole of Tuscany as a kingdom; others that he has constituted him Duke and Prince of Pisa and Vicar-General of Tuscany, but not King;* both which reports are contradicted by the Papal Nuncio, whom they do not entirely believe, as he would not admit what might seem to him unworthy of the Pope.

A gentleman has arrived in Paris from the Duke of Albany [John Stuart], having been sent express, and announces that the Pope is inclined to marry his niece [Catherine de' Medici] to his most Christian Majesty's third son, the Duke of Angoulême, promising him Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Reggio, and other places; and were the King to place trust in the Pope, whom he trusts but little, this alliance would be concluded. The Nuncio denies it, *ore rotundo*, saying that the Pope would never alienate anything from the Church to gratify his private affection; but declares that the Duke of Albany, who is burning for novelty and for such a result, made this proposal to the Pope, and writes these conversations to the King, though on the part of his Holiness no [such] arrangement was, or ever will be, made.

It is asserted everywhere that the Emperor remains firm in his determination, not in any way to modify the articles of [the Treaty

* In the Venetian Calendar, date 1530, September 5 (No. 610), it is shewn that the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, was already affianced to Alexander de' Medici.

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of] Cambrai, which renders the French dissatisfied, and causes the King to ally himself more closely with England.

Paris, 9th February 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques.
Jo. Ants. Venerio, et
Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched by way of Lyons.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1004. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the night of the 10th, the King returned to Paris from St. Germain and from his usual hunting diversions. Next morning they sent their secretaries to the Great Master, without whose intervention no one any longer approaches his Majesty, to obtain audience. He replied promptly that, for that day, it was impossible, as the King had taken medicine, but that he would hear them on the morrow, when the secretaries were to return, and that he would appoint the hour. This they did, and he then appointed the next day, as his Majesty had engaged himself to give audience to Mons. de Praet,* who arrived in Paris from the Emperor on the 10th. Next day early he sent to the house of one of the Ambassadors to say that, towards the end of dinner, they were to be at the Court, and that the King would willingly give them audience; and in the meanwhile the secretaries having been sent to the Court, his Excellency said to them, "The Lords Ambassadors will be together at the appointed hour; gentlemen will be sent to accompany them." And four gentlemen having come accordingly, the three Ambassadors went to the Court yesterday, the 13th, and were received most graciously by the King, who, with a joyful countenance, doffing his bonnet most courteously, and bidding them welcome again and again, embraced them, so that it was impossible to kiss his hand.

His Majesty was standing in the Privy-Chamber (*nella camera privata*), and although many Cardinals and great personages of the Court were present, there was no display or ceremony; and on opening their credentials and saying "they are in Latin," he read them through silently, after which, as he showed that he was listening, Pisani explained the embassy, congratulating him on his well-being, on the so anxiously desired return of his sons,† and his own most auspicious marriage. Having listened attentively, the King replied, "I will speak French, but in such wise that you may all easily understand me. Few words will suffice to let you know that the Signory's friendship and mine are sincere, as we have been together under fire. The Signory congratulates me on the return of my sons, and on my prosperity, as if they were her own. This I believe, and thank the State, as I am the Signory's good friend, and we have run

* Louis de Flandres, Seigneur de Praet, one of the wisest and most experienced ministers in the Emperor's service. (See Foreign Calendar, 1555, October 8, p. 189.)

† The French Princes had been released from Spain in June 1530.

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one and the same chance together,* and they have known me to be their good friend, as I am; and although I have sustained some loss and expense for the Signory, as the Signory did for me, I am their good friend." Thus repeating himself as aforesaid, he then continued, "If when I had my sons in Spain, and was the Emperor's enemy, it might be supposed I was the Signory's friend from necessity; now that I have my sons in France, and that the Emperor is my good friend, it will no longer be said that I am the Signory's friend from necessity, but from love and good friendship, and as they have already found me" (*si come la mi ha provato*). "When the Signory shall make the test through commands about their own affairs, they will know that I love them heartily; and whenever your interests have been discussed, the Ambassador who has resided with me upwards of four years" (and here he turned towards me Sebastian Giustinian) "perceived that I treated the Signory's affairs as those of dear friends; and his successor" (turning towards me Venier), "will know the like;" adding, "and although you had to wait some days for audience, it was owing to these jousts and entertainments of ours, and to my being indisposed from a cold;" it being evident that he was still hoarse, and he coughed repeatedly.

After Giustinian had made suitable acknowledgment for the King's speech, his Majesty drawing still nearer to the window with us beside him, commenced hurriedly in Italian, making a sign of secrecy, "This Mons. de Praet has come on a mission from the Emperor and brings no news, but is here to do honour to these entertainments of ours. He keeps his affairs so secret, that he does not say a word; but the Emperor's agitation (*l' agitation del' imperator*) proceeds from not knowing when and by what way to return to Spain."

Paris, 14th February 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1005. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

According to the arrangement made, we went to the Court on the day before yesterday, and found his Majesty at dinner, surrounded by many great personages, for although this Court has always stately company (*è sempre solennemente accompagnata*), it now, by reason of the coming festivities, is rendered brilliant by the presence of cardinals, dukes, princes, and barons without end, who courteously made way for us, until we found ourselves near the table where his Majesty was eating alone; and we stood in the circle with the King's sons, who arrived on that day, four Cardinals, the Dukes of Lorraine and Vendôme, and other princes, as also great personages from Italy; and having immediately bowed to the King, his Majesty, although in the act of eating, doffed his bonnet towards us.

The dinner being ended, he rose, and saying, "Come, Ambassadors," withdrew to a window, where we made a statement of the damages incurred by the magnificos our noblemen, narrating in

* "Et habiamo insieme corso comune fortuna."

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detail each act of unheard-of cruelty, and how unfitting this and other piratical outrages were, as perpetrated by his Majesty's subjects against the citizens and subjects of your Serenity, whose love, esteem, and observance for the King being reciprocated by his Majesty, it was therefore fitting that his subjects should act with the same friendship and benevolence; which, not having been the case with these corsairs, it remains for the justice of his Majesty to avenge this offence, lest it remain upon record that in the kingdom of France famous ships (*famosi legni*) had been armed, and that they returned home with plunder, taken solely from their friends—a victory unworthy of their captains, and in direct opposition to the will of his Majesty, whom we requested, for the avoidance of further loss of time to refer all these cases to his Council, and have them despatched summarily after this lapse of years.

The King replied in French, "Whatever the Signory asks of me, I have at heart; and with regard to justice, I wish the same justice to be rendered in France to the Signory's subjects as I wish to have done to myself;" putting his hand to his breast; and he immediately called the Cardinal Legate, Lord Chancellor [Antoine Duprat], who was at hand, and told him to have the Lieutenant at Marseilles written to in the strongest terms, to pass sentence without further delay.

The ambassadors having thanked the King for this order, his Majesty turned towards them with a smile on his face, indicating a wish to amuse himself by conversing with them, as he did for a long while in Italian, saying some jocose things; and, having part of his right hand bandaged, he said, "I hurt myself yesterday when practising with the spear; but the day after to-morrow I shall not feel it." Took occasion hence to praise his Majesty's valour on this occasion, he having borne himself so bravely that the accident can only be attributed to his courage, as they said had been written by them to the State, at which he seemed very pleased. And in the course of a long and cheerful discourse about these jousts, his Majesty said that in England it was customary, when the King jousts, for Madame the Queen (*Madama la Regina*) to preside as judge of how many strokes the King may make (*de quanti colpi debia far il Re*), so when it seems fit to her she sends word that the Kings are to joust no more (*che li Re non giostri più*).

From this his Majesty passed to many other topics, awaiting our reply to various inquiries about women and jousts (*circa donne et giostre*) with a most merry laugh (*con dolcissimo riso*); and then, with a stern frown of surprise (*un gran sopraciglio di meraviglia*) he said, "The King of England is in a bad way about this divorce of his," and then mentioned what he had heard about the counsel's opinions sent from Bologna, Padua, France, and other places, saying that of 40 doctors of laws a majority maintains openly (*largamente tiene*) that the Pope *de jure divino* could not grant the dispensation.

He next spoke about the danger of England, how that, were the present King to die without an heir male, the populace and the peasantry would all cut each other to pieces (*quel populazzo et villani si tagliariano tutti a pezzi*), as they did some 50 years ago, for wearing no armour they all fight to the death; nor do they obey

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any one, as nobody either pays or leads them; nor do they then acknowledge any superior, but act according to their own caprice and insolence; and he continued, "It is very pitiable for a King to say, What will become of my kingdom?" He alluded in the next place to his own acquisition of the Duchy of Brittany when he had two daughters who subsequently died, he at the time having no male heirs; which Duchy, he said, yields 400,000 crowns revenue; and one year it gave him 900,000; and he commended its site and harbours, from which they might reach Spain and Flanders in a moment; and said he chose to annex it to the realm of France, although he was told to keep it for his daughters; and if he wished well to the kingdom when without male heirs, and willed to deprive his daughters [of Brittany], what must the King of England feel, knowing that he can only make a mean marriage for his daughter (*non poter maridar sua figliola se non bassamente*). He also added "The like occurred when I was the Emperor's prisoner, for they demanded Burgundy of me. I would have suffered a thousand imprisonments rather than dismember the kingdom. At present, thank God, I have sons to leave it to, and the King of England has no son; it is a great sorrow, and concerns him greatly."*

He then went on to talk of his illness during the said imprisonment, saying almost derisively (*quasi irridendo*), "The physicians told the Emperor I was consumptive, and that it would be well to exchange me for my sons. I was content that they should entertain that opinion;" and he ended the story saying, "They ferried me across the river, and to be in France sufficed me (*i me tragetorno de quà dal fiume e come fui in Franza mi bastò*)."

This conversation about King Henry seemed to me, Sebastian, to afford an opportunity for confuting what had been maliciously reported in England about your Excellency's having canvassed (*procurato*) against the divorce, and ordered me thus to do with King Francis, and that I executed the commission accordingly. As it would be disadvantageous for your Sublimity should such a falsehood reach the ears of the English King, I determined that his most Christian Majesty should attest the truth with his own lips, telling him that he well knew that never about this matter against the divorce had I spoken to him, nor ever showed him the commission received from your Serenity, which never existed.

Thereupon his Majesty said that never had he heard me speak against the divorce, nor was he aware of your Excellency's ever having given me any commission about this matter; and this his Majesty affirmed, and would affirm to the English ambassador resident here, and to all those whom I might request him to assure of the fact; so that should the English King hereafter make mention of this your Excellency's opinion (*di tal opinione di V. Ex^za*), his most Christian Majesty will always give the aforesaid certificate, which, together with the letters written at my desire by the magnifico the English ambassador, to those who slandered respecting

* "È grande dolor et interesse." In Venetian "*interesse*," besides other meanings, signifies a matter in which one is interested. (*See* Boerio's Dictionary.)

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this matter, will suffice to justify your Excellency and me from such a reproach.

Paris, 17th February 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques.
Jo. Ants. Venerio, et
Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched by the courier Pellegrin.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1006. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Late on the night of the 4th, a gentleman, on behalf of his most Christian Majesty, requested them to be at St. Denis on the following morning for the coronation of the Queen, and to accompany her subsequently on her entry into Paris on the 9th; which invitation they accepted with becoming respect. The most Serene Queen arrived at about noon, being clad richly and pompously with regard to her habit, pearls, and jewels, which sparkled all over her (*della qual tutta resplendeva*). She was accompanied by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, who, on the right and left, assisted her to support the mantle; and the Cardinals de Grammont and Triulzi, who went from the Church to meet her at her palace, held up her arms; the three Duchesses of Vendôme, Lorraine, and Nemours, bearing her train, which was very long indeed.

Her Majesty was followed by the most Serene "Madame," the King's mother, by her daughter the Queen of Navarre, by the sister of the King of Navarre, and by the two daughters of his most Christian Majesty, with other ladies, eleven in all, all wearing coronets (*tutte coronate*), as they were all of the blood-royal; and having been conducted to a richly decorated stage (*palco*) prepared in front of the altar, she sat in the middle (*nel mezo sedete*) on a small platform (*un picol solio*) on which was her chair (*sedia*) and throne; so that she was seen sitting absolutely alone in her majesty, though the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans stood immediately behind her the whole time with their hands on the chair.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed by giving her Majesty the honours and insignia (*li honori et insigne*) usually given to Queens, after which the mass was sung, the Cardinal de Vendôme officiating with much solemnity, and the instruments and music being endless. Four Cardinals were present, besides a great plenty of the chief Bishops of the kingdom, and seven ambassadors resident at the Court, as also many Princes and Barons, so that the greatest part of the chief personages of France attended this ceremony, at which the Lord Steward acted as master of the ceremonies. His most Christian Majesty however was absent, nor is he known to have been at St. Denis on that day.

As the entry into Paris was to have taken place on the 9th, they in the meanwhile endeavoured to obtain audience of the most

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Serene "Madame," to whom alone it remained for them to present themselves, and she appointed it to take place immediately after the entry; but from the 9th until now the weather has been so stormy, and most unseasonable from wind, rain, and snow, which still prevail, that it has not yet taken place, much to the regret and detriment of Giustinian and Pisani, who are thus tied and bound. Everything is ready, and the entry expected to take place from day to day, whereupon they will take leave.

The Signory will have heard, through their ambassador in England, of the novelty proposed by the King to the clergy (*la novità promossa da quel Serenissimo Re al clero*), and the sum stipulated, which was said to be about 600,000 ducats.* Subsequently, to the amazement and surprise of everybody, news reached this Court that the English King, with the consent of the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, has utterly renounced obedience to the Pope, and been elected by them, unanimously, Primate and Superior of that realm in spiritual matters (*nelle cose ecclesiastice*). It is known for certain that his most Christian Majesty complained greatly to the Papal Nuncio, of his Holiness having proceeded so harshly (*con tal rigidezza*) in the affair of the divorce as to make that kingdom rush headlong into this excess (*che quel regnò sia trabucato in questo disordine*); the Nuncio having also received letters from the Pope, desiring him to let King Francis know that his Holiness confirmed the briefs and prohibitions forbidding the divorce, which has greatly irritated his most Christian Majesty, who has been heard to speak angrily against the Pope, and in favour of the most Serene English King.

Paris, 15th March 1531.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1007. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

According to the wish of this whole Court and city, which were weary of the cost, toil, and tediousness of waiting, there being at length a fine day on the 16th, the most Serene Queen made her public entry into this city with such display of riches and pomp on the part of the great personages and the upper orders, and such a multitude of horses, and so infinite a crowd of people, that we may say few such splendid and boundless pageants are witnessed in one whole century. The Queen's immediate retinue, namely 24 hackneys with housings of gold brocade, and numerous litters and carriages covered in like manner, and drawn by coursers with housings of silk or velvet with a raised pile (*sopra rizzo*) down to the ground, was little in comparison with so much other grand and sumptuous pageantry as accompanied it, and which, to avoid wearying your Serenity, we omit, but must say, with truth, that

* By the threat of the præmunire, the king obtained from Convocation 118,000*l.* in January 1531. (*See* Froude, vol. i. p. 278, ed. 1856.)

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the day was a very memorable one (*la giornata esser stata celeberrima*). After entering the city, the Queen, having dismounted at the Parliament house (*palazzo del Parlamento*), a most stately banquet was given there, at which, besides sixteen who sat at table with her Majesty, there supped at least 400 great personages and noblemen of the kingdom and of the city. Amongst the 16 who supped at table with the Queen, was one ambassador from each power, the invitations being given accordingly, so that of the two ambassadors from the Emperor, one alone went, and of us three, I, Pisani, had the place ceded me by my colleagues Venier and Giustinian.

On the 22nd the Magnifico Dom. Giovanni Gioachino [de Vaux], departed on his return to England on behalf of King Francis with some presents, and to announce his good and most favourable intention (*inclinatissima intentione*) with regard to his English Majesty; and, according to report, he suggests that he should refer the cause of his divorce to the future Council, to which it is generally supposed that his most Christian Majesty now consents, being, as aforesaid, indignant with the Pope for his treatment of King Henry.

Paris, 24th March 1531.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1008. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His most Christian Majesty is about to send the Cardinal de Grammont (*de Agramonte*), or Mons. de Langes, to the Pope, on account of the affairs of the most Serene King of England, to urge the Pope, in his most Christian Majesty's name, to devise some remedy for this harsh mode of treating the divorce, and not let King Henry completely turn his back upon the Holy Roman Catholic Church. His most Christian Majesty also sends this embassy in order to let it appear that he is inclined towards the Council, at the suit of the Emperor, but with limited orders about the site and the conferences, which require much time; and in this manner King Francis suits himself by introducing delay, as he is averse to the Council, and simultaneously makes a show of satisfying the King of England, who wishes the Pope every possible adversity, and the Emperor, who insists on the Council. The inclination thus demonstrated by the most Christian King was one of the requests made by Mons. de Praet, who will depart after Easter, without any settlement having been made hitherto, the Emperor's intention, as expressly declared by him, being that the affairs of Italy are to remain perfectly quiet; and touching the matrimonial alliances, he said that the Emperor and the King of the Romans on their part would not fail [to keep their promise?], but that as the children are now so young, the matter is premature.

Paris, 3rd April 1531.

[*Italian.*]

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April 15.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1009. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 4th announced the departure of his colleagues.

The Cardinal de Grammont (*de Agramonte*), according to report, is about to depart in haste for Rome, still about the affairs of England (*pur per le cose de Ingilterra*), and Mons. de Praet stays on (*persevera ancora*) at the Court, posts being despatched hence to the Emperor. The most Serene "Madame" continues ill rather than indisposed (*persevera più presto amalata che indisposta*), so that everybody is tired of remaining longer in this city.

Paris, 15th April 1531.

[*Italian.*]

April 29.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1010. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 26th, Cardinal de Grammont (*de Agramonte*) departed for Rome, and it continues to be said that he is going for the affairs of England, whose King, moreover, urges this, most especially as he places no trust in the offices of the Duke of Albany, whose stay until now with the Pope on behalf of his most Christian Majesty for the negotiation of the affairs of England has surprised many persons, by reason of that most Serene King's suspicion of him.

Mons. de Praet has not yet been despatched, nor is anything more known about him than was written in my last.

Poissi, 29th April 1531.

[*Italian.*]

May 8.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1011. The SAME to the SAME.

Went to the Court at St. Germain on the 4th, and talking with the Great Master whilst the King was at dinner, he said that his Majesty had advices from Constantinople by way of Venice through his ambassador, and that Messer Zorzi Gritti * had detained a packet of his eight or ten days; and that although he supposed this had been done without any malice, yet was I to write to your Sublimity that when similar letters arrive from the quarters of King John (*de verso il Re Zuane*),† they may be speedily given to the said ambassador. I said that as his most Illustrious Lordship affirmed to its being so, I would not say anything to the contrary; but assured him that were this the case it could only be owing to mere negligence or forgetfulness on the part of the person who brought the letters, but that I would write as required by him. I then went to his Majesty, and communicated to him the contents of the Signory's letters of the 7th April, about affairs at Constantinople, earnestly requesting that no one might know he had received the advices through your Serenity.

The King replied, "I have advices from Constantinople from that envoy of King John, in whose name he once came to me, and I treated him in such a manner that he is obliged to me, and writes me the same news as are transmitted by the Signory, with this in

* Natural son of the reigning Doge, Andrea Gritti. His death is alluded to in State Papers, vol. i. p. 615.

† John Zapolsky, titular king of Hungary.

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addition, that the Turk is still increasing his forces, and to his usual troops has added 50,000 infantry with permanent pay, which must proceed from Sultan Solyman's having become aware that infantry are needed to oppose the Christian soldiery;" and the King repeated, "Be sure of what I tell you, that he pays 50,000 men more than usual; and he moreover informs me that possibly this year the Turk will make some naval expedition, and not with a powerful armada (*grossa armada*), but with 50 or 60 galleys, on board of which he will embark a certain amount of cavalry, and he will ravage Puglia, going perhaps as far as Rome, for according to this intelligencer of mine (*costui*), Sultan Solyman always says '*to Rome! to Rome!*' and he detests the Emperor, and his title of *Cæsar*, he, the Turk, causing himself to be called *Cæsar* (*facendosi lui Turco appellar Cesare*)." The King continued, "I do not believe that he will go into Germany, because the Emperor not going with an armed force against the Lutherans, the said Lutherans will have no cause to favour the Turks, but would rather defend Germany; so were Sultan Solyman to march against such a mass of soldiery (*tanta gente da guerra*), he would forthwith risk the loss of his entire kingdom, as well as the conquest of Germany; so I am of opinion that he will prefer attacking Rome, Sicily, or some other part of Italy;" the King repeating that he [the Turk] might make some commencement this year. [And of this his Majesty really seemed quite convinced, perhaps because the Papal Nuncio here informed him lately, that his Holiness was rather apprehensive about the present year, inquiring whether in case of need King Francis would succour him with a certain number of galleys, the Emperor having given orders for all those towards Genoa to be in readiness for his defence. King Francis replied, that should the case occur, they would consult about it; nor did he give any further decision. But a variety of letters addressed both to the Court and to private individuals from all quarters, purport that for this year the Turk will make no stir, either by land or sea.]*

On the morning of the 5th, the Court at St. Cloud heard that the above-mentioned Zorzi Gritti had arrived in Paris the preceding evening. This did not surprise the King, the Legate, and the Great Master, as they knew he had come about the 10,000 crowns lent heretofore in Hungary by the Reverend D. Alvise Gritti† to one Captain Rincon,‡ then ambassador from King Francis to King John [Zapolsky], to whom Rincon gave that sum in his most Christian Majesty's name, it having to be repaid to the said Messer Zorzi; and years have elapsed without his

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* Cipher between the brackets.

† Luigi Gritti, Bishop of Agria [Agram], natural son of the Doge, Andrea Gritti. (*See* Andrea Morosini, vol. i. p. 334.) The death of Luigi Gritti is alluded to in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 461.)

‡ Antonio Rincon, a Spaniard in the service of Francis I. (*See* State Papers, vol. xi. Index, and Andrea Morosini, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95, 127.) This is the earliest mention I have met with of Antonio Rincon, whose assassination by the Spaniards in 1541 was announced by Francis I. to Henry VIII. and other European powers. (*See* Père Daniel, vol. ix. pp. 519–521, ed. Paris, 1755.)

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being able to obtain it, although he has constantly had an agent here for the purpose, and the money still circulates with interest (*et li danari girano tuttavia sopra cambij*).

To me, this was already well known, but his coming and residing here has caused surprise to the French, Italians, and others at this Court, and given rise to various inventions, because few persons knew about this his credit of 10,000 crowns; and coupling his appearance here, with his recent departure from Constantinople, and journey hither *rectâ viâ*, [some persons say that it is much to the repute of his most Christian Majesty to have so great a personage (*un tal homo*) sent him by Sultan Solyman].‡ In reply to inquiries made of me about this matter, I have stated expressly the cause of his coming, which, having for object to recover a loan of 10,000 crowns, would suffice to bring a gentleman not merely from Venice but from India, so I believe that by this time the fact is universally known; and I have also announced it to the ambassadors with the Emperor and the King of England, namely, Tiepolo and Falier, who will be on the watch to explain the cause of this coming whenever the opportunity presents itself.

I also sent my secretary to Signor Zorzi to tell him of the complaint made by the Great Master, and that he should openly proclaim the cause of his coming. He mentioned how the packet had been detained, and that the ambassador at Venice, being perfectly satisfied with the explanation, gave him letters about this for the Great Master; and he also said that his coming and the fact of its being caused by the 10,000 crowns, were universally known, as also, that he was here for no other purpose, which it will be easy to make public.

Poissi, 8th May 1531.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1012. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

On the 12th instant, after having written his public letters of the 23rd ult., D. Zorzi Gritti having already despatched his business about the 10,000 crowns credit, after speaking with the Great Master and the King, payment was assigned him within one year at the utmost in instalments; nor until then nor now has he seen said Dom. Zorzi, nor would he have interfered in a similar matter without express commission from the Signory. Obeyed the commands contained in their Excellencies' letters, nor will he omit to tell them that this matter was known not only to the great personages of the Court, but also to some Italian merchants, and others who are there on other business; and besides hearing of it at Venice on a certain occasion in the College, it was told him at Lyons where the bill is in circulation, and here in Paris, that

* Both Zorzi and Luigi Gritti were in great favour with Solyman II., and although illegitimate, their descent from the reigning Doge of Venice gave them a certain importance, especially at the Porte; they having been born in Turkey when their father was a merchant there. In cipher between the brackets.

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the agent of the bill-brokers *Michaeli et parenti* negotiated it (*la manigiava*). Captain Rincon, moreover, urged the court incessantly to keep faith (*di francar la fede*) and pay the money; but the difficulty consisted in this, that the Papal Nuncio and the Imperial and English ambassadors [De Praet and Sir Francis Bryan] considered it certain that Gritti had come for some other purpose, but were at length convinced it was on account of his credit, as is now perfectly well known to everybody.

As written in the public letters [of the 21st April ?], the journey to Rome of Cardinal de Grammont was owing to the affairs of England; and moreover for the purpose of proposing fresh subsidies to the Pope (*di ragionar novi presidij al Pontefice*) for the affairs of Italy, although this Court does not expect his Holiness to have any need for them (*benchè questa Corte non aspetti de quella alcuna occasione*). Will also not omit telling them that this Cardinal de Grammont is a man of audacious character, with the reputation of being scandalous, and, as known to the ambassadors who went home from this Court, especially Giustinian, whenever the Signory's affairs are discussed, he is always heard to thwart them, and to let drop some malignant remark; with regard to which the Papal Nuncio said lately to him (Venier), "Grammont is gone to Rome, nor will he fail to sow discord as usual; but know, Ambassador, that his Holiness has always shown himself a good Italian."

Poissi, 16th May 1531.

Detained until the 17th.

P.S. D. Georgio Gritti has been to visit me, and said his business had been despatched, as above written.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1013. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although the other ambassador, Sir Francis Bryan, is here, and remains, a new one [Edward Foxe or Stephen Gardyner]* has come, for the purpose, it is said, of attempting the things which have been already tried and negotiated† [namely, to induce King Francis to declare himself hostile to the Emperor, which, however, he will not do; for as we told your Sublimity heretofore in the despatch written when we were three ambassadors,‡ the most Christian King will slide on (*scorrerà*), cajoling either party, knowing that both sovereigns are by nature inimical to him, and being certain that, were he to make war for the English King, it would not be for a Prince who either loves him or wishes him to gain glory;]§ but these requests will end with a demand for money on account of the debt due to him from King Francis, whom he continues to dun (*il qual li tien*

* In State Papers, vol. viii. pp. 321–323, there is a letter from Sir Francis Bryan and Edwarde Foxe [king's almoner, archdeacon of Leicester], dated "Senlys, the last day of September 1531;" but Foxe's first arrival in France on this mission is not mentioned in that publication. The departure of Gardyner from France is recorded by Venier, date 22 July 1531. In the State Papers I do not find any mention of Gardyner in France in the year 1531, but he may have been there from July till October in that year.

† "Di tentar le cose già tentate et praticate."

‡ The despatch has not been found.

§ Cipher within the brackets.

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sollicitata), although a month has not yet elapsed since some 33,000 crowns were paid him on this score at Calais, and possibly within a few days he will receive another instalment.

Poissi, 19th May 1531.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1014. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambasaador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By the letters of Cardinal de Grammont (*Agramonte*) from Rome, it is merely heard that, having urged the Pope to repeal the prohibition against the divorce of England, his Holiness remains firm (*persevera*), choosing the case to be juridically decided by the "Rota;" and Grammont, having canvassed the promotion to the Cardinalate of the Archbishop of Toulouse, a very virtuous and exemplary prelate, and of the blood royal, it seems that the Pope announced good intentions; and the election is expected to take place, most especially as his Holiness lately made two cardinals at the suit of the Emperor; and it is said that the Right Reverend Grammont will soon return to the [French] Court.

Poissi, 20th June 1531.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1015. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Grammont (*Agramonte*) has obtained from the Pope that his most Christian Majesty *ad vitam* may confer all the benefices of the kingdom, save four or five which are the chief benefices of the religious orders (*che sono capi de' ordini*), a very great and important concession, because it comprises not only the bishoprics, but priories and abbacies without end, so that in like manner as canons or other clerks (*clerici*) elected priors, provosts, and other abbots, so is his Majesty to elect them all; a fact which causes much comment to be made both by clergy and laity, most especially as it is apprehended that many abbacies which have been reformed, and are in good custody, may pass *in commendam*, and from many causes deteriorate.

It is said here that Grammont has obtained a certain prorogation in favour of the English King, but persons of intelligence know that *nihil est*, this being the time of the ordinary vacation.

Paris, 2nd July 1531.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1016. The SAME to the SAME.

The most noble Capello, the Signory's ambassador, on his way to England, being near Melun, sent to Venier on the 13th instant to know if in two days he could pay his respects to King Francis, and take leave of him. Venier wrote back that, unless by some new destiny (*nisi per qualche nova sorte*) the man who expected to obtain audience in ten days—still less in two—would show too much self-confidence, as his most Christian Majesty becomes daily more and more averse to negotiate in person.

Melun, 16th July 1531.

[*Italian.*]

1531. July. 22. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1017. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Dr. Stephen [Gardyner], who was here on a mission from his King,* departed lately on his way back to England. It has been said that he announced the dissatisfaction of King Henry at the offices performed at Rome by Cardinal de Grammont about the divorce case. These secretaries and messengers from England arrive very frequently, although Sir Francis Bryan, the ambassador in ordinary, remains here constantly.

Melun, 22nd July 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1018. The SAME to the SAME.

The Doge's courier, Gioan Villan, has arrived in Paris with letters addressed to the State from the Signory's ambassadors in England,† which will be under the present letters which Venier is sending by said Zuane, who is paid.

Paris, 5th September.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1019. The SAME to the SAME.

Went to the English Ambassador [Sir Francis Bryan?], having heard that he had presented himself to the Royal Council, complaining very loudly that King Francis had wished for an interview with the Emperor utterly without the knowledge of the King of England. When speaking about this matter, the ambassador told him that the Council, in reply, declared King Francis would never hold such a conference save with the express consent of King Henry (*se prima non havesse havuto il voler expresso del Re suo prefato d' Inghilterra*). Venier rejoined, "And thus, Lord Ambassador, nothing more will be said about this business;" [to which he answered very angrily (*con molta ira*), "No, devil take it, no (*non, diavolo, non*), but had 'Madame' died before the remonstrance made by me to the Council,‡ and had the negotiation been continued, King Francis would perhaps have conferred with the Emperor, for the French are injudicious."]§ But as of late the Queen and King's children have remained at Compiegne towards Picardy, Mons. de Balanson (*sic*) having also returned postwise to the King from the Emperor, a report again circulated that it was for the purpose of renewing negotiations for the interview; and everybody was inquisitive to learn the cause of his coming. At length, nothing transpired save that his mission was one of condolence with the King and

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* As already mentioned there is no notice of this mission in the State Papers.

† Lodovico Falier and Carlo Capello. (*See* Venetian Calendar, 13 September 1531, No. 683, pp. 289, 290.)

‡ Louise of Savoy died at Senlys, 23rd September 1531. See State Papers, vol. viii. p. 323, Letter from Bryan and Foxe to Benet. In L'Art de Verifier les Dates, p. 573, ed. Paris, 1770, her death is said to have taken place at Grez in Gattinois, on the 22nd September 1531.

§ The words bracketed in the draft were to be ciphered in the letter. "Ma se avanti che io parlasse a questo consiglio, et che venisse il caso di Madama, quella trattation andava de longo, forse che questo Re vedeva l' Imperator, perchè Francesi non hanno iudicio."

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the Queens of France and Navarre [on the death of Louise of Savoy], and such was the assurance given by the ministers here (*questi signori*) in very strong language (*efficacissime parole*) to the aforesaid English ambassador. The Imperial ambassador and Mons. de Balanson (*sic*) said the same to me when I visited them; nor did Balanson follow the Court more than ten days, and then returned to Flanders.

Another ambassador (*orator*) arrived lately from England,* but is to go back shortly; and these ambassadors extraordinary (*oratori extraordinarij*) come, almost habitually, to solicit money.

Paris, 10th October 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1020. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In his last of the 10th instant, said that the King was moving from place to place in the neighbourhood of Paris, where the ambassadors were awaiting the obsequies [of Louise of Savoy]. In the meanwhile his Majesty sent postwise to England, the Reverend Bishop of Bayonne, his privy councillor and a man of great wisdom, gravity, and authority. It is considered certain that this mission has for object to apologise (*far excusatione*) to the King of England, about all that has been said touching the interview with the Emperor, most especially as the English ambassadors have clamoured immoderately (*rottamente sparlato*) about this matter, in the presence of everybody, and complained bitterly (*aspramente*) to the Cardinal Legate [Chancellor Duprat], to the Great Master, and to the King himself. No other motive is assigned for this mission of Bayonne, whose departure was followed by that of the English ambassador (*ambasciator*), who arrived at this Court lately [Edward Foxe?]; but should there be any other cause, the Signory will hear it from their ambassador in England.

Paris, 20th October 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1021. The SAME to the SAME.

The Bishop of Bayonne who was sent by his most Christian Majesty to England, has not yet returned, but King Henry sent hither, the other day, a clergyman, Dr. Taylor (*el Dottor Teller*),† to reside here as his ambassador, in lieu of Sir Francis Bryan, who, in like manner as he is a great personage, so has he been very audacious (*molto audace*) at this Court of late.

Compiegne, 3rd November 1531.

[*Italian.*]

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* Query Edward Foxe, from whom, as already mentioned, there is a letter in State Papers (vol. viii. pp. 321–323), dated "Senlys, the last day of September 1531."

† Tayler, John, LL.D., Archdeacon of Bucks, Master of the Rolls, June 1527–34, died 1534. (*See* State Papers, vol. xi. Index, p. 642.) There is no mention in the State Papers of his embassy to France in 1531.

1531.
Nov. 8.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1022. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Bayonne has returned from England, and is understood to have brought back word that the King is in fact satisfied with his most Christian Majesty, by reason of the valid excuses and very earnest offices (*vehementissimi officij*) performed in his name by the Bishop, with regard to the affairs of the Emperor. [He also says that the English King continues making presents as usual to his most Christian Majesty,* offering him a considerable sum of ready money, that they may make war together on the Emperor, provided King Francis bind himself to fight to the last.†

Secret messengers have arrived at the French Court from the Duke of Saxony and other Princes of Germany, who offer troops to King Francis, if he will pay them in part, and employ them together with their Princes against the Emperor; but these matters proceed without any resolve, as they neither decide in the affirmative, nor give an absolute refusal.] ‡

Compiegne, 8th November 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1023. The SAME to the SAME.

The King has been moving about from "Notre Dame de Liesse" (*sic*) [Senlys?] to his usual hunting places (*alle sue consuete cazze*) on these borders, inspecting certain places which were destroyed by the wars, and arranging for their repair; after which he went to Guise, a place given by him heretofore to Mons. de Guise, brother of the Duke and of the Cardinal of Lorraine; and in this his "progress" (*sua volta*) he took with him the English ambassador, Sir Francis Bryan, who, although he has had a successor appointed him, as already mentioned by me, has not yet departed. It is said King Francis did this designedly (*con industria*), that he might see and know for certain that his most Christian Majesty was not treating or negotiating anything with the Emperor. Thus there is an end of the suspicion of these English ambassadors, who are now three in number at this Court.§

St. Quentin, 29th November 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1024. The SAME to the SAME.

On condoling in the Signory's name with the Queen of Navarre‖ on the death of "Madame," she said, "Ambassador, the Signory has in truth incurred a great loss, for Madame greatly loved and honoured the Republic, and to the last (*et hora*) desired its welfare and peace." Replied that the Doge thanked God that "Madame" had

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* "Che prefato Re Anglico perseveri nelli consueti motivi di far presenti a questo Christianissimo Re."

† "Per condursi insieme con lui alla guerra contro Cesare, *dumodo* che prefato Christianissimo si obligi a voler veder il fine."

‡ The bracketed paragraph in the draft was ciphered in the despatch.

§ I am unable to ascertain who the third ambassador was; there is no mention of him in the State Papers.

‖ Margaret, sister of Francis I.

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left her own image in her daughter, both with regard to every virtue, wisdom and integrity, and also by reason of the affection which the Queen of Navarre bore his Excellency, whose late love, and the observance of the State towards Madame, will now be transferred to her Majesty alone. Considered this compliment necessary, as the Queen of Navarre is now in great repute at the French Court; and they apparently communicate everything to her, as they did to her late most Serene mother, after whose death, indeed, when she purposed retiring with her consort to Navarre, King Francis *insisted on her remaining and following the Court; so that* great honour and respect are paid her.

On the 22nd, when at mass with the King, was asked by him if he had any news from Constantinople. Replied that by his private letters from Venice dated 2nd instant, with Turkish advices down to the close of October, Sultan Solyman was well, and amusing himself with pageants and entertainments, nor was anything said about naval or military preparations. Was glad to say this, because the King and the Court have received very frivolous and offensive advices from Italy, by way of Ragusa, purporting that Sultan Solyman had become apoplectic and insane; and about the Magnifico Ibraim Bassa,* who was said to have been greatly outraged by Sultan Solyman's sons. On hearing this, the King turned to the Great Master and said, "Nothing true comes from Constantinople, save by way of Venice;" and then to me, he added, "Write to the Signory that the Emperor will go in vain to the Diet; and immediately afterwards (*et poi presto*) to Italy and Spain."

The Abate de' Negri, who was sent hither postwise by the Pope, arrived on the 20th instant, and presented himself with the Nuncio Triulzi (who had not yet departed) to the King, delivering credentials, which purported amongst other things that his Holiness wished his Majesty to induce Triulzi to remain with him as Nuncio; and at the same time he, Negri, gave the brief to Triulzi ordering him to remain, and that D. Sixto Zuchello, the new Nuncio lately arrived, was to go back. The King urged Triulzi accordingly, and being thus persuaded, and in virtue of the Pope's mandate, he obeyed. This extraordinary proceeding has caused great surprise, and Zuchello will return, having hitherto done nothing either good or bad at this Court, having merely presented his ambassadorial letters. Besides his other commissions Negri suggested to King Francis that he should restrain (*intertenir*) the King of England, who it seems, with this Queen (*con questa Regina*) [Eleanor of Austria?] is soliciting the despatch at Rome of the divorce case; so his Holiness gives it to be understood that sentence will be passed against the English King.†

[This novelty on the part of the Pope, who despatches a messenger postwise to make one ambassador remain and to recall another, without any known reason, creates suspicion and causes it to be said

* Ibrahim Pasha was a Venetian subject, having been originally a boatman at Parga, where he was seized by corsairs and sold as a slave. It was to him that the Doge's illegitimate son Luigi Gritti owed the influence enjoyed by him at the Porte. (*See* Alberi Relazioni Venete, series 3, vol. iii. pp. 95, 96, 97, 103, 104.)

† "Perhò che *Sua Santità* fa intender il iudicio dover venir contra esso Seren^mo Re

1531.

that possibly the Pope is dissatisfied with the affairs of Modena* since the Emperor's departure from Italy, and wishing to concede some gratification to the King of England (*intervenendo qualche compiacentia del Re d' Ingilterra*), will devise something new for Italy with King Francis; which others deny, saying, on the contrary, that before the Emperor quitted Italy, he confirmed the friendship with its Princes by a league between the Pope, him the Emperor, your Serenity, and the Duke of Milan, for the defence of common states against whomsoever (*contra diascaduno*).]†

Abbeville, 28th December 1531.

[*Italian.*]

1532.
Jan. 15.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1025. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Reverend Bishop of Winchester *alias* Dr. Stephen,‡ arrived lately at this Court, on a mission from the most Serene King of England, and having become a great personage (*et per esser fatto gran personaggio*), he is supposed to have been sent in acknowledgment of the embassy performed by the Bishop of Bayonne on behalf of his most Christian Majesty. He is not understood to have come for any other cause, save that of urging King Francis to write to Rome and exert himself (*et se dimostri gagliarda*) about the divorce case. Dr. Benet (*dottor Benedetto*), the English King's envoy (*nuncio*), is also here on his way to Rome postwise, and the Bishop of Winchester will return to England.

Dieppe, 15th January 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1026. The SAME to the SAME.

The Bishop of Winchester is still here, and although they say it is for the purpose of confirming and strengthening the alliance between King Francis and the most Serene English King, yet no such result is visible; and here, at the Court, the Bishop says openly that his King chooses that woman, but that he continues anxious about the affair of the divorce.§

There arrived here lately an envoy from King John [Zapolsky], by name Corsino, who subsequently crossed over to England.¶

Rouen, 26th January 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Anglico." In Sanuto's summary of this letter, as translated in vol. iv. Venetian Calendar, p. 311, the words are " *Sua Maestà* dubita il juditio non vengi contra il Re." The ciphered part of the despatch not having been read in the Senate, could not be transcribed in the Diaries.

* On the 1st of April 1531, at Ghent, the Emperor published a decree authorising Don Alfonso of Este to retain possession of Modena on payment of a certain census for Ferrara. (*See* Frizzi, History of Ferrara, vol. iv. pp. 294, 295.)

† Cipher between the brackets.

‡ The collation of Gardyner to the see of Winchester is recorded by Marin Sanuto, date August 17, 1531. (*See* Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. p. 284.)

§ " Et esso Reverendo de Vincestre dice apertamente in questa Corte, chè il Re suo vol quella donna ma che perseveri anxio drieto a quella materia di divortio."

¶ In State Papers (vol. vii. p. 599) mention is made of Andrea Corsini as having been Envoy in England from King John in the year 1534, but I find no allusion to his having been accredited to Henry VIII. in 1532.

1532.
May 3.
Despatches France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1027. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An ambassador from the most Serene King of England arrived lately to reside with his most Christian Majesty, in lieu of the one who came last November [Dr. Tayler], who is removed, solely because he is very old, and unable to follow the Court.*

Constanza (*sic*), [Coutances?], 3rd May 1532.

[*Italian.*]

May 20.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1028. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 15th Mons. de Pomeraye, French ambassador in England, arrived here postwise, having been sent back with a letter of credence from King Henry. The English ambassador resident here immediately accompanied him to the Court, where both one and the other yet remain. Has been unable to ascertain the cause of this mission, because the Court is at a distance of 40 Italian miles from Rennes, and if not impossible, it is at least more than difficult to negotiate or investigate anything about it, and although he sometimes goes a little in advance; or sends as far as the Court, yet as no one can remain there even for hours it is hard to get at the truth. It is reported that this mission relates to the general affairs of Christendom, the most Christian King having apparently said that in case he goes against the Turks under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing letters, the most Serene English King likewise would keep him company (*la faria compagnia*) with regard to (*cioè di*) favour and troops; and it also concerns the affair of the divorce, as also the writing of hortatory letters to the Pope.

Rennes, 20th May 1532.

[*Italian.*]

June 10.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416, Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1029. The SAME to the SAME.

Mons. de Pomeraye has returned to England with money due from his most Christian Majesty to the most Serene King of England, to the amount of 100,000 crowns, on account of the usual pension, (*per causa et a bon conto della pension consueta*).

Reners (*sic*) [Rennes?], 10th June 1532.

[*Italian.*]

July 28.
Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416, Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1030. The SAME to the SAME.

The English ambassador like the rest having received notice to come to this city, requested permission (*rechiese di voler*) to follow his most Christian Majesty into Lower Brittany, which was granted; nor is it to be wondered at, for since my residence at this Court, I have always found the English ambassadors more audacious (*più audaci*) and more respected than any of the others.

What his Majesty had determined to do after much diversity of opinion, underwent a change at the commencement of the journey, by reason of bad lodgings and suspicion of plague, so that he has exceeded the distance of 30 leagues beyond this city, surveying the

* In vol. viii. State Papers, the first mention of Sir John Wallop's embassy to France is dated 31st January 1533, but he probably succeeded Dr. Tayler in May 1532.

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country from places better suited to his diversions, without however curtailing the journey, as precisely at the expiration of one month, namely, on the 4th of August, he purposes being in this town, there to hold the States of the Duchy on the 8th. Believes also that the recent death of the Viscount of Turenne, a member of the Privy Council, in very great repute with all nations, as the most prudent and upright councillor in his Majesty's service, dissuaded further advance. Mons. de Lautrec, a lad eleven years old, (son of the one who died at Naples,) is also dead; the only one [of the family] now remaining is a child ten years old, being Mons. de l'Escu, who will now be called Mons. de Lautrec, and his income amounts to 30,000 crowns.

Vannes, 28th July 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1031. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news of this Court is that the King will *omnino* arm, though there is no appearance of this for the present year, and such is the belief of men of judgment. It is true that money is saved and accumulated, and in such wise, that since last March, the most Christian King has not spent a penny (*un soldo*) of his ordinary revenue, either on the Switzers or on England, nor in pensions, nor anything else, all that he disbursed having been derived from extraordinary sources, and he has diminished and delayed all payments. The opinion about his arming has a certain foundation, because sooner or later, in one way or the other he may be greatly moved (*alterato*) by events in Germany and Hungary, in which last province he expects the Lord Turk to winter this year. In that case he anticipates great danger for Christendom; so his Majesty said that next year he also will arm, with the belief that the Christians will call and give him suitable place and terms (*dandoli loco et partito condecente*), it seeming to him that he is to be implored like a deity (*come un dio*). It is also said that his Majesty's arming (*lo armar di essa Maestà*), will be in virtue of an agreement and understanding with the King of England, to carry out which, King Francis, after his return to Paris, will move towards Picardy, where the final arrangement will be stipulated, and possibly their Majesties will have an interview, or the King of England will send some great personage for the purpose. The King is still expected to return to Paris in the course of September.

Vannes, 9th August 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1032. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 20th instant, his most Christian Majesty sent the Bishop of Langes, brother of the Bishop of Bayonne, to the King of England, Langes having lately returned from the Duke of Saxony and other Princes of Germany. It is supposed that he has important matters (*grosse facende*) to negotiate; so the rumour of the interview between the two Kings gains ground, and the report of his most Christian Majesty's arming next year by sea and land, increases daily. His intention of going speedily to Paris continues in like

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manner, though what road he may take subsequently is uncertain; for, as already mentioned by me, Picardy is talked of by reason of the affairs of England, whilst others say Provence, and others Burgundy; the Admiral, who is Governor of that Duchy, having gone thither lately, and on his departure he said openly that he expected the King there before Christmas.

Nantes, 22nd August 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1033. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 26th the Imperial ambassador received letters from Ratisbon, dated the 22nd instant, announcing that on the 6th, the Turkish army, commanded by Sultan Solyman in person, was within six leagues of Vienna. When his Lordship made this announcement the King answered him, "I believe Vienna will defend itself, and that the Turks will make their winter quarters in various places;" and then after making a long discourse about Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and other provinces, he said in conclusion, "Should this come to pass I will not fail to aid Christendom (*non manchero a Christiani*), and with the assistance of the King of England, and of the King of Scotland, who are my friends, I hope to be present at the defence with a hundred thousand fighting men." [The negotiations between his most Christian Majesty and the English King are thus rendered clear, and it is asserted that they will have an interview, or at least that on the most Christian King's return towards Picardy (*che tornato il Re Christmo. verso Picardia*), the Great Master will cross over to England, which for many reasons is credited by judicious observers; and the French ministers (*questi signori Francesi*) begin to be apprehensive about what may take place between the Emperor and the Lord Turk, it seeming to them a very perilous affair (*cosa di gran pericolo*)].* His Majesty will depart to-day towards the Duchy of Anjou, and in two days will be out of Brittany.

Nantes, 30th August 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1034. The SAME to the SAME.

Since his departure from Nantes on the 30th ult., the King has been taking his pleasure in various ways as usual; and in the meanwhile, on the 4th, the Queen made her solemn entry into this city, which is the capital of the Duchy of Anjou. His Majesty arrived here on the evening of the 4th, and departed yesterday for a place called "Le Vergier," where there is a most noble and highly ornamented (*ornatissimo*) palace, where he said he should remain a day or two at the utmost, and then continue his journey towards Paris, without entering Tours (although great preparations had been made for the Queen), as the plague increases there greatly. [I have heard, for certain, that his most Christian Majesty and the English King have settled to meet, and that preparations are already being

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made in Picardy by both sides, but they will not display any pomp, and purpose despatching their business in five or six days from the 20th to the 30th of October; but on his Majesty's arrival in Paris he will immediately send the Great Master to Calais, where he will find the Duke of Norfolk, sent by the King of England, that the two, together, may so far advance the negotiation that the interview, and the conclusion of the business between their Majesties, can be despatched immediately; and although discourse about this matter varies, what I write to your Serenity on the subject is assuredly true.]*

Angers, 6th September 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

1035. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

[All the ambassadors being here [at Abbeville] on the 18th, as I wrote from Montreuil on the 17th, considering the boundary which had been assigned them, the Papal Nuncio and the Magnifico the Imperial Ambassador *præsertim*, came to the conclusion that, by this act, both his most Christian Majesty and the King of England had comported themselves either inconsiderately, or for the purpose of inflicting a great insult on the Princes of all the ambassadors. And

Ritrovandosi tutti li Oratori quì alli 18, scrissi da Montrol che alli 17 il Nontio Pontificio et orator Cesareo concluseno questo atto di farne star quì apartati, e sia (con pocha consideration, et per far grande iniuria a li principi de chi semo oratori, li quali è sta fati venir a Montarol e Bologna), e spender, confinandone poi e a cadaum altro è sta licito andar a veder i congressi.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(*Original Diaries, vol.* 57, *p.* 105.)

Ritrovandosi alli 18 del presente tutti gl' ambassatori a questa città (come scrissi alla Sublimità V^ra da Monteruol per l' ultime mie de 17 che dovevano esser) considerato il confin dato a loro presertim il Rev^do Nuncio Pontificio et Mag^co. Orator Cesareo concluseno che in questo atto ambe queste M^tà Christ^ma. et Anglica se erano mosse o con poca consideratione o per far grande iniuria alli principi de tutti gli Amb^ri et questo dicono non già per haverli fatti andar fino a Monteruol et Bologna et spender et disponer le cose loro come è solito farsi in similibus confinandoli contra l' honor suo, et prohibendo a loro quello che è stato licito a cadauna sorte di gente, non solum di veder il congresso, ma andar fino nelle camere dove erano le proprie persone regie, ma si dogliono, et dicono, che questo atto è demonstrativo de alcuna trattatione contra li principi di prefati Amb^ri in tempo che tra tutti è sta la pace. Poi appar esser fatto immediate contra le promesse de essi Re li quali dicevano volersi veder per proveder alle cose de Christiani in eventum chel bisognasse. Io dico in questa parte quello che odo da questi Sig^ri. Amb^ri. ma la Serta. V^ra. quanto alla portion sua iudicarà lei con la solita propria sapienza.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(*Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives, p.* 20 *tergo*).

*. In cipher between the brackets.

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this they say, not indeed because they were made to go as far as Montreuil and Boulogne, and to incur expense, and make their arrangements as usual *in similibus*, and then to be confined contrary to their honour, and forbidden what has been lawful for every sort of person [viz.], not only to see the congress, but to go even to the chambers where the royalties themselves were; but what they complain of and say is, that this act is demonstrative of some treaty (*trattatione*) against the said ambassadors' Princes at a time when they are all at peace together; and then, again, this seems to have been done in direct opposition to the promises of the two Kings, who said they wished for the interview in order to provide for the affairs of Christendom in case of need. With regard to this matter, I mention what I hear from these ambassadors, and with your usual wisdom your Serenity will judge how far you are concerned in it.]*

(Continuation as in Vol. IV. Venetian Calendar, p. 361, "*On the 11th instant,*" to p. 363, line 17, "*which will be difficult.*")

In addition to this, whether it be true, or that the French ministers (*questi signori*) avail themselves of the report, it is said that the most Serene English King having made the above-written Marchioness [Anne Boleyn] cross the Channel with him, with the firm determination (*certa opinion*) of marrying her, with the intervention (*con intervento*) of King Francis, his most Christian Majesty seems to have modified this determination (*tal opinione*) at the conference, so that it was not carried into effect; and, to say the truth, the French and English believed it to be certain, and the said English are very well pleased that the marriage did not take place.†

The magnifico Sir [Gregory] Casal‡ arrived here lately postwise, from Rome, where he was negotiating. (Continuation as in Vol. IV. Venetian Calendar, to p. 364, line 5.)

[It is said that these two Kings have agreed that, should the Cardinals [Tournon and Grammont] not succeed in persuading the

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Si dice questi Re hanno convenuto che li Cardinali insista che 'l Papa non conseguisca il vincolo con Cesare; et facendo nova intelligentia non voler più che la expeditione di Franza et Anglia vadino a Roma, ma divider il suo clero dalla Sede Romana.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(*Original Diaries, vol.* 57, *p.* 105.)

Non tacerò dirsi che questi Re hanno convenuto chè si li Rev^mi. Card^li. non conseguiscono con il Pont^ce. li desiderij de loro M^tà. cioè di rimover quello da così stretto vinculo con Cesare, ò s' el facesse qualche novo accordo in Italia, in quelli casi non voler più che le expedition di Franza et Anglia vadino a Roma, ma divider il suo Clero in tutto dalla sede sua. Item sono comune voce (*sic*) che il convento di questi doi grandi Re, non sia stato se non spese soverchie, feste et pompe, et non alcuno effetto eguale alla espettatione.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(*Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives, p.* 20 *tergo.*)

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* In cipher between the brackets.

† "Et sono essi Englesi rimasti molto contenti che'l non sia seguito." These 12 words are omitted in Sanuto's Original Diaries, vol. lvii. p. 105, verso, line 10; where the paragraph ends with the words, "e cussì Francesi et Englesi lo crede," as translated in vol. iv. Venetian Calendar, p. 363, line 23.

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Pope to comply with their Majesties' wishes, namely, to detach him from so close an alliance with the Emperor, or should he make any new agreement in Italy, in either case, they will no longer allow the collation of the benefices of France and England to be referred to Rome, but separate their clergy entirely from the Roman see. It is also generally reported that the interview between these two great Kings merely caused immoderate expense, entertainments, and pageants, and no effect whatever equal to the expectation.]*

Abbeville, 31st October 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. **1036.** GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER and MARIN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Despatches, France, Miscellany, No. 416. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

To-day, many prelates of the kingdom, with the Cardinal Legate Chancellor and the Cardinal of Lorraine, assembled; and it is said that in this congregation they spontaneously offered two-tenths to his most Christian Majesty, much to the surprise of everybody that this should be done at the present moment, when two Cardinals† are on their way to his Holiness on the King's business.

The Duke of Richmond,‡ son of the most Serene King of England, who offered him for his Majesty's service, has come, and resides at the court, living at very great expense, and very honourably (*et molto honoratamente*).

Paris, 5th December 1532.

[*Italian.*]

1551. **1037.** MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Oct. 17. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., v. xx. p. 55.

That at the request of the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, license be given to the Cavalier Spinola, a Genoese, to carry arms in Venice for one year, together with two servants who are in his pay, and at his cost, he notifying their names at the office of the night watch.§

Ayes, 12. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

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* Cipher between the brackets.

† Cardinals Tournon and Grammont. (*See* Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. Nov. 22, 1532, No. 830.)

‡ Henry Fitzroy, natural son of Henry VIII.

§ By an entry in Foreign Calendar, date 12th September 1551 (p. 171), it appears that "Captain Spinola" brought letters of favour from England, addressed to the ambassador Peter Vannes. The historian Hume (vol. iii. p. 324) calls this soldier Battista Spinola.

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11, margin, *for* St. Mark's College, *read* St. Mark's Library.

107, No. 267, *insert date*, Ratisbon, 3rd July 1541.

110, line 21, *for* 276, *read* 277.

113, line 9, *for* Attieri, *read* Altieri.

173, line 14, *after* few, *insert* days.

239, *note, for* Domenico Bollani, *read* Daniel Barbaro.

272, line 16, *for* Nestor, *read* Astorre.

292, No. 616
296, No. 621, } *for* Francisco de Mendoza, *read* Juan Alvarez de Toledo.

340, line 4, *for* placets, *read* pleas, *or* placita.

370, line 19, *for* Rochester, *read* Worcester.

378, No. 757, *for* The Same to the Same, *read* The Doge and College to the Venetian Ambassador in England.

409, *note, for* eti, *read* etc.

448, No. 837, *dele* Renard; [*qu.* Renaud?]

In Volume IV.

Preface, p. xxvii, line 20, *for* when Dandolo was there, *read* when Dandolo was sent to him.

„ p. xxx, line 22, *for* 3rd and 4th, *read* 3rd and 42nd.

Page 450, line 4, *for* Andrea Dandolo, *read* Leonardo Dandolo. (The same error should also be corrected in the Index.)

In Volume I.

Preface, p. lviii, note, *for* brothers, *read* cousins (?)

„ p. lxxiii, *for* elder brothers, *read* cousins german (?)

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Vol. II.—1627–1628.
Vol. III.—1628–1629.
Vol. IV.—1629–1631.
Vol. V.—1631–1633.
Vol. VI.—1633–1634.
Vol. VII.—1634–1635.
Vol. VIII.—1635.
Vol. IX.—1635–1636.
Vol. X.—1636–1637.
Vol. XI.—1637.
Vol. XII.—1637–1638.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.; and WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. 1871.

Vol. XIII.—1638–1639.

This Calendar of the Domestic State Papers of the reign of Charles I. presents notices of a large number of original documents of great value to all inquirers relative to the history of the period to which it refers. Many of them have been hitherto unknown.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. 1860–1866.

Vol. I.—1660–1661.
Vol. II.—1661–1662.
Vol. III.—1663–1664.
Vol. IV.—1664–1665.
Vol. V.—1665–1666.
Vol. VI.—1666–1667.
Vol. VII.—1667.

Seven volumes, of the period between 1660 and 1667, have been published.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to SCOTLAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARKHAM JOHN THORPE, Esq., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 1858.

Vol. I., the Scottish Series, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509–1589.
Vol. II., the Scottish Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1589–1603;

Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots during her Detention in England, 1568–1587.

These two volumes of State Papers relate to Scotland, and embrace the period between 1509 and 1603. In the second volume are notices of the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. 1860–1867.

Vol. I.—1509–1573. | Vol. II.—1574–1585.

The above have been published under the editorship of Mr. Hans Claude Hamilton; another volume is in the press.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by the* Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. I.—1603–1606. 1872.

This series is in continuation of the Irish State Papers commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; but, for the reign of James I., the Papers are not confined to those in the Public Record Office of England.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. 1860–1870.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574–1660.
Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513–1616.
Vol. III.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1617–1621.

These volumes include an analysis of early Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1862–1872.

Vol. I.—1509–1514.
Vol. II. (in Two Parts)—1515–1518.
Vol. III. (in Two Parts)—1519–1523.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524–1526.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526–1528.

These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547–1553. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, and Correspondant du Comité Impérial des Travaux Historiques et des Sociétés Savantes de France. 1861.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF MARY, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553–1558. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law and

Correspondant du Comité Impérial des Travaux Historiques et des Sociétés Savantes de France. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest.

A valuable series of Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of *Calais merits a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the* north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. The domestic affairs of England are of course passed over in these volumes, which treat only of its relations with foreign powers.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.–VII.), and ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vol. VIII.). 1863–1871.

Vol. I.—1558–1559.
Vol. II.—1559–1560.
Vol. III.—1560–1561.
Vol. IV.—1561–1562.
Vol. V.—1562.
Vol. VI.—1563.
Vol. VII.—1564–1565.
Vol. VIII.—1566–1568.

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, deposited in the Public Record Office, &c. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. 1868–1871.

Vol. I.—1557–1696.
Vol. II.—1697–1702.

The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. 1867–1871.

Vol. I.—1515–1574.
Vol. II.—1575–1588.
Vol. III.—1589–1600.
Vol. IV.—1601–1603.
Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, deposited in the Lambeth Library, are unique, and of great importance. The Calendar cannot fail to be welcome to all students of Irish history. Another volume is in the press.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. 1862–1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485–1509.
Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509–1525
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The

second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864–1873.

Vol. I.—1202–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.—1534–1554.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

* SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.–Edw. III.; 1066–1377. Vol. II., Ric. II.–Chas. II.; 1377–1654. 1869–1873.

The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

In the Press.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. III.—1586, &c.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. Vol. VI.—1603–1624.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XIV.—1639.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Hen. VIII.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by the* Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. II.—1606, &c.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529, &c.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. III.—1702–1706.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622, &c. Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. IX.—1569, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., &c., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. (1760–1800), and JOHN RINGWOOD ATKINS, Esq. (1801–1829).

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, excerpted from the Records preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office; to the end of the Reign of HENRY VII. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq. A.B., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. VI.—1555, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[Royal 8vo., half-bound. *Price* 10*s*. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an "uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's "royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, "and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional know-"ledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He "would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His "wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the "ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever "expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA; scilicet, I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. II.—Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. III.—Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1858.

This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

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 derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the school-

men had been extended to the field of theology and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was 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." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends 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, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

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. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially

of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 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 on which he was sent by Henry VII. 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 the year 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 in connexion with the period 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, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA 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, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth 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 in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and

comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

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, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

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.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

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 Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

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, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is 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.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. 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. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1873.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about the year 1188 and may be regarded rather

as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ.

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., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. 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, whether arising from locality or age.

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. 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, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. 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. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials,

when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

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 in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

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. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1872.

In the first two volumes is a history of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., written by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans and prior of the cell of Wymundham, belonging to that abbey. It is printed from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, monk of Saint Albans, who lived in the reign of Edward I., printed from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX. (of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cottonian Manuscript, Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: Also an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol by Edward I., 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., attributed to William Rishanger above mentioned, but on no sufficient ground: A short Chronicle of English History, from 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.:

A short Chronicle from 1297 to 1307, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with an addition of Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1299, 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1295 to 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: and a fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1285 to 1307, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe a monk of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henricus de Blaneforde, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A full Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer of St. Albans, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, and of the fortunes and vicissitudes of the house, from 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of the Abbey in the reign of Richard II.; from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum; with a Continuation, from the closing pages of the Parker MS. No. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth and ninth volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably written by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The tenth volume relates especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbot Whethamstede, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events occurring during the first ten years of his second abbacy. The Register was in all probability compiled between 1465 and 1476.

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, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

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.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle 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 iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 30–31, and 32–33. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1866.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great

legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

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, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

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., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

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 LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and, being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

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* 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 narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They 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, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

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. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1868.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAVRIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

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. and IV. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1872.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

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. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. LE LIVERE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVERE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA, AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 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—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

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; with a SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

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, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he 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, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

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The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in

the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE 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* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

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 lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

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This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. 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, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

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The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on an island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

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This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

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This important and unique survey of the greater portion of England* is the oldest and most valuable record in the national archives. It was commenced about the year 1084 and finished in 1086. Its compilation was determined upon at Gloucester by William the Conqueror, in council, in order that he might know what was due to him, in the way of tax, from his subjects, and that each at the same time might know what he had to pay. It was compiled as much for their protection as for the benefit of the sovereign. The nobility and people had been grievously distressed at the time by the king bringing over large numbers of French and Bretons, and quartering them on his subjects, "each according to the measure of his land," for the purpose of resisting the invasion of Cnut, King of Denmark, which was apprehended. The commissioners appointed to make the survey were to inquire the name of each place; who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor; the present possessor; how many hides were in the manor; how many ploughs were in demesne; how many homagers; how many villeins; how many cottars; how many serving men; how many free tenants; how many tenants in soccage; how much wood, meadow, and pasture; the number of mills and fish-ponds; what had been added or taken away from the place; what was the gross value in the time of Edward the Confessor; the present value; and how much each free man or soc-man had, and whether any advance could be made in the value. Thus could be ascertained who held the estate in the time of King Edward; who then held it; its value in the time of the late king; and its value as it stood at the formation of the survey. So minute was the survey, that the writer of the contemporary portion of the Saxon Chronicle records, with some asperity—"So very narrowly he caused it to be "traced out, that there was not a single hide, nor one virgate of land, nor even, "it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do, an ox, nor a cow, "nor a swine was left, that was not set down."

Domesday Survey is in two parts or volumes. The first, in folio, contains the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester and Lancaster, Cornwall, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hants, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Kent, Leicester and Rutland, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Worcester, and York. The second volume, in quarto, contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Domesday Book was printed *verbatim et literatim* during the last century, in consequence of an address of the House of Lords to King George III. in 1767. It was not, however, commenced until 1773, and was completed early in 1783. In 1860, Her Majesty's Government, with the concurrence of the Master of the Rolls, determined to apply the art of photozincography to the production of a fac-simile of Domesday Book, under the superintendence of Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton. The fac-simile was completed in 1863.

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*For some reason left unexplained, many parts were left unsurveyed; Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the survey; nor does Lancashire appear under its proper name; but Furness, and the northern part of Lancashire, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with a part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. That part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and Mersey, and which at the time of the survey comprehended 688 manors, is joined to Cheshire. Part of Rutland is described in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

FAC-SIMILES of NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS, from WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR to QUEEN ANNE, selected under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and Photozincographed, by Command of Her Majesty, by Colonel SIR HENRY JAMES, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey. Price, each Part, with translations and notes, double foolscap folio, 16*s*.

Part I. (William the Conqueror to Henry VII.). 1865.
Part II. (Henry VIII. and Edward VI.). 1866.
Part III. (Mary and Elizabeth). 1867.
Part IV. (James I. to Anne). 1868.

The first Part extends from William the Conqueror to Henry VII., and contains autographs of the kings of England, as well as of many other illustrious personages famous in history, and some interesting charters, letters patent, and state papers. The second Part, for the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., consists principally of holograph letters and autographs of kings, princes, statesmen, and other persons of great historical interest, who lived during those reigns. The third Part contains similar documents for the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, including a signed bill of Lady Jane Grey. The fourth Part concludes the series, and comprises a number of documents taken from the originals belonging to the Constable of the Tower of London; also several records illustrative of the Gunpowder Plot, and a woodcut containing portraits of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI., circulated by their adherents in England, 1580–3.

Public Record Office,
June 1873.